THE

HISTORY

OF THE

PURITANS:

OR

Protestant Non-Conformists,

FROM THE

Death of [illegible] to the Revolution in 1688;

An Account of their Attempts for a [illegible] the Church; their Sufferings and Character; of those Pr[illegible]

By DANIEL NEAL, M. A.

VOL. IV.

You know also, that in the last Days perilous Times shall come, 2 Tim. iii. 1.

They shall put you out of the Synagogues; yea, the Time cometh, that whosoever killeth you will think that he doth God Service, John xvi. 2.

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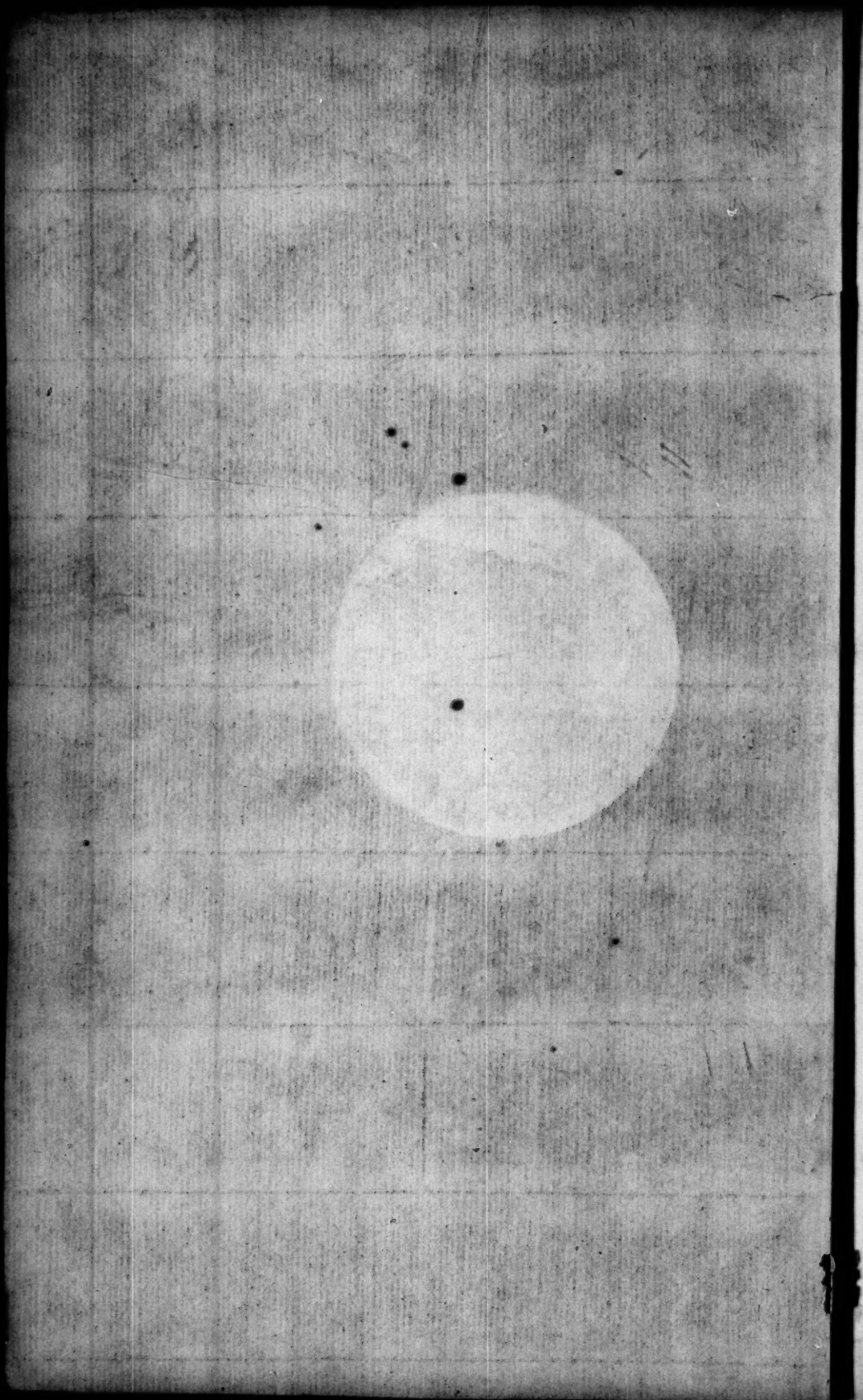

THE HISTORY OF THE PURITANS OR *Protestant Non-Conformists,*

FROM THE

Death of King CHARLES I. to the Act of *Toleration* by King WILLIAM and Queen MARY, in the Year 1689.

WITH

An Account of their Principles; their Attempts for a further Reformation in the Church; their Sufferings; and the Lives and Characters of their Principal Divines.

By DANIEL NEAL, *M. A.*

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THE PREFACE.

THIS *Volume brings the* History of the Sufferings of the Puritans *down to its Period; for though the* Proteſtant Diſſenters *have ſince complained of ſeveral Difficulties and Diſcouragements, yet moſt of the Penal Laws have been ſuſpended; the Proſecutions of the* Spiritual Courts *have been conſiderably reſtrained by the kind Interpoſition of the Civil Powers, and Liberty of Conſcience enjoyed without the Hazard of Fines, Impriſonments, and other Terrors of this World.*

The Times now in Review were ſtormy and boiſterous: Upon the Death of King Charles I. *the Conſtitution was diſſolved: The Men at the Helm had no legal Authority to change the Government into a* Commonwealth, *the Protectorſhip of* Cromwel *was an* Uſurpation, *becauſe grafted only on the Military Power, and ſo were all the miſhapen Forms into which the Adminiſtration was caſt till the Reſtoration of the King. In order to paſs a right*

Judgment upon theſe extraordinary Revolutions, the Temper and Circumſtances of the Nation are to be duly conſidered; for thoſe Actions which in ſome Circumſtances are highly criminal, may in a different Situation of Affairs become neceſſary. The Parties engaged in the Civil Wars *were yet living, and their Reſentments againſt each other ſo much enflamed, as to cut off all Hopes of a Reconciliation; Each dreaded the others Succeſs, well knowing they muſt fall a Sacrifice to thoſe who ſhould prevail. All preſent Views of the King's recovering his Father's Throne were defeated at the Battle of* Worceſter, *the Loyaliſts being then entirely broken and diſperſed; ſo that if ſome ſuch extraordinary Genius as* Cromwel's *had not undertaken to ſteer the Nation through the Storm, it had not been poſſible to hold the Government together till Providence ſhould open a Way for reſtoring the Conſtitution, and ſettling it on its legal Baſis.*

The various Forms of Government (if they deſerve that Name) which the Officers of the Army introduced after the Death of Cromwel, *made the Nation ſick of their Frenzies, and turned their Eyes towards their baniſhed Sovereign, whoſe Reſtoration, after all, could not be accompliſhed without great Imprudence on one Part, and the moſt artful Diſſimulation on the other. The* Preſbyterians, *like weak Politicians, ſurrender'd at Diſcretion, and parted with their* Power *on no other Security than the* Royal Word, *for which they have been ſufficiently reproached; though I am of Opinion, that if the King had been brought in by a* Treaty, *the ſucceeding Parliament would have ſet it aſide. On the other hand, nothing can be more notorious, than the deep Hypocriſy of General* Monk, *and the ſolemn Aſſurances given by the* Biſhops *and other* Loyaliſts, *and even by the* King himſelf, *of burying all paſt Offences under the Foundation of the Reſtoration; but when they were liſted into the Saddle the Haſte they made to ſhew how little they meant by their Promiſes, exceeded the Rules of Decency as well as Honour. Nothing would*

would ſatisfy, till their Adverſaries were diſarmed, and in a manner deprived of the Protection of the Government; the Terms of Conformity *were made narrower and more exceptionable than before the Civil Wars, the* Penal Laws *were rigorouſly executed, and new ones framed almoſt every Seſſions of Parliament for ſeveral ſucceſſive Years; the* Non-Conformiſt Miniſters *were baniſhed five Miles from all the Corporations in* England, *and their People ſold for Sums of Money to carry on the King's unlawful Pleaſures, and to bribe the Nation into Popery and Slavery; till the Houſe of Commons, awakened at laſt with a Senſe of the threatning Danger grew intractable, and was therefore diſſolved. His Majeſty having in vain attempted ſeveral other Repreſentatives of the People, determined ſome Time before his Death to change the Conſtitution, and govern by his ſovereign Will and Pleaſure; that the* Miſchiefs *which could not be brought upon the Nation, by Conſent of Parliament, might be introduced under the Wing of the Prerogative; but the* Roman Catholicks *not ſatisfied with the ſlow Proceedings of a* diſguiſed Proteſtant, *or apprehending that the Diſcontents of the People and his own Love of Eaſe might induce him ſome Time or other to change Meaſures, reſolved to have a Prince of their own Religion, and more ſanguine Principles on the Throne, which haſten'd the Criſis of the Nation, and brought forward that* Glorious Revolution *of King* William *and Queen* Mary, *which put a final Period to all their Projects.*

The Nature of my Deſign does not admit of a large and particular Relation of all the Civil Tranſactions *of theſe Times, but only of ſuch a* Summary *as may give Light to the* Affairs of Religon; *and I could have wiſhed that the Memory of* both *had been entirely blotted out of the Records of Time, if the Animoſities of the ſeveral Parties, and their unchriſtian Principles, had been buried with them; but as the remembring them may be a Warning to Poſterity, it ought to give no Offence to any Denomi-*

nation

nation of Chriſtians of the preſent Age, who are no ways anſwerable for the Conduct of their Anceſtors, nor can otherwiſe ſhare in a Cenſure of it, than as they maintain the ſame Principles, and imitate the ſame unchriſtian Behaviour. At the End of each Year I have added the Characters of the principal Non-Conformiſt Miniſters *as they died, partly from the Hiſtorians of thoſe Times, but chiefly from the Writings of the late Reverend Doctor* Calamy, *whoſe Integrity, Moderation, and Induſtry, deſerve a peculiar Commendation. My Deſign was to preſerve the Memory of the Reverend* Aſſembly of Divines *at* Weſtminſter, *as well as of the little* Army of Confeſſors, *who afterwards ſuffered ſo deeply in the Cauſe of* Non-Conformity.

In paſſing a Judgment on the ſeveral Parties in Church and State I have carefully diſtinguiſhed between thoſe who went into all the arbitrary Meaſures of the Court, and ſuch as ſtood firm by the Proteſtant Religion and the Liberties of their Country; *for it muſt be allowed, that in the Reign of King* Charles II. *there were even among the Clergy, ſome of the worſt as well as beſt of Men, as will appear to a Demonſtration in the Courſe of this Hiſtory; but I deſire no greater Streſs may be laid upon* Facts *or Characters than the Quality of the* Vouchers *in the Margin will ſupport. Where* theſe *have been differently related I have relied on the beſt Authorities, and ſometimes reported from both Sides, leaving the Reader to chooſe for himſelf: for if* Facts *are fairly repreſented the Hiſtorian is diſcharged. I am not ſo vain as to imagine this Hiſtory free from Errors, but if any Miſtakes of Conſequence are made to appear they ſhall be acknowledged with Thankfulneſs to thoſe who ſhall point them out in a civil and friendly Manner; And as I aim at nothing but Truth, I ſee no Reaſon to engage in a warm Defence of any Parties of Chriſtians who paſs before us in Review, but leave their Conduct to the Cenſure of the World. Some few* Remarks *of my own are here and there interſperſed, which the Reader will receive according as he appre-*

apprehends them to follow from the Premiſes; but I flatter my ſelf, that when he has carefully peruſed the ſeveral Volumes of this Hiſtory, he will agree with me in the following Concluſions.

FIRST, That UNIFORMITY of Sentiments in Religion is not to be attained among Chriſtians; nor will a COMPREHENSION within an Eſtabliſhment be of Service to the Cauſe of Truth and Liberty without a TOLERATION of all other dutiful Subjects. *Wiſe and good Men, after their moſt diligent Searches after Truth, have ſeen Things in a different Light, which is not to be avoided as long as they have Liberty to judge for themſelves. If Chriſt had appointed an infallible Judge upon Earth; or Men were to be determined by an implicit Faith in their Superiors, there would be an End of ſuch Differences; but all the Engines of human Policy that have been ſet at Work to obtain it have hitherto failed of Succeſs. Subſcriptions, and a Variety of Oaths and other Teſts have occaſioned great Miſchiefs to the Church; By theſe Means Men of weak Morals, and ambitious Views have been raiſed to the higheſt Preferments, while Others of ſtricter Virtue, and ſuperior Talents, have been neglected and laid aſide; and* Power *has been lodged in the Hands of thoſe who have uſed it in an unchriſtian Manner, to force Men to an Agreement in Sounds and outward Appearances, contrary to the true Conviction and Senſe of their Minds; and thus a laſting Reproach has been brought on the Chriſtian Name, and on the genuine Principles of a Proteſtant Church.*

SECONDLY, All Parties of Chriſtians, when in Power, have been guilty of Perſecution for Conſcience ſake. *The Annals of the Church are a moſt melancholy Demonſtration of this Truth. Let the Reader call to mind the bloody Proceedings of the* Popiſh Biſhops *in Queen* Mary's *Reign; and the Account that has been given of the* Star Chamber *and* High Commiſſion Court

in

in later Times; what Numbers of uſeful Miniſters have been ſequeſter'd, impriſoned, and their Families reduced to Poverty and Diſgrace for refuſing to wear a white Surplice, *or to comply with a* few indifferent Ceremonies! *What Havock did the* Preſbyterians *make with their Covenant Uniformity; their* Jure Divino *Diſcipline, and their rigid Prohibition of reading the old Service Book! And though the* Independants *had a better Notion of the Rights of Conſcience, how defective was their Inſtrument of Government under* Cromwel! *How arbitrary the Proceedings of their Tryers! How narrow their Liſt of Fundamentals! And how ſevere their Reſtraints of the Preſs! And though the rigorous Proceedings of the Puritans of this Age, did by no Means rival thoſe of the Prelates before and after the Civil Wars, yet they are ſo many Species of Perſecution, and not to be juſtified even by the Confuſion of the Times in which they were acted.*

THIRDLY, It is unſafe and dangerous to intruſt any Sort of Clergy with the Power of the Sword; *for our Saviour's Kingdom is not of this World,* if it were *(ſays he)* then would my Servants fight, but now is my Kingdom not from hence. *The Church and State ſhould ſtand on a diſtinct Baſis, and their Juriſdiction be agreeable to the Nature of their Crimes; thoſe of the Church* purely Spiritual, *and thoſe of the State* purely Civil; *as the King is* ſupream *in the State, he is alſo Head, or Guardian of the* Church *in thoſe Spiritual Rights that Chriſt has intruſted it with. When the Church in former Ages firſt aſſumed the ſecular Power, it not only rival'd the State, but in a little Time lifted up its Head above* Emperors *and* Kings, *and all the* Potentates *of the Earth: The Thunder of its Anathema's was heard in all Nations, and* in her Skirts was found the Blood of the Prophets, and Saints, and of all that were ſlain upon the Earth. *And whenever it recovers the Wound that was given it at the Reformation, it will undoubtedly reſume the ſame*

abſo-

abſolute coercive Dominion. It is therefore the Intereſt of all Sovereign Princes *to keep their Clergy within the Limits that Chriſt has preſcribed them in the* New Teſtament, *and not to truſt them with the Power of inflicting Corporal Pains or Penalties on their Subjects, which have no relation to the Chriſtian Methods of Converſion.*

FOURTHLY, Reformation of Religion, or a Redreſs of Grievances in the Church has not in fact ariſen from the Clergy. *I would not be thought to reflect upon that* venerable Order, *which is of great Uſefulneſs, and deſerved Honour, when the Ends of its Inſtitution are purſued; but ſo ſtrange has been the Infatuation, ſo enchanting the Luſt of Dominion, and the Charms of Riches and Honour, that the Propagation of Piety and Virtue has been very much neglected, and little elſe thought of but how they might riſe higher in the Authority and Grandeur of this World, and fortify their ſtrong Holds againſt all that ſhould attack them. In the Dawn of the* Reformation *the Clergy maintained the* Pope's Supremacy *againſt the King, till they were caſt in a* Præmunire. *In the Reign of Queen* ELIZABETH *there was but One of the whole Bench who would join in the Conſecration of a* Proteſtant Biſhop; *and when the Reformation was eſtabliſhed, how cruelly did thoſe* Proteſtant Biſhops, *who themſelves had ſuffered for Religion, vex the* Puritans, *becauſe they could not come up to their Standard. How unfriendly did they behave at the* Hampton-Court Conference! *At the* Reſtoration *of King* Charles II. *and at the late* Revolution *of King* William *and Queen* Mary! *when the moſt ſolemn Promiſes were broken, and the moſt hopeful Opportunity of accommodating Differences among Proteſtants loſt, by the Perverſeneſs of the Clergy towards thoſe very Men who had ſaved them from Ruin. So little Ground is there to hope for an Union among Chriſtians, or the Propagation of Truth, Peace, and Charity,*

rity, from Councils, Synods, General Aſſemblies, *or* Convocations of the Clergy *of any Sort whatſoever.*

FIFTHLY, *Upon theſe Principles it is evident,* that Freedom of Religion, in ſubordination to the *Civil Power,* is for the Benefit of Society, and no ways inconſiſtent with a publick Eſtabliſhment. *The King may create* Dignitaries, *and give ſufficient Encouragement to thoſe of the* Publick Religion, *without invading the Liberties of his Diſſenting Subjects. If Religious Eſtabliſhments were ſtript of their* Judicial Proceſſes, *and* Civil Juriſdiction, *no harm could be feared from them. And as his Majeſty is Defender of the Faith in* Scotland *as well as* England, *and equally the Guardian of* both Churches, *he will, no doubt, hold the Balance, and prevent* Either *from riſing to ſuch a Pitch of Greatneſs as to act independently on the State, or become formidable and oppreſſive to their Neighbours; the Former would create* Imperium in Imperio; *and* there is but one Step between the Church's being independant on the STATE, and the STATE becoming dependant on the Church. *Beſides, as freedom of Religion is for the true Honour and Dignity of the* CROWN, *it is no leſs for the Service of the* Community; *for the Example of the neighbouring Nations may convince us, that* Uniformity in the Church will always be attended with abſolute and deſpotick Power in the STATE. *The* Meetings of Diſſenting Proteſtants *were formerly called* Seditious, *becauſe the Peace of the Publick was falſly ſuppoſed to conſiſt in* Uniformity of Worſhip; *but long Experience has taught us the contrary; for, though the* Non Conformiſts *in thoſe Times gave no Diſturbance to the Adminiſtration, the Nation was far from being at Peace; but when Things came to a Criſis, their joining with the Church againſt a corrupt Court and Miniſtry, ſaved the Religion and Liberties of the Nation.*

tion. It muſt therefore be the Intereſt of a free People to ſupport and encourage Liberty of Conſcience, and not to ſuffer any one great and powerful Religious Body to oppreſs, devour, and ſwallow up the reſt.

FINALLY, When Proteſtant Diſſenters recollect the Sufferings of their Fathers in the laſt Age for the Freedom of their Conſciences, let them be thankful that their Lot is caſt in more ſettled Times. *The Liberties of* England *are the Price of a great deal of Blood and Treaſure; wide Breaches were made in the Conſtitution in the four Reigns of the Male Line of the* STUARTS, *Perſecution and arbitrary Power went hand in hand; the Conſtitution was often in convulſive Agonies, when the Patrons of Liberty appeared boldly in the noble Cauſe, and ſacrificed their Eſtates and Lives in its Defence. The* Puritans *ſtood firm by the* Proteſtant Religion, *and by the Liberties of their Country in the Reigns of King* Charles II. *and King* James II. *and received the Fire of the Enemy from all their Batteries, without moving Sedition, or taking Advantage of their* Perſecutors, *when it was afterwards in their Power. Some Amendments, in my humble Opinion, are ſtill wanting to ſettle the Cauſe of Liberty on a more equal Baſis, and to deliver wiſe and good Men from the Fetters of* Oaths, Subſcriptions, *and* Religious Teſts of all Sorts. *But whether ſuch deſirable Bleſſings are in reſerve for this Nation, muſt be left to the Determination of an All-wiſe Providence. In the mean Time, may* Proteſtant Diſſenters *expreſs their Gratitude for the Protection and Eaſe they enjoy at preſent, by an undiſſembled Piety towards God! By a firm and unſhaken Loyalty to his Majeſty's Perſon, and wiſe Adminiſtration! By avoiding every Thing that tends to Perſecution or Cenſoriouſneſs for meer Differences in Religion! And by the Integrity of their own Lives and Manners! And while they think it their Duty to ſeparate from the* National Eſtabliſhment, *may they diſtinguiſh them-*

themſelves by the Exerciſe of all ſocial Virtues, and ſtand faſt in the Liberty wherewith the Providence of God has made them free! By ſuch a Conduct they will preſerve their Characters with all ſober Perſons, and will tranſmit the Bleſſings of the preſent Age to their lateſt Poſterity.

LONDON,
March 1. 1737-8.

DANIEL NEAL.

THE HISTORY OF THE PURITANS.

VOL. IV.

CHAP. I.

From the Death of King CHARLES I. *to the Coronation of King* CHARLES II. *in* Scotland.

UPON the Death of the late King, the legal Government was diſſolved, and all that followed till the Reſtoration of King *Charles* II. was no better than an *Uſurpation* under different Shapes; the Houſe of Commons, if it may deſerve that Name, after it had been purged of a third Part of its Members, relying upon the *Act of Continuation*, called themſelves the *Supreme Authority of the Nation*, and began with an Act to diſinherit the Prince of *Wales*, forbidding all Perſons to proclaim him King

Common-wealth. 1649.

The Monarchy turn'd into a Common-wealth.

Common-wealth. 1649.

of *England*, on pain of High Treaſon. The Houſe of Lords was voted uſeleſs; and the Office of a King unneceſſary, burdenſome, and dangerous. The Form of Government for the future was declared to be a free Commonwealth; the Executive Power to be lodged in the Hands of a *Council of State* of Forty Perſons, with full Powers to take Care of the whole Adminiſtration for one Year; new Keepers of the *Great Seal* were appointed, from whom the Judges received their Commiſſions, with the Name, Stile, and Title of, *Cuſtodes Libertatis* Angliæ *Authoritate Parliamenti*, i. e. *Keepers of the Liberties of* England *by Authority of Parliament*. The Coin was ſtamped on one Side with the Arms of *England* between a *Laurel* and a *Palm*, with this Inſcription, *The Commonwealth of England*; and on the other, a *Croſs* and *Harp*, with this Motto, *God with us*. The Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy were aboliſhed, and a new One appointed, called the ENGAGEMENT, which was, *To be true and faithful to the Government eſtabliſhed, without King or Houſe of Peers*. Such as refuſed the Oath were declared incapable of holding any Place or Office of Truſt in the Commonwealth; but as many of the excluded Members of the Houſe of Commons as would take it reſumed their Places.

Remarks. Such was the Foundation of this new Conſtitution, which had neither the Conſent of the People of *England*, nor their Repreſentatives in a free Parliament. "And if ever there was an uſurped Government, mutilated, and founded only in Violence (ſays *Rapin*) it "was that of this Parliament." But though it was unſupported by any other Power but the Army, it was carried on by the moſt conſummate Wiſdom, Courage, and Succeſs, till the ſame Power that ſet it up was permitted by divine Providence with equal Violence to pull it down.

Oppoſed by the Levellers. The new Commonwealth met with Oppoſition from divers Quarters in its infant State: The *Levellers* in the Army gave out, that the People had only changed their

their Yoke, not ſhaken it off; and that the RUMP's little Finger (for ſo the Houſe of Commons was now called) would be heavier than the King's Loins. The Agitators therefore petitioned the Houſe to diſſolve themſelves; that new Repreſentatives might be choſen. The Commons alarmed at theſe Proceedings, ordered their General Officers to caſhier the Petitioners, and break their Swords over their Heads, which was done accordingly. But when the Forces paſſed under a general Review at *Ware*, their Friends in the Army agreed to diſtinguiſh themſelves by wearing ſomething white in their Hats; which *Cromwel* having ſome Intelligence of beforehand, commanded two Regiments of Horſe who were not in the Secret, to ſurround one of the Regiments of Foot; and having condemned four of the Ringleaders in a Council of War, he commanded two of them to be ſhot to Death by their other two Aſſociates, in ſight of the whole Army; and to break the Combination, eleven Regiments were ordered for *Ireland*; upon which great Numbers deſerted, and marched into *Oxfordſhire*; but General *Fairfax* and *Cromwel* having overtaken them at *Abingdon*, held them in Treaty till Colonel *Reynolds* came up, and after ſome few Skirmiſhes diſperſed them.

Common-wealth. 1649.

Whitl. p. 387, 389.

The *Scots* threaten'd the *Commonwealth* with a more formidable Invaſion, for upon the Death of King *Charles* I. they proclaimed the Prince of *Wales* King of *Scotland*, and ſent Commiſſioners to the *Hague*, to invite him into that Kingdom, *provided he would renounce Popery and Prelacy, and take the ſolemn League and Covenant*. To prevent the Effects of this Treaty, and cultivate a good Underſtanding with the *Dutch*, the Parliament ſent Dr. *Doriſlaus*, an eminent Civilian, concerned in the late King's Trial, Agent to the *States General*; but the very firſt Night after his Arrival, *May* 3. he was murdered in his own Chamber by twelve deſperate Cavaliers in diſguiſe, who ruſhed in upon him while he was at Supper, and with their drawn Swords killed him on the Spot. Both the Par-

And by the Scots.

Whitl. p. 386.

Common-wealth. 1649.

liament and States of *Holland* reſented this baſe Action ſo highly, that the young King thought proper to remove into *France*; from whence he went to the Iſle of *Jerſey*, and towards the latter End of the Year fixed at *Breda*; where the *Scots* Commiſſioners concluded a Treaty with him, upon the Foot of which he ventured his Royal Perſon into that Kingdom the next Year.

But to ſtrike Terror into the *Cavaliers*, the Parliament erected another *High Court* of *Juſtice*, and ſentenced to Death three illuſtrious Noblemen, for the Part they acted in the laſt Civil War; Duke *Hamilton*, the Earl of *Holland*, and Lord *Capel*, who were all executed *March* 9. in the *Palace Yard* at *Weſtminſter*: Duke *Hamilton* declared himſelf a Preſbyterian; and the Earl of *Holland* was attended by two Miniſters of the ſame Perſuaſion; but Lord *Capel* was a thorough Loyaliſt, and went off the Stage with the Courage and Bravery of a *Roman*.

L. G. Cromwel *reduces* Ireland.

But the chief Scene of great Actions this Year was in *Ireland*, which *Cromwel*, a bold and enterprizing Commander, was appointed to reduce; for this purpoſe he was made Lord Lieutenant for three Years, and having taken leave of the Parliament, ſailed from *Milford Haven* about the Middle of *Auguſt* with an Army of fourteen Thouſand brave Soldiers of reſolute Principles, who before the Imbarkation kept a Day of Faſting and Prayer; in which Mr. *Whitlock* obſerves, that after three Miniſters had prayed, Lieutenant General *Cromwel* himſelf, and the Colonels *Gough* and *Harriſon* expounded ſome Parts of Scripture excellently well, and pertinently to the Occaſion. The Army was under a ſevere Diſcipline; not an Oath was to be heard throughout the whole Camp, but the Soldiers ſpent their leiſure Hours in reading their Bibles, in ſinging Pſalms, and religious Conferences.

His rapid Succeſs.

Almoſt all *Ireland* was in the Hands of the Royaliſts and *Roman* Catholicks, except *Dublin* and *Londonderry*; the former of theſe Places had been lately beſieged

beſieged by the Duke of *Ormond* with twenty Thouſand Men, but the Garriſon being recruited with three Regiments from *England*, the Governor, Colonel *Jones*, ſurprized the Beſiegers, and after a vigorous Sally ſtormed their Camp, and routed the whole Army, which diſperſed it ſelf into *Drogheda*, and other fortified Places. CROMWEL, upon his Arrival, was received with the Acclamations of a vaſt Concourſe of People, to whom he addreſs'd himſelf from a riſing Ground, with Hat in hand, in a Soldier-like Manner, telling them, "He was come to cut down and de- "ſtroy the barbarous and blood-thirſty *Iriſh*, with all "their Adherents; but that all who were for the "Proteſtant Religion, and the Liberties of their Coun- "try, ſhould find ſuitable Encouragement from the "Parliament of *England* and himſelf, in proportion "to their Merits." Having refreſhed his Forces he marched directly to *Drogheda*, which was garriſon'd with 2500 Foot and 300 Horſe, and was therefore thought capable of holding out a Month; but the General neglecting the common Forms of Approach, batter'd the Walls with his Cannons, and having made two acceſſible Breaches, like an impatient Conqueror, enter'd the Town in Perſon at the Head of Colonel *Ewer*'s Regiment of Foot, and put all the Garriſon to the Sword. From thence he marched to *Wexford*, which he took likewiſe by Storm, and after the Example of *Drogheda*, put the Garriſon to the Sword; the General declaring, that *He would ſacrifice all the* Iriſh Papiſts *to the Ghoſts of the* Engliſh Proteſtants *whom they had maſſacred in cold Blood.* The Conqueſt of theſe Places ſtruck ſuch a Terror into the reſt, that they ſurrender'd upon the firſt Summons; the Name of *Cromwel* carrying Victory on its Wings before himſelf appear'd, the whole Country was reduced by the Middle of *May*, except *Limerick*, *Galloway*, and one or two other Places, which *Ireton* took the following Summer. Lord *Inchequin* deſerted the Remains of the Royal Army, and *Ormond* fled into *France*. Lieute-

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nant General *Cromwel* being called home to march againſt the *Scots*, arrived at *London* about the Middle of *May*, and was received by the Parliament and City in a martial and pompous Manner, as a Hero that had gained more Laurels, and done more Wonders in nine Months, than any Age or Hiſtory could parallel.

'Tis a remarkable Account the Lieutenant General gives in one of his Letters, of the Behaviour of the Army after their Arrival in *Ireland*; "Their Diligence, "Courage and Behaviour is ſuch (ſays he) through "the Providence of God, and ſtrict Care of the chief "Officers, that never Men did obey Orders more "chearfully, nor go upon Duty more couragiouſly. "Never did greater Harmony and Reſolution appear "to proſecute this Cauſe of God, than in this Army. "Such a Conſent of Heart and Hands; ſuch a Sym-"pathy of Affections, not only in carnal but in ſpi-"ritual Bonds, which ties faſter than Chains of Ada-"mant! I have often obſerved a wonderful Conſent "of the Officers and Soldiers upon the Grounds of do-"ing Service to God, and how miraculouſly they have "ſucceeded. The Mind of Man being ſatisfied, and "fixed on God, and that his Undertaking is for God's "Glory, it gives the greateſt Courage to thoſe Men, "and Proſperity to their Actions."

Whitl. P. 434.

Summary Account of the State of Ireland.

To put the Affairs of *Ireland* together: The *Roman* Catholicks charged the ill Succeſs of their Affairs upon the Duke of *Ormond*, and ſent him Word, "That "they were determined not to ſubmit any longer to "his Commands, it not being fit that a Catholick Ar-"my ſhould be under the Direction of a Proteſtant "General; but that, if he would depart the Kingdom "they would undertake of themſelves to drive *Ireton* "out of *Dublin*." After this they offered the Kingdom to the Duke of *Lorrain*, a bigotted Papiſt, who was wiſe enough to refuſe it; and then quarrelling among themſelves they were ſoon driven out of all the ſtrong Holds of the Kingdom, and forced to ſubmit to the Mercy of the Conqueror. All that had born Arms

Arms in the late Inſurrection were ſhipp'd away into *France*, *Spain*, or *Flanders*, never to return on pain of Death. Thoſe who had a Hand in murdering the Proteſtants at the Time of the Maſſacre, were brought from ſeveral Parts of the Country, and after a fair Conviction upon Trial were executed. The reſt of the Natives, who were called *Tories*, were ſhut up in the moſt inland Counties, and their Lands given partly in payment to the Soldiers who ſettled there, and the reſt to the firſt Adventurers. Lord *Clarendon* relates it thus, "Near one hundred Thouſand of them "were tranſported into foreign Parts, for the Service "of the Kings of *France* and *Spain*; double that "Number were conſumed by the Plague, Famine, "and other Severities exerciſed upon them in their "own Country; the Remainder were by *Cromwel* "tranſplanted into the moſt inland, barren, deſolate, "and mountainous Part of the Province of *Connaught*, "and it was lawful for any Man to kill any of the "*Iriſh* that were found out of the Bounds appointed "them within that Circuit. Such a Proportion of "Land was allotted to every Man, as the *Protector* "thought competent for them; upon which they were "to give formal Releaſes of all their Titles to their "Lands in any other Provinces; if they refuſed to "give ſuch Releaſes, they were ſtill deprived, and "left to ſtarve within the Limits preſcribed them; "out of which they durſt not withdraw; ſo that very "few refuſed to ſign thoſe Releaſes, or other Acts "which were demanded. It was a conſiderable Time "before theſe *Iriſh* could raiſe any Thing out of their "Lands to ſupport their Lives; but Neceſſity was "the Spring of Induſtry." Thus they lived under all the Brands of a conquer'd Nation till the Reſtoration of King *Charles* II. A juſt Judgment of God for their barbarous and unheard of Cruelties to the *Iriſh* Proteſtants!

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Carrington's *Life of* Cromw. p. 155. Clar. p. 153.

Conduct of the Preſbyterians towards the new Government.

To return to *England*: The Body of the Preſbyterians acted in concert with the *Scots*, for Reſtoring the

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King upon the Foot of the Covenant; ſeveral of their Miniſters carried on a private Correſpondence with the Chiefs of that Nation, and inſtead of taking the Engagement to the preſent Powers, called them *Uſurpers*, and declined praying for them in their Churches; they alſo declared againſt a general Toleration, which the Army and Parliament contended for.

L. G. Cromwel *and the Army petition for a Toleration.* Whitl. p. 405.

When Lieutenant General *Cromwel* was embarking for *Ireland* he ſent Letters to the Parliament, recommending the Removal of all the penal Laws relating to Religion; upon which the Houſe ordered a Committee to make Report concerning a Method for the Eaſe of tender Conſciences, and an Act to be brought in to appoint Commiſſioners in every County for the Approbation of able and well qualified Perſons to be made Miniſters, who cannot comply with the preſent Ordinance for *Ordination of Miniſters*.

Aug. 16. General *Fairfax*, and his Council of Officers, preſented a Petition to the ſame Purpoſe, praying, "That all penal Statutes formerly made, and "Ordinances lately made, whereby many conſcientious People were moleſted, and the Propagation of "the Goſpel hinder'd, might be removed. Not that "they deſired this Liberty ſhould extend to the ſetting "up Popery, or the late Hierarchy; or to the countenancing any Sort of Immorality or Prophaneneſs; "for they earneſtly deſired, that Drunkenneſs, Swearing, Uncleanneſs, and all Acts of Prophaneneſs, "might be vigorouſly proſecuted in all Perſons whatſoever." The Houſe promiſed to take the Petition into ſpeedy Conſideration, and after ſome Time paſſed it into a Law.

Ib. p. 404.

The Engagement enforced.

But to bring the Preſbyterian Clergy to the Teſt, the *Engagement*, which had been appointed to be taken by all Civil and Military Officers within a limited Time, on pain of forfeiting their Places, was now required to be ſworn and ſubſcribed by all Miniſters, Heads of Colleges and Halls, Fellows of Houſes, Graduates, and all Officers in the Univerſities; and by

by the Maſters, Fellows, School-Maſters, and Scholars of *Eaton* College, *Weſtminſter*, and *Wincheſter* Schools; no Miniſter was to be admitted to any Eccleſiaſtical Living; no Clergyman to ſit as Member of the Aſſembly of Divines, nor be capable of enjoying any Preferment in the Church, unleſs he qualified himſelf by taking the *Engagement* within ſix Months, publickly in the Face of the Congregation. Commonwealth. 1649. Walker, p. 146.

Nov. 9. it was referr'd to a Committee, to conſider how the *Engagement* might be ſubſcribed by all the People of the Nation of eighteen Years of Age and upwards. Purſuant to which a Bill was brought in, and paſt, *Jan.* 2. to debar all who ſhould refuſe to take and ſubſcribe it, from the Benefit of the Law; and to diſable them from ſuing in any Court of Law or Equity. *To be taken by the whole Nation.*

This was a ſevere Teſt on the Preſbyterians, occaſioned by the approaching War with the *Scots*; but their Clergy inveigh'd bitterly againſt it in their Sermons, and refuſed to obſerve the Days of Humiliation appointed by Authority for a Bleſſing upon their Arms. Mr. *Baxter* ſays, that he writ ſeveral Letters to the Soldiers, to convince them of the Unlawfulneſs of the preſent Expedition; and in his Sermons declared it a Sin to force Miniſters to pray for the Succeſs of thoſe who had violated the Covenant, and were going to deſtroy their Brethren. That he both ſpoke and preached againſt the *Engagement*, and diſſuaded Men from taking it. At *Exeter*, ſays Mr. *Whitlock*, the *Miniſters* went out of Town on the Faſt-Day, and ſhut up the Church Doors; and *all the Magiſtrates* refuſed the *Engagement*. At *Taunton* the Faſt was not kept by the Preſbyterian Miniſters; and at *Cheſter* they condemned the *Engagement* to the Pit of Hell; as did many of the *London* Miniſters, who kept Days of private Faſting and Prayer, againſt the preſent Government. Some of them (ſays *Whitlock*) joined the Royaliſts, and refuſed to read the Ordinances of Parliament in their Pulpits, as was uſual in thoſe Times; nay, when *Preſbyterians refuſe it.* Baxter's *Life*, p. 64, 66.

the

Common-wealth. 1649. the *Scots* were beat they refuſed to obſerve the Day of Thankſgiving, but ſhut up their Churches and went out of Town; for which they were ſummoned before the Committee and reprimanded, but the Times being dangerous no further Notice was taken of them at preſent.

Cavaliers and Sectarians take the Oath. *Life*, p. 64, 65. Moſt of the Sectarian Party (ſays Mr. *Baxter*) ſwallowed the *Engagement*; and ſo did the King's old Cavaliers, very few of them being ſick of the Diſeaſe of a ſcrupulous Conſcience: Some writ for it, but the moderate Epiſcopal Men, and Preſbyterians, generally refuſed it. Thoſe of *Lancaſhire* and *Cheſhire* publiſhed the following Reaſons againſt it.

Reaſons againſt it, and for it. (1.) "Becauſe they apprehended the Oath of Allegiance, and the ſolemn League and Covenant, were "ſtill binding.

(2.) "Becauſe the preſent Powers were no better "than *Uſurpers*.

(3.) "Becauſe the taking of it was a Prejudice to "the right Heir of the Crown, and to the ancient legal Conſtitution."

To which it was anſwered, "That it was abſurd to "ſuppoſe the Oath of Allegiance, or the ſolemn "League and Covenant to be in force after the King's "Death; for how could they be obliged to preſerve "the King's Perſon, when the King's Perſon was deſtroy'd, and the kingly Office aboliſhed; and as to "his Succeſſor, his *Right* had been forfeited and taken away by Parliament?" With regard to the *preſent Powers* it was ſaid, "That it was not for pri"vate Perſons to diſpute the Rights and Titles of "their ſupreme Governors. Here was a Government "*de facto*, under which they lived; as long therefore "as they enjoyed the Protection of the Government, "it was their Duty to give all reaſonable Security "that they would not diſturb it, or elſe to remove." The Body of the common People being weary of War, and willing to live quiet under any Adminiſtration, ſubmitted to the Engagement, as being little more than

than a Promiſe not to attempt the Subverſion of the preſent Government; but many of the Preſbyterian Clergy choſe rather to quit their Preferments in the Church and Univerſity, than comply; which made way for the Promotion of ſeveral Independent Divines, and among others, of Dr. *Tho. Goodwin*, one of the Diſſenting Brethren in the Aſſembly, who by order of Parliament, *Jan.* 8. 1649-50. was appointed Preſident of *Magdalen College*, *Oxford*, with the Privilege of nominating Fellows and Demies in ſuch Places as ſhould become vacant by Death, or by the Poſſeſſors refuſing to take the *Engagement*. Common-wealth. 1649. Whitl. p. 453.

The Parliament tried ſeveral Methods to reconcile the Preſbyterians to the preſent Adminiſtration; Perſons were appointed to treat with them, and aſſure them of the Protection of the Government, and of the full Enjoyment of their Eccleſiaſtical Preferments according to Law; when this would not do, an Order was publiſhed, that Miniſters in their Pulpits ſhould not meddle with State Affairs. After this the famous Mr. *Milton* was appointed to write for the Government, who rallied the ſeditious Preachers with his ſatyrical Pen in a ſevere Manner; at length, when all other Methods failed, a Committee was choſen to receive Informations againſt ſuch Miniſters as in their Pulpits vilified and aſperſed the Authority of Parliament, and an Act was paſſed, that all ſuch ſhould be ſequeſter'd from their Eccleſiaſtical Preferments. *Meaſures of the Parliament to ſupport their Authority.* Whitl. p. 387.

The Preſbyterians ſupported themſelves under theſe Hardſhips by their Alliance with the *Scots*, and their Proſpect of a ſpeedy Alteration of Affairs from that Quarter; for in the Remonſtrance of the General Aſſembly of that Kirk, dated *July* 27. they declare, that "The Spirit which has acted in the Councils of "thoſe who have obſtructed the Work of God, de- "ſpiſed the Covenant, corrupted the Truth, forced "the Parliament, murdered the King, changed the "Government, and eſtabliſhed ſuch an unlimited To- "leration in Religion, cannot be the Spirit of Righ- "teouſneſs Scots *Declaration againſt the* Engliſh. V. P. N° 34. p. 6.

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" teouſneſs and Holineſs. They therefore warn the Sub-
" jects of *Scotland* againſt joining with them, and in caſe
" of an Invaſion to ſtand up in their own Defence. The
" *Engliſh* have no Controverſy with us (ſay they) but
" becauſe the Kirk and State have declared againſt
" their unlawful *Engagement*; becauſe we ſtill adhere
" to our Covenant, and have born our Teſtimony
" againſt their *Toleration*, and taking away the King's
" Life." But then they warn their People alſo againſt *Malignants*, " who value themſelves upon their At-
" tachment to the young King, and if any from that
" Quarter ſhould invade the Kingdom, before his
" Majeſty has given Satisfaction to the Parliament
" and Kirk, they exhort their People to reſiſt them,
" as Abettors of an abſolute and arbitrary Govern-
" ment."

Parliament vindicate their Proceedings. V. P. N° 34.

About two Months after this, the Parliament of *England* publiſhed a Declaration on their Part, wherein they complain of the Revolt of the *Engliſh* and *Scots* Preſbyterians, and of their taking Part with the Enemy, becauſe their Diſcipline was not the exact Standard of Reformation. " But we are ſtill determined
" (ſay they) not to be diſcouraged in our Endeavours
" to promote the Purity of Religion, and the Liberty
" of the Commonwealth; and for the Satisfaction of
" our Preſbyterian Brethren, we declare, That *we*
" *will continue all thoſe Ordinances which have been*
" *made for the promoting a Reformation of Religion,*
" *in Doctrine, Worſhip, and Diſcipline, in their full*
" *force*; and will uphold the ſame, in order to ſup-
" preſs Popery, Superſtition, Blaſphemy, and all
" Kinds of Prophaneneſs. Only we conceive our
" ſelves obliged *to take away all ſuch Acts and Ordi-*
" *nances as are penal and coercive in Matters of Con-*
" *ſcience.* And becauſe this has given ſo great Of-
" fence, we declare, as in the Preſence of God, that
" by whomſoever this Liberty ſhall be abuſed, we
" will be ready to teſtify our Diſpleaſure againſt them,
" by an effectual Proſecution of ſuch Offenders."

The

The *Scots* Commiſſioners were all this while treating with the King in *Holland*, and inſiſting on his ſubſcribing the ſolemn League and Covenant; his eſtabliſhing the *Weſtminſter Confeſſion*, the Directory, and the Preſbyterian Government in both Kingdoms. The King being under diſcouraging Circumſtances conſented to all their Demands with regard to *Scotland*, and as to *England* referr'd himſelf to a free Parliament: But the *Scots* not ſatisfied with his Majeſty's Exceptions as to *England*, replied, that "Such an "Anſwer as this would grieve the whole Kirk of "*Scotland*, and all their Covenanting Brethren in "*England* and *Ireland*, who under Pain of the moſt "ſolemn Perjury ſtand bound to God and one ano"ther, to live and die by their *Covenant*, as the chief "Security of their Religion and Liberties, againſt Po"piſh and Prelatical Malignants. *Your Majeſty's Fa*"*ther* (ſay they) *in his laſt Meſſage to our Kirk offer*"*ed to ratify the ſolemn League and Covenant. He* "*offered likewiſe at the* Iſle of Wight *to confirm the* "*Directory, and the Presbyterial Government in* Eng"land *and* Ireland, *till he and his Parliament ſhould* "*agree upon a ſettled Order of the Church.* Beſides, "your Majeſty having offered to confirm the Aboliſh"ing of Epiſcopacy, and the Service Book in *Scot*"*land*, it cannot certainly be againſt your Conſcience "to do it *England*." But the King would advance no farther till he had heard from the Queen Mother, who ſent him Word, that it was the Opinion of the Council of *France*, that he ſhould agree with the *Scots* upon the beſt Terms he could get; which he did accordingly, as will be related the next Year.

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Scots *Treaty with the King in* Holland.

They will include the Engliſh *Preſbyterians.*

The fifth Provincial Aſſembly of *London* met the Begining of *May* at *Sion College*, the Reverend Mr. *Jackſon*, of St. *Michael*, *Woodſtreet*, Moderator. A Committee was appointed to prepare Materials for Proof of the *Divine Right* of Preſbyterial Church Government. The Proofs were examined and approved by this, and the Aſſembly that met in *November* following,

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lowing, of which Mr. *Walker* was Moderator, Mr. *Calamy* and *Jackſon* Aſſeſſors, and Mr. *Blackwell* Scribe. The Treatiſe was printed, and aſſerts,

(1.) That there is a Church Government of divine Inſtitution.

(2.) That the Civil Magiſtrate is not the Origin or Head of Church Government. And,

(3.) That the Government of the Church by Synods and Claſſes is the Government that Chriſt appointed. It maintains Separation from their Churches to be *Schiſm*; that Miniſters formerly ordained by Biſhops need not be re-ordained: And for private Chriſtians in particular Churches to aſſume a Right of ſending Perſons forth to preach, and to adminiſter the Sacraments, is, in their Opinion, inſufferable.

Augmentation of poor Livings by Tithes and firſt Fruits, &c.

Scobel. p. 41, 113.

The Parliament did all they could to ſatisfy the male-content Preſbyterians, by ſecuring them in their Livings, and by ordering the Dean and Chapter Lands to be ſold, and their Names to be extinct, except the Deanry of *Chriſt Church*, and the Foundations of *Weſtminſter*, *Wincheſter*, and *Eaton* Schools. The Biſhops Lands, which had been ſequeſter'd ſince the Year 1646. were now by an Ordinance of *June* 8. 1649. veſted in the Hands of new Truſtees, and appropriated to the Augmentation of poor Livings in the Church. The firſt Fruits and Tenths of all Eccleſiaſtical Livings, formerly payable to the Crown, were veſted in the ſame Hands, free from all Incumbrances, on Truſt, that they ſhould pay yearly, all ſuch Salaries, Stipends, Allowances and Proviſions, as have been ſettled and confirmed by Parliament, for preaching Miniſters, School-Maſters, or Profeſſors in the Univerſities; provided the Aſſignment to any one do not exceed one Hundred Pounds. 'Tis further provided, that the Maintenance of all Incumbents ſhall not be leſs than one Hundred Pounds *per Annum*, and the Commiſſioners of the Great Seal are empowered to enquire into the yearly Value of all Eccleſiaſtical Livings, to which any Cure of Souls is annexed; and to certify into the Court of *Chancery* the Names

Names of the preſent Incumbents who ſupply the Cure, with their reſpective Salaries; how many Chapels belong to Pariſh Churches, and how the ſeveral Churches and Chapels are ſupplied with preaching Miniſters; that ſo ſome Courſe may be taken for providing for a better Maintenance where it is wanting. Dr. *Walker* ſays, the Value of Biſhops Lands forfeited and ſold amounted to a Million of Money; but tho' they ſold very cheap, they that bought them had a very dear Bargain in the End. Commonwealth. 1649. p. 14.

Upon Debate of an Ordinance concerning publick Worſhip, and Church Government, the Houſe declared, that the Preſbyterial Government ſhould be the eſtabliſhed Government. And upon the Queſtion, Whether Tithes ſhould be continued, it was reſolved, That they ſhould not be taken away till another Maintenance equally large and honourable ſhould be ſubſtituted in the Room of it. *Preſb. Gov. eſtabliſhed.*

The Inhabitants of the Principality of *Wales* were deſtitute of the Means of Chriſtian Knowledge, their Language was little underſtood, their Clergy were ignorant and idle; ſo that they had hardly a Sermon from one Quarter of a Year to another. The People had neither Bibles nor Catechiſms; nor was there a ſufficient Maintenance for ſuch as were capable of inſtructing them. The Parliament taking the Caſe of theſe People into Conſideration, paſs'd an Act, *Feb.* 22. 1649. *For the better Propagation and Preaching of the Goſpel in* Wales, *for the ejecting ſcandalous Miniſters and School-Maſters, and Redreſs of ſome Grievances*; to continue in force for three Years. What was done in purſuance of this Ordinance will be related hereafter; but the Parliament were ſo intent upon the Affair of Religion at this Time, that Mr. *Whitlock* ſays, they devoted *Friday* in every Week to conſult Ways and Means for promoting it. *Propagation of the Goſpel in* Wales.

Nor did they confine themſelves to *England*, but as ſoon as Lieutenant General *Cromwel* had reduced *Ireland*, the Parliament paſt an Ordinance, *March* 8. 1649. for the Encouragement of Religion and Learn- *And in* Ireland.

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ing in that Country; "They inveſted all the Manors "and Lands late of the Archbiſhop of *Dublin*, and "of the Dean and Chapter of St. *Patrick*, together "with the Parſonage of *Trym* belonging to the Bi-"ſhoprick of *Meath*, in the Hands of Truſtees, for "the Maintenance and Support of *Trinity College* in "*Dublin*; and for the creating, ſettling, and main-"taining another College in the ſaid City, and of a "Maſter, Fellows, Scholars, and publick Profeſſors: "And alſo, for erecting a Free School, with a Ma-"ſter, Uſher, Scholars, and Officers, in ſuch Man-"ner, as any Five of the Truſtees, with the Conſent "of the Lord Lieutenant, ſhall direct and appoint. "The Lord Lieutenant to nominate the Governor, "Maſters, *&c.* and to appoint them their Salaries; "and the Truſtees, with the Conſent of the Lord "Lieutenant, ſhall draw up Statutes and Ordinances, "to be confirmed by the Parliament of *England*."

The Univerſity of *Dublin* being thus revived, and put upon a new Foot, the Parliament ſent over ſix of their moſt acceptable Preachers to give it Reputation, appointing them two Hundred Pounds *per Annum*, out of the Biſhops Lands; and till that could be duly raiſed, to be paid out of the publick Revenues: And for their further Encouragement, if they died in that Service, their Families were to be provided for. By theſe Methods Learning began to revive, and in a few Years Religion appeared with a better Face than it had ever done in that Kingdom before.

A Corporation for Propagation of the Goſpel among the Indians.

A Proſpect being opened for ſpreading the Chriſtian Religion among the *Indians*, upon the Borders of *New England*, the Parliament gave way to a general Collection throughout *England*, and erected a Corporation for this Service, who purchaſed an Eſtate in Land of between five and ſix Hundred Pounds *per Annum*; but on the Reſtoration of King *Charles* II. the Charter became void, and Colonel *Bedingfield*, a *Roman* Catholick Officer in the King's Army, of whom a conſiderable Part of the Land was purchaſed, ſeized

it for his own Uſe, pretending he had ſold it under the Value, in hopes of Recovering it upon the King's Return. In order to defeat the Colonel's Deſign, the Society ſolicited the King for a new Charter, which they obtained by the Intereſt of the Lord Chancellor. It bears date *Feb.* 7. in the 14th Year of his Majeſty's Reign, and differs but little from the old One. The Honourable *Robert Boyle*, Eſq; was the firſt Governor. They afterwards recovered Colonel *Bedingfield*'s Eſtate, and are at this Time in Poſſeſſion of about five Hundred Pounds *per Annum*, which they employ for the Converſion of the *Indians* in *America*. Commonwealth. 1649.

But all that the Parliament could do was not ſufficient to ſtop the Mouths of the Loyaliſts and diſcontented Preſbyterians; the Pulpit and Preſs ſounded to Sedition; the latter produced Invectives every Week againſt the Government; it was therefore reſolved to lay a ſevere Fine upon Offenders of this kind, by an Ordinance bearing Date *Sept.* 20. 1649. the Preamble to which ſets forth, that "Whereas divers ſcandalous "and ſeditious Pamphlets are daily printed, and diſ-"perſed with officious Induſtry by the malignant Par-"ty both at Home and Abroad, with a Deſign to "ſubvert the preſent Government, and to take off the "Affections of the People from it, it is therefore or-"dained,

"THAT the Author of every ſeditious Libel or "Pamphlet ſhall be fined Ten Pounds, or ſuf-"fer Forty Days Impriſonment. The Printer Five "Pounds, and his Printing Preſs to be broken. The "Bookſeller Forty Shillings; the Buyer Twenty Shil-"lings, if he conceals it, and does not deliver it up to a "Juſtice of Peace. It is further ordained, That no News "Paper ſhall be printed, or ſold without Licence, under "the Hand of the Clerk of the Parliament, or the Secre-"tary of the Army, or ſuch other Perſon as the Council "of State ſhall appoint. No Printing Preſſes are to be "allowed but in *London*, and in the two Univerſities. *Ordinance againſt ſeditious Libels.* Scobel, p. 88. Cap. 60.

Common-wealth. 1649.

"All Printers are to enter into Bonds of three Hundred Pounds, not to print any Pamphlet againſt the State without Licence, as aforeſaid, unleſs the Author's or Licenſer's Name, with the Place of his Abode be prefixed. All Importers of ſeditious Pamphlets are to forfeit Five Pounds for every ſuch Book or Pamphlet. No Books are to be landed in any other Port but that of *London*, and to be viewed by the Maſter and Wardens of the Company of *Stationers*. This Act to continue in Force for two Years."

Miniſters forbid to meddle in Politicks.

But the Pulpit was no leſs dangerous than the Preſs; the Preſbyterian Miniſters in their publick Prayers and Sermons, eſpecially on Faſt Days, kept alive the Diſcontents of the People. The Government therefore, by an Ordinance, aboliſhed the Monthly Faſt, which had ſubſiſted for about ſeven Years, and had been in a great Meaſure a Faſt for Strife and Debate; but declared at the ſame Time, that they ſhould appoint occaſional Faſts, from Time to Time, for the Future, as the Providence of God ſhould require.

Whitl. p. 383.

Remarks.

In the Midſt of all theſe Diſorders there was a very great Appearance of Sobriety both in City and Country; the indefatigable Pains of the Preſbyterian Miniſters in catechizing, inſtructing, and viſiting their Pariſhioners, can never be ſufficiently commended. The whole Nation was civilized, and conſiderably improved in ſound Knowledge, though Biſhop *Kennet* and Mr. *Eachard* are pleaſed to ſay, *That Hereſies and Blaſphemies againſt Heaven were ſwell'd up to a moſt prodigious Height.* "I know (ſays Mr. *Baxter*) you "may meet with Men who will confidently affirm, "that in theſe Times all Religion was trodden under "Foot, and that Hereſy and Schiſm were the only "Piety; but I give Warning to all Ages, that they "take heed how they believe any, while they are "ſpeaking for the Intereſt of their Factions and Opi "nions againſt their real or ſuppoſed Adverſaries."

Life, p. 86.

However, the Parliament did what they could to ſuppreſs and diſcountenance all ſuch Extravagancies; and even the Officers of the Army, having convicted one of their *Quarter Maſters* of Blaſphemy in a Council of War, ſentenced him to have his Tongue bored through with an hot Iron, his Sword broke over his Head, and to be caſhiered the Army. Commonwealth. 1649.

But Biſhop *Kennet* ſays, *Even the* Turkiſh *Alcoran was coming in; that it was tranſlated into* Engliſh, *and ſaid to be licenſed by one of the Miniſters of* London. Sad Times! Was his Lordſhip then afraid that the *Alcoran* ſhould prevail againſt the Bible? Or, that the Doctrines of Chriſt could not ſupport themſelves againſt the extravagant Follies of an Impoſtor? But the Book did no harm, though the Commons immediately publiſhed an Order for ſuppreſſing it; and ſince the Reſtitution of Monarchy and the Church of *England*, we have lived to ſee the Life of *Mahomet* and his *Alcoran* publiſhed without Offence.

His Lordſhip adds, that the Papiſts took Advantage of the Liberty of the Times, *who were never more numerous and buſy*; which is not very probable, becauſe the Parliament had baniſhed all Papiſts twenty Miles from the City of *London*, and excepted them out of their Acts of Indulgence and Toleration; the Spirit of the People againſt Popery was kept up to the Height; the Mob carried the Popes Effigies in Triumph, and burnt it publickly on Queen *Elizabeth*'s Birth Day; and the Miniſters in their Pulpits pronounced him Antichriſt; but ſuch is the Partiality of this Right Reverend Hiſtorian!

The Beginning of this Year the Marquis of *Montroſs* was taken in the North of *Scotland* by Colonel *Straughan* with a ſmall Body of Troops, and hanged at *Edinburgh* on a Gallows thirty Foot high; his Body was buried under the Gallows, and his Quarters ſet upon the Gates of the principal Towns in *Scotland*; but his Behaviour was great and firm to the laſt. The Marquis appeared openly for the King in the Year 1650. *Marquis of* Montague *executed.* Burn. Hiſt. p. 36, 52.

Common-wealth. 1650.

1643. and having routed a ſmall Party of Covenanters in *Perthſhire* got a great deal of Reputation; but his little Succeſſes were very miſchievous to the King's Affairs, being always magnified beyond what they really were: His Vanity was the Occaſion of breaking off the Treaty of *Uxbridge*, and his Fears leſt King *Charles* II. ſhould agree with the *Scots*, and recall his Commiſſion before he had done any Thing, now hurried him upon his own Ruin.

Conditions of the Scots Treaty with the King.

The young King being in Treaty with the *Scots* Covenanters at *Breda* was forced to ſtifle his Reſentments for the Death of the Marquis, and ſubmit to the following hard Conditions.

(1.) "That all Perſons excommunicated by the "Kirk ſhould be forbid the Court.

(2.) "That the King by his ſolemn Oath, and under his Hand and Seal, declare his Allowance of "the Covenant.

(3.) "That he confirm thoſe Acts of Parliament "which enjoin the Covenant. That he eſtabliſh the "Preſbyterian Worſhip and Diſcipline, and ſwear "never to oppoſe, or endeavour to alter them.

(4.) "That all Civil Matters be determined by Parliament; and all Eccleſiaſtical Affairs by the Kirk.

(5.) "That his Majeſty ratify all that has been "done in the Parliament of *Scotland* in ſome late Seſſions, and ſign the Covenant upon his Arrival in "that Kingdom, if the Kirk deſired it."

He arrives in Scotland.

The King arrived, *June* 23. but before he landed the Commiſſioners inſiſted on his Signing the Covenant, and upon parting with all his old Counſellors, which he did, and was then conducted by the Way of *Aberdeen* and St. *Andrews* to his Houſe at *Falkland*. *July* 11. his Majeſty was proclaimed at the Croſs at *Edinburgh*, but the Ceremony of his Coronation was deferr'd to the Beginning of next Year. In the mean Time the *Engliſh* Commonwealth was providing for a War which they ſaw was unavoidable, and General *Fairfax* refuſing to act againſt the *Scots*, his Commiſſi-

Cromwel *marches againſt the Scots.*

on

on was immediately given to *Cromwel*, with the Title of Captain General in chief of all the Forces raiſed, and to be raiſed by Authority of Parliament within the Commonwealth of *England*. Three Days after (*viz.*) *June* 29. he marched with eleven Thouſand Foot, and five Thouſand Horſe, towards the Borders of *Scotland*, being reſolved not to wait for the *Scots* invading *England*, but to carry the War into their Country. The *Scots* complained to the *Engliſh* Parliament of this Conduct, as a Breach of the Act of Pacification, and of the Covenant; but were anſwer'd, that they had already broken the Peace by their Treaty with *Charles Stuart*, whom they had not only received as their King, but promiſed to *aſſiſt in recovering the Crown of* England. Their receiving the King was certainly their Right as an independent Nation; but whether their promiſing to aſſiſt him in recovering the Crown of *England*, was not declaring War, muſt be left with the Reader. Commonwealth, 1650.

July 22. the *General* croſſed the *Tweed*, and marched his Army almoſt as far as *Edinburgh* without much Oppoſition, the Country being deſerted by Reaſon of the Terror of the Name of *Cromwel*, and the Reports that were ſpread of his Cruelty in *Ireland*. Not a *Scots* Man appeared under ſixty, nor a Youth above ſix Years old, to interrupt his March. All Proviſions were deſtroyed, or removed, to prevent the Subſiſtence of the Army, which was ſupplied from Time to Time by Sea; but the General having made Proclamation, that no Man ſhould be injured in his Perſon or Goods who was not found in Arms, the People took heart and returned to their Dwellings.

The *Scots* Army, under the Command of General *Leſley*, ſtood on the Defenſive, and watched the Motions of the *Engliſh* all the Month of *Auguſt*; the main Body being intrenched within ſix Miles of *Edinburgh*, to the Number of thirty Thouſand of the beſt Men that ever *Scotland* ſaw; General *Cromwel* did every Thing he could to draw them to a Battle, till by the Fall of Rain, and bad Weather, he was obliged to retreat. *Battle of* Dunbar. *Life of* Cromwel, p. 178. Burnet.

Common-wealth. 1650.

retreat to *Muſſelborough*, and from thence to *Dunbar*, where he was reduced to the utmoſt Streights, having no way left but to conquer or die. In this Extremity he ſummoned the Officers to Prayer; after which he bid all about him take heart, for God had heard them; then walking in the Earl of *Roxborough*'s Gardens, that lay under the Hill upon which the *Scots* Army was encamped, and diſcovering by Proſpective Glaſſes that they were coming down to attack him, he ſaid, *God was delivering them into his Hands.* That Night proving very rainy, the General refreſhed his Men in the Town, and ordered them to take particular Care of their Firelocks, which the *Scots* neglected, who were all the Night coming down the Hill. Early next Morning, *September* 3. the General with a ſtrong Party of Horſe beat their Guards, and then advancing with his whole Army, after about an Hour's diſpute, enter'd their Camp and carried all before him; about four Thouſand *Scots* fell in battle, ten Thouſand were taken Priſoners, with fifteen Hundred Arms, and all their Artillery and Ammunition; the Loſs of the *Engliſh* amounting to no more than about three Hundred Men.

'Tis an odd Reflection Lord *Clarendon* makes upon this Victory: "Never was Victory obtained (ſays his "Lordſhip) with leſs Lamentation; for as *Cromwel* had "great Argument of Triumph, ſo the King was glad "of it, as the greateſt Happineſs that could befal "him, in the Loſs of ſo ſtrong a Body of his Ene-"mies." Such was the Encouragement the *Scots* had to fight for their King!

Vol. VI. p. 377.

Scots Miniſters invited to return to their Churches.

Immediately after the Battle the General took Poſſeſſion of *Edinburgh*, which was in a Manner deſerted by the Clergy, ſome having ſhut themſelves up in the Caſtle, and others fled with their Effects to *Sterling*; the General, to deliver them from their Fright, ſent a Trumpet to the Caſtle, to aſſure the Governor, that the *Miniſters* might return to their Churches, and preach, without any Diſturbance from him, for he had

no

no Quarrel with the *Scots* Nation on the Score of Religion. But the Miniſters replied, That having no Security for their Perſons they thought it their Duty to reſerve themſelves for better Times. Upon which the General writ to the Governor; Common-wealth. 1650.

" THAT his Kindneſs offered to the Miniſters in " the Caſtle was without any fraudulent Reſerve; " that if their Maſter's Service was their principal " Concern they would not be ſo exceſſively afraid of " ſuffering for it. That thoſe Divines had miſreport- " ed the Conduct of his Party, when they charged " them with perſecuting the Miniſters of Chriſt in " *England*; for *the Miniſters in* England *(ſays he)* " *are ſupported, and have liberty to preach the Goſpel,* " *though not to rail at their Superiors at Diſcretion;* " *nor under a pretended Privilege of Character to over* " *top the Civil Powers, or debaſe them as they pleaſe* " —— No Man has been diſturbed in *England* or " *Ireland* for preaching the Goſpel; nor has any " Miniſter been moleſted in *Scotland* ſince the coming " of the Army hither —— Speaking Truth becomes " the Miniſters of Chriſt, but when Miniſters pretend " to a glorious Reformation, and lay the Foundation " thereof in getting to themſelves POWER, and can " make worldly Mixtures to accompliſh the ſame, " ſuch as the late Agreement with their King; " they may know that the *Sion* promiſed is not to " be built with ſuch *untempered Mortar*. And for " the unjuſt Invaſion they [the Miniſters] mention, " Time was when an Army out of *Scotland* came into " *England*, not called by the Supreme Authority —— " We have ſaid in our Papers, with what Hearts, " and upon what Account we came, and the Lord has " heard us, though you would not, upon as ſolemn " an Appeal as any Experience can parallel —— I " have nothing to ſay to you, but that I am,

Sir, Your humble Servant,

O. CROMWEL.

Crom-wel's *Letter to the Gov. of the Caſtle.* *Life* Cromwel, p. 182.

Common-wealth. 1650.

Miniſters Reply.

The *Scots* Miniſters, in their Reply to this Letter, objected to the General, *his opening the Pulpit Doors to all Intruders, by which Means a Flood of Errors was broke in upon the Nation.* To which the General replied, "We look on Miniſters as Helpers of, not "Lords over the Faith of God's People: I appeal to "their Conſciences, Whether any denying of their "Doctrines, or diſſenting from them, will not incur "the Cenſure of a SECTARY, and what is this but "to deny Chriſtians their Liberty, and aſſume the "infallible Chair? Where do you find in Scripture "that Preaching is included within your Function? "Though an Approbation from Men has Order in it, "and may be well, yet he that hath not a better than "that, hath none at all.

Cromwel's *Anſwer.* Whitl. p. 458. Collier, Eccl. Hiſt. p. 863.

"I hope he that aſcended up on High may give "his Gifts to whom he pleaſes; and if thoſe Gifts be "the Seal of Miſſion, are not you envious, though "*Eldad* and *Medad* propheſy? You know who has "bid us covet earneſtly the beſt Gifts, but chiefly, "that we may *Propheſy*; which the Apoſtle explains "to be a ſpeaking to Inſtruction, Edification and "Comfort, which the inſtructed, edified, and com-"forted, can beſt tell the Energy and Effect of.

"Now, if this be Evidence, take heed you envy "not for your own ſakes, leſt you be guilty of a "greater Fault than *Moſes* reproved in *Joſhua*, when "he envied for his ſake. Indeed you err through "miſtake of the Scriptures. Approbation is an Act "of Convenience in reſpect of Order, not of Neceſſi-"ty, to give Faculty to preach the Goſpel.

"Your pretended Fear, leſt Error ſhould ſtep in, "is like the Man, that would keep all the Wine out "of the Country leſt Men ſhould be drunk. It will "be found an unjuſt and unwiſe Jealouſy, to deny a "Man the Liberty he hath by Nature, upon a Suppo-"ſition he may abuſe it. When he doth abuſe it, then "judge."

The

The Governor complained to the *General*, that *the Parliament at* Weſtminſter *had fallen from their Principles, not being true to the Ends of the Covenant.* And then adds with the Miniſters, *That Men of ſecular Employments had uſurped the Office of the Miniſtry, to the Scandal of the Reformed Churches.* Common-wealth. 1650. *Governor's Complaint.*

In Anſwer to the firſt Part of this Expoſtulation, General *Cromwel* deſired to know, Whether their bearing Witneſs to themſelves was a good Evidence of their having proſecuted the Ends of the Covenant? Cromw. *Reply.* Collier, p. 864.

" To infer this (ſays he) is to have too favourable an " Opinion of your own Judgment and Impartiality. " Your Doctrines and Practice ought to be tried by " the Word of God, and other People muſt have a " Liberty of examining them upon theſe Heads, and " of giving Sentence."

As to the Charge of indulging the Uſe of the Pulpit to the Laity, the *General* admits it, and adds, " Are " ye troubled that Chriſt is preached? Does it ſcandalize the Reformed Churches, and *Scotland* in particular? Is it againſt the Covenant? Away with the " Covenant if it be ſo. I thought the *Covenant* and " theſe Men would have been willing, that any ſhould " ſpeak good of the Name of Chriſt; if not, 'tis no " Covenant of God's approving; nor the Kirk you " mention ſo much the Spouſe of Chriſt."

The *General*, in one of his Letters, lays conſiderable Streſs upon the Succeſs of their Arms, after a moſt ſolemn Appeal to God on both ſides. To which the *Scots* Governor replied, *We have not ſo learn'd Chriſt, as to hang the Equity of a Cauſe upon Events.* To which *Cromwel* anſwers, " We could wiſh that Blind- " neſs had not been upon your Eyes to thoſe marvel- " lous Diſpenſations which God has lately wrought in " *England.* But did not you ſolemnly appeal and " pray? Did not we do ſo too? And ought not we " and you to think with Fear and Trembling on the " Hand of the great God in this mighty and ſtrange " Appearance of his, and not ſlightly call it an " Event?

Common-wealth. 1650.

" Event? Were not your Expectations and ours re-
" newed from Time to Time, whilſt we waited on
" God to ſee how he would manifeſt himſelf upon our
" Appeals? And ſhall we after all theſe our Prayers,
" Faſtings, Tears, Expectations, and ſolemn Ap-
" peals, call theſe bare Events? The Lord pity
" you —"

Remarks. From this Correſpondence the Reader may form a Judgment of the governing Principles of the *Scots* and *Engliſh* at this Time; the former were ſo inviolably attach'd to their Covenant, that they would depart from nothing that was inconſiſtent with it. The *Engliſh*, after ſeeking God in Prayer, judged of the Goodneſs of their Cauſe by the Appearance of Providence in its favour; moſt of the Officers and Soldiers were Men of ſtrict Devotion, but went upon this miſtaken Principle, that God would never appear for a bad Cauſe after a ſolemn Appeal to Heaven in the Affair. However, the *Scots* loſt their Courage, and ſurrender'd the impregnable Caſtle of *Edinburgh* into the Hands of the Conqueror *December* 24. the Garriſon having liberty to march out with their Baggage to *Burnt Iſland* in *Fife*; and ſoon after the whole Kingdom was ſubdued.

Proceedings againſt the Preſbyterians in England.

The Provincial Aſſembly of *London* met this Year as uſual, in the Months of *May* and *November*, but did nothing remarkable; the Parliament waited to reconcile them to the *Engagement*, and prolonged the Time limited for taking it, but when they continued inflexible, and inſtead of ſubmitting to the preſent Powers were plotting with the *Scots*, it was reſolved to clip their Wings, and make ſome Examples, as a Terror to the reſt. *June* 21. the Committee for regulating the Univerſities was ordered to tender the *Engagement* to all ſuch Officers, Maſters, and Fellows, as had neglected to take it, and upon their Refuſal to diſplace them. Accordingly, in the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, Mr. *Vines*, Dr. *Rainbow*, and ſome others, were diſplaced, and ſucceeded by Mr. *Sydrach Sympſon*, Mr.

Jo.

Jo. Sadler, and Mr. *Dell*. In the Univerſity of *Oxford*, Dr. *Reynolds*, the Vice-Chancellor, refuſed the Engagement, but after ſome Time offer'd to take it, in hopes of ſaving his Deanery of *Chriſt Church*; but the Parliament reſenting the Example, took Advantage of his Forfeiture, and gave the Deanery to Dr. *John Owen*, an Independent Divine, who took Poſſeſſion of it *March* 18. 1650-1. Commonwealth. 1650.

Upon the Reſignation of the Vice-Chancellor, Dr. *Dan. Greenwood*, Principal of *Brazen Noſe College*, and a Preſbyterian Divine, was appointed his Succeſſor, *Octob.* 12. and on the 15th of *January* following OLIVER CROMWEL, now in *Scotland*, was choſen unanimouſly, in full Convocation, *Chancellor of the Univerſity*, in the Room of the Earl of *Pembroke*, lately deceaſed. When the Doctors and Maſters who were ſent to *Edinburgh*, acquainted him with the Choice, he writ a Letter to the Univerſity, in which, after a modeſt Refuſal of their Favour, he adds, "If theſe "Arguments prevail not, and that I muſt continue "this Honour till I can perſonally ſerve you, you "ſhall not want my Prayers, that Piety and Learn-"ing may flouriſh among you, and be render'd uſe-"ful and ſubſervient to that great and glorious King-"dom of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt; of the Approach of "which, ſo plentiful an Effuſion of the Holy Spirit "upon thoſe hopeful Plants among you is one of the "beſt Preſages —" When the General's Letter was read in Convocation the Houſe reſounded with chearful Acclamations. Dr. *Greenwood* continued Vice-Chancellor two Years, but was then diſplaced for his Diſaffection to the Government, and the Honour conferr'd on Dr. *Owen*. Thus, by degrees, the Preſbyterians loſt their Influence in the Univerſities, and delivered them up into the Hands of the Independants. O. Crom. *choſen Chanc. of* Oxford. Wood's Faſti, p. 92.

To ſtrengthen the Hands of the Government yet further, the Parliament, by an Ordinance bearing Date *Sept.* 20. took away all the Penal Statutes for Reli- *Penal Laws taken away.* Scobel, p. 131.

Common-wealth. 1650.

Religion. The Preamble ſets forth, "That divers "religious and peaceable People, well affected to the "Commonwealth, having not only been moleſted "and impriſoned, but brought into danger of abju-"ring their Country, or in caſe of Return to ſuffer "Death as Felons, by ſundry Acts made in the Times "of former Kings and Queens of this Nation, againſt "Recuſants not coming to Church, *&c.* they there-"fore enact and ordain,

"THAT all the Clauſes, Articles, and Proviſo's, "in the enſuing Acts of Parliament (*viz.*) 1ſt *Eliz.* "23d *Eliz.* 35th *Eliz.* and all and every Branch, Clauſe, "Article or Proviſo, in any other Act, or Ordinance of "Parliament, whereby any Penalty or Puniſhment is "impoſed, or meant to be impoſed on any Perſon "whatſoever, for not repairing to their reſpective Pa-"riſh Churches; or for not keeping of Holy Days; "or for not hearing Common-Prayer, *&c.* ſhall be, "and are hereby wholly repealed and made void.

"And to the End that no prophane or licentious "Perſons may take Occaſion, by the Repeal of the "ſaid Laws, to neglect the Performance of religious "Duties, it is further ordained, That all Perſons not "having a reaſonable Excuſe, ſhall on every Lord's "Day, and Day of publick Thankſgiving or Humi-"liation, reſort to ſome Place of publick Worſhip; "or be preſent at ſome other Place, in the Practice "of ſome religious Duty, either of Prayer or Preach-"ing, reading or expounding the Scriptures —"

By this Law the Doors were ſet open, and the State was at liberty to employ all ſuch in their Service as would take the Oaths to the Civil Government, without any regard to their Religious Principles.

Ordinances againſt Vice and Prophaneneſs.

Sundry ſevere Ordinances were made for ſuppreſſing of Vice, Error, and all Sorts of Prophaneneſs and Impiety. *May* 10. it was ordained, "That *Inceſt* and "*Adultery* ſhould be made Felony; and that *Forni-*

"*cation*

" *cation* ſhould be puniſhed with three Months Im- Common-
" priſonment for the firſt Offence; and that the ſe- wealth.
" cond Offence ſhould be *Felony* without Benefit of 1650.
" Clergy. Common *Bawds*, or Perſons who keep Scobel,
" lewd Houſes, are to be ſet in the Pillory; to be p. 121.
" whip'd, and marked in the Forehead with the Let-
" ter B, and then committed to the Houſe of Cor-
" rection for three Years for the firſt Offence; and
" for the ſecond to ſuffer Death, provided the Proſe-
" cution be within twelve Months."

June 28. it was ordained, " That every *Nobleman* Scobel,
" who ſhall be convicted of prophane Curſing and p. 123.
" Swearing, by the Oath of one or more Witneſſes,
" or by his own Confeſſion, ſhall pay for the firſt Of-
" fence thirty Shillings to the Poor of the Pariſh; a
" *Baronet*, or *Knight*, twenty Shillings; an *Eſquire*
" ten Shillings; a *Gentleman* ſix Shillings and eight
" Pence; and all inferior Perſons three Shillings and
" four Pence. For the ſecond Offence they are to
" pay double, according to their Qualities abovemen-
" tioned. And for the Tenth Offence they are to be
" judged Common Swearers and Curſers, and to be
" bound over to their good Behaviour for three Years.
" The like Puniſhment for Women, whoſe Fines are
" to be determined according to their own or their
" Huſband's Quality."

Auguſt 9. an Ordinance was paſſed, for *puniſhing* *Againſt*
blaſphemous and execrable Opinions. The Preamble *blaſphe-*
takes Notice, that " though ſeveral Laws had been *mous Opi-*
" made for promoting Reformation in Doctrines and *nions.*
" Manners, yet there were divers Men and Women Scobel,
" who had lately diſcovered monſtrous Opinions, even p. 124.
" ſuch as tended to the Diſſolution of human Society;
" the Parliament therefore, according to their Decla-
" ration of *Sept.* 27. 1649. in which they ſaid, They
" ſhould be ready *to teſtify their Diſpleaſure againſt*
" *ſuch Offenders, by ſtrict and effectual Proceedings*
" *againſt them who ſhould abuſe and turn into Licen-*
" *tiouſneſs*,

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" *tiouſneſs, the Liberty given in Matters of Religion,* " do therefore ordain and enact,

" THAT any Perſons not diſtemper'd in their " Brains, who ſhall maintain *any meer Creature* " *to be God*, or to be *Infinite*, *Almighty*, &c. Or, " *that ſhall deny the Holineſs of God*; or, *ſhall main-* " *tain, that all Acts of Wickedneſs and Unrighteouſ-* " *neſs are not forbidden in Holy Scripture*; or, *that* " *God approves of them. Any one who ſhall main-* " *tain, that Acts of Drunkenneſs, Adultery, Swear-* " *ing*, &c. *are not in themſelves ſhameful, wicked,* " *ſinful, and impious*; or, *that there is not any real* " *Difference between Moral Good and Evil*, &c. all " ſuch Perſons ſhall ſuffer ſix Months Impriſonment for " the firſt Offence; and for the ſecond ſhall be baniſh-" ed; and if they return without Licence ſhall be " treated as Felons."

For ſtricter Obſervation of the Sabbath. Scobel, p. 119.

Though ſeveral Ordinances had been made heretofore for the ſtrict Obſervation of the Lord's Day, the preſent Houſe of Commons thought fit to enforce them by another, dated *April* 19. 1650. in which they ordain, " That all Goods cried, or put to Sale on the " Lord's Day, or other Days of Humiliation and " Thankſgiving appointed by Authority, ſhall be " ſeized. No Wagoner or Drover ſhall travel on " the Lord's Day on Penalty of ten Shillings for eve-" ry Offence. No Perſons ſhall travel in Boats, Hor-" ſes or Coaches, except to Church, on Penalty of " ten Shillings. The like Penalty for being in a Ta-" vern. And where Diſtreſs is not to be made, the " Offender is to be put into the Stocks ſix Hours. " All Peace Officers are required to make diligent " Search for diſcovering Offenders; and in caſe of " Neglect, the Juſtice of Peace is fined five Pounds, " and every Conſtable twenty Shillings." Such was the Severity of theſe Times!

The

The Parliament having ordered the Sale of Biſhops Lands, and the Lands of Deans and Chapters, and veſted the Money in the Hands of Truſtees, as has been related, appointed this Year, *April* 5. part of the Money to be appropriated for the Support and Maintenance of ſuch late Biſhops, Deans, Prebendaries, Singing Men, Choriſters, and other Members, Officers, and Perſons deſtitute of Maintenance, whoſe reſpective Offices, Places, and Livelihoods, were taken away, and aboliſhed, diſtributing and proportioning the ſame according to their Neceſſities. How well this was executed I cannot determine; but it was a generous Act of Compaſſion, and more than the Church of *England* would do for the Nonconformiſts at the Reſtoration.

Commonwealth. 1650.

For Maintenance of ſuch Clergymen belonging to Cathedrals, whoſe Offices were aboliſhed. Scobel, p. 111.

A Motion being made in the Houſe about tranſlating all Law Books into the *Engliſh* Language, Mr. *Whitlock* made a learned Speech on the Argument, wherein he obſerves, that "*Moſes* read the Law to the *Jews* "in the *Hebrew* Language; that the Laws of all the "Eaſtern Nations were in their Mother Tongue; the "Laws of *Conſtantinople* were in *Greek*; at *Rome* they "were in *Latin*; in *France*, *Spain*, *Germany*, *Swe*"*den*, *Denmark*, and other Places, their Laws are "publiſhed in their native Language. As for our "own Country (ſays he) thoſe who can read the *Saxon* "Character may find the Laws of our Anceſtors in "that Language. Purſuant to this Regulation, *Wil*"*liam* Duke of *Normandy*, commonly called the "*Conqueror*, commanded the Laws to be publiſhed "in *Engliſh*, that none might pretend Ignorance. He "obſerves further, that by 36 *Eliz. cap.* 3. it was "ordered, that all Pleadings ſhould be in *Engliſh*; "and even in the Reigns of thoſe Princes, wherein our "Statutes were enroll'd in *French*, the Sheriffs were "obliged to proclaim them in *Engliſh*, becauſe the "People were deeply concerned to know the Laws of "their Country, and not to be kept in Ignorance of "the Rule by which their Intereſts and Duty were "directed."

Laws to be tranſlated into Engliſh. Whitl. p. 460.

The

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Scobel, p. 155.

The Arguments in this Speech were ſo forcible, that the Houſe agreed unanimouſly to a Bill, wherein they ordain, "That all Books of Law be tranſlated into "*Engliſh*; and all Proceedings in any Court of Juſtice, "except the Court of *Admiralty*, after *Eaſter* Term, "1651. ſhall be in *Engliſh* only; and all Writs, *&c.* "ſhall be in a legible Hand, and not in Court-Hand, "on Forfeiture of twenty Pounds for the firſt Offence, "half to the Commonwealth, and the other half to them "that will ſue for the ſame." And though this Regulation ceaſed at the Reſtoration, as all other Ordinances did that were made in theſe Times, the late Parliament has thought fit to revive it.

Riſe of the Quakers.

From this Time we may date the Riſe of the People called QUAKERS, in whom moſt of the Enthuſiaſts of theſe Times center'd: Their firſt Leader was GEORGE Fox, born at *Drayton* in *Lancaſhire*, 1624. his Father being a poor Weaver put him Apprentice to a Country Shoemaker, but having a peculiar Turn of Mind for Religion, he went away from his Maſter, and wander'd up and down the Countries like an Hermit, in a Leathern Doublet; at length his Friends hearing he was at *London*, perſuaded him to return home, and ſettle in ſome regular Courſe of Employment; but after he had been ſome Months in the Country he went from his Friends a ſecond Time, in the Year 1646. and threw off all further Attendance on the publick Service in the Churches: The Reaſons he gave for his Conduct were, becauſe it was revealed to him, That a learned Education at the Univerſity was no Qualification for a Miniſter, but that all depended on the Anointing of the Spirit; and, that God who made the World did not dwell in Temples made with Hands. In the Year 1647. he travelled into *Darbyſhire* and *Nottinghamſhire*, walking through divers Towns and Villages, which Way ſoever his Mind turned, in a ſolitary Manner. He faſted much (ſays my Author) and walked often Abroad in retired Places, with no other Companion but his Bible. He would ſometimes

Of George Fox.

Sewel's Hiſt.

ſet

ſet in an hollow Tree all Day, and frequently walk about the Fields in the Night, like a Man poſſeſſed with deep Melancholy; which the Writer of his Life calls the *Time of the firſt Working of the Lord upon him.* Towards the latter End of this Year, he began, firſt to ſet up for a Teacher of others, about *Duckinfield* and *Mancheſter*; the principal Argument of his Diſcourſe being, *That People ſhould receive the inward Divine Teachings of the Lord, and take that for their Rule.* Commonwealth. 1650.

In the Year 1648. there being a Diſſolution of all Government both Civil and Eccleſiaſtical, *George Fox* waxed bold, and travell'd through the Counties of *Leiceſterſhire*, *Northamptonſhire*, and *Derbyſhire*, ſpeaking to the People in Market Places, *&c.* about the *inward Light of Chriſt within them.* At this Time (ſays my Author) he apprehended the Lord had forbid him *to put off his Hat to any one*, high or low; he was required alſo, to ſpeak to the People without Diſtinction in the Language of THOU and THEE. He was not to bid People good Morrow, or good Night; neither might he bend his Knee to the chief Magiſtrate in the Nation; the Women that followed him would not make a Courteſy to their Superiors, nor comply with the common Forms of Speech. Both Men and Women affected a plain and ſimple Dreſs, diſtinct from the Faſhion of the Times. They neither gave nor accepted any Titles of Reſpect or Honour, nor would they call any Man Maſter on Earth. They refuſed to take an Oath on the moſt ſolemn Occaſion. Theſe, and the like Peculiarities, he ſupported by ſuch Paſſages of Scripture as theſe, *Swear not at all. How can ye believe who receive Honour one of another, and ſeek not the Honour which comes from God only?* But theſe Marks of Diſtinction which *George Fox* and his Followers were ſo tenacious of, unhappily brought them into a great deal of Trouble, when they were called to appear before the Civil Magiſtrate. Hiſt. Quakers, p. 18.

Common-wealth. 1650.

His Sufferings.

In the Year 1649. he grew more troubleſome, and began to interrupt the publick Miniſters in Time of Divine Service: His firſt Eſſay of this Kind was at *Nottingham*, where the Miniſter preaching from thoſe Words of St. *Peter*, *We have a more ſure Word of Prophecy*, &c. told the People, that they were to try all Doctrines, Opinions, and Religions, by the Holy Scriptures. Upon which *George Fox* ſtood up in the Midſt of the Congregation and ſaid, *Oh no! 'tis not the Scripture, but 'tis the Holy Spirit, by which Opinions, and Religions, are to be tried; for it was the Spirit that lead People into all Truth, and gave them the Knowledge of it.* And continuing his Speech to the Diſturbance of the Congregation, the Officers were obliged to turn him out of the Church, and carry him to the Sheriff's Houſe; next Day he was committed to the Caſtle, but was quickly releaſed without any other Puniſhment. After this he diſturbed the Miniſter of *Mansfield* in Time of Divine Service, for which he was ſet in the Stocks, and turned out of the Town. The like Treatment he met with at *Market Boſworth*, and ſeveral other Towns. At length the Magiſtrates of *Derby* confined him ſix Months in Priſon, for uttering divers blaſphemous Opinions, purſuant to a late Act of Parliament for that purpoſe. By this Time there began to appear ſome other Viſionaries, of the ſame Make and Complexion with *George Fox*, who ſpoke in Places of publick Reſort; being moved (as they ſaid) by the Holy Ghoſt; and even ſome Women, contrary to the Modeſty of their Sex, went about Streets, and enter'd into Churches, crying down the *Teachings of Men*, and exhorting People to attend to the Light within themſelves.

He is join'd by others.

They are firſt called Quakers.

It was in the Year 1650. that theſe wandring Lights firſt received the Denomination of QUAKERS, upon this Occaſion, their ſpeaking to the People was uſually attended with convulſive Agitations, and ſhakings of the Body. All their Speakers had theſe *Tremblings*, which they gloried in, aſſerting it to be the Character of

of a good Man *to tremble before God.* When *George Fox* appeared before *Gervas Bennet*, Eſq; one of the Juſtices of *Derby*, *Octob.* 30. 1650. he had one of his Agitations, or fits of *Trembling* upon him, and with a loud Voice, and vehement Emotion of Body, bid the Juſtice, and thoſe about him, *tremble at the Word of the Lord*; whereupon the Juſtice gave him, and his Friends, the Name of QUAKERS, which being agreeable to their common Behaviour, quickly became the diſtinguiſhing Character of this People. Common-wealth. 1650.

At length they diſturbed the publick Worſhip by appearing in ridiculous Habits, with emblematical or typical Repreſentations of ſome impending Calamity; they alſo took the Liberty of giving the Miniſters the reproachful Names of *Hirelings*, *Deceivers of the People*, *falſe Prophets*, &c. Some of them went through divers Towns and Villages *naked*, denouncing Judgments and Calamities upon the Nation. Some have famiſhed and deſtroyed themſelves by deep Melancholy; and others have undertaken to raiſe their Friends from the Dead. Mr. *Baxter* ſays, many *Franciſcan Friars*, and other Papiſts, have been diſguiſed Speakers in their Aſſemblies; but little Credit is to be given to ſuch Reports. *Their Behaviour.* Baxter, P. 77.

It can't be expected that ſuch an unſettled People ſhould have an uniform Syſtem of rational Principles. Their firſt and chief Deſign, if they had any, was to reduce all revealed Religion to Allegory; and becauſe ſome had laid too great ſtreſs upon Rites and Ceremonies, theſe would have neither Order nor Decency, nor ſtated Times of Worſhip, but all muſt ariſe from the inward Impulſe of their Spirits. Agreeable to this Rule they declared againſt all Sorts of Clergy, or ſetled Miniſters; againſt People's aſſembling in *Steeple Houſes*; againſt fixed Times of publick Devotion, and conſequently againſt the Obſervation of the Sabbath. Their own Meetings were occaſional, and when they met, one or another ſpake as they were *moved from within*, and ſometimes they departed

Common-wealth. 1650.

without any one's being moved to ſpeak at all.

Their Doctrines.

The Doctrines they delivered were as various and uncertain as the Principle from which they acted. They denied the Holy Scriptures to be the only Rule of their Faith, calling it a *dead Letter*, and maintained, that every Man had a *Light* within himſelf, which was a ſufficient Rule. They denied the received Doctrine of the Trinity and Incarnation. They diſowned the Sacraments of Baptiſm and the Lord's Supper; nay, ſome of them proceeded ſo far, as to deny a Chriſt *without them*; or at leaſt, to place more of their Dependance upon a Chriſt *within*. They ſpake little or nothing (ſays Mr. *Baxter*) about the Depravity of Nature; about the Covenant of Grace; about Pardon of Sin and Reconciliation with God; or about Moral Duties; but the Diſturbance they gave to the publick Religion for a Courſe of many Years, was ſo inſufferable, that the Magiſtrates could not avoid puniſhing them as Diſturbers of the Peace; though of late Years they are become a more ſober and inoffenſive People; and by the Wiſdom of their Managers have form'd themſelves into a Sort of Body politick.

Baxter, p. 77.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

From the Coronation of King CHARLES II. *in* Scotland, *to the Protectorſhip of* OLIVER CROMWELL.

THE Coronation of King *Charles* by the *Scots*, which had been deferr'd hitherto, being now thought neceſſary to give Life to their Cauſe, was performed at *Scone* on *New-Years-Day*, with as much Magnificence as their Circumſtances would admit; when his Majeſty took the following Oath; "I "*Charles*, King of *Great Britain*, *France* and *Ire-*"*land*, do aſſure and declare by my ſolemn Oath, in "the Preſence of Almighty God, the Searcher of all "Hearts, my Allowance and Approbation of the Na-"tional Covenant, and of the ſolemn League and Co-"venant; and faithfully oblige my ſelf to proſecute "the Ends thereof in my Station and Calling; and "that I my Self, and Succeſſors, ſhall conſent and "agree to all the Acts of Parliament enjoining the "National Covenant, and the ſolemn League and "Covenant, and fully eſtabliſh Preſbyterian Govern-"ment, the Directory of Worſhip, Confeſſion of "Faith, and Catechiſms, in the Kingdom of *Scotland*, "as they are approved by the General Aſſembly of "this Kirk, and Parliament of this Kingdom; and "that I will give my Royal Aſſent to all Acts of "Parliament paſſed, or to be paſſed, enjoining the "ſame in my other Dominions; and that I ſhall ob-"ſerve theſe in my own Practice and Family, and "ſhall never make Oppoſition to any of theſe, or en-"deavour any Change thereof." This Oath was annexed to the Covenant it ſelf, drawn up in a fair Roll of Parchment, and ſubſcribed by him in Preſence of the Nobility and Gentry.

Common-wealth. 1651.

Coronation of King Charles II. 1651. Oldm. Hiſt. Stuarts, p. 391.

His Oath.

He ſigns the Covenant, and a Declaration.

His Majeſty alſo ſigned a Declaration, in which he acknowledged the Sin of his Father in marrying into an ido-

Hiſt. Stuarts, p. 387. Burnet, p. 56.

Common-wealth. 1651.

idolatrous Family; that the Blood ſhed in the late Wars lay at his Father's Door. He expreſſed a deep Senſe of his own ill Education, and of the Prejudices he had drunk in, againſt the Cauſe of God, which he was now very ſenſible of. He confeſſed all the former Parts of his Life to have been a Courſe of Enmity to the Work of God. He repented of his *Commiſſion* to *Montroſs*. He acknowledged his own Sins, and the Sins of his Father's Houſe, and ſays, He will account them his Enemies who oppoſe the *Covenants*, both which he had taken without any ſiniſter Intention of attaining his own Ends. He declares his Deteſtation and Abhorrence of all Popery, Superſtition, Idolatry, and Prelacy, and reſolves not to tolerate them in any Part of his Dominions. He acknowledges his great Sin in making Peace with the *Iriſh Rebels*, and allowing them the Liberty of their Religion, which he makes void, reſolving for the future rather to chooſe Affliction than Sin; and tho' he judges charitably of thoſe who have acted againſt the Covenant, yet he promiſes not to employ them for the future till they have taken it. In the Concluſion his Majeſty confeſſes over again his own Guilt; and tells the World, the State of the Queſtion was now altered, in as much as he had obtained Mercy to be on God's Side, and therefore hopes the Lord will be gracious, and countenance his own Cauſe, ſince he is determined to do nothing but with Advice of the Kirk.

Remarks. Our Hiſtorians, who complain of the Prevarication of *Cromwel*, would do well to find a Parallel to this in all Hiſtory; the King took the Covenant three Times with this tremendous Oath, *By the Eternal and Almighty God, who liveth and reigneth for ever, I will obſerve and keep all that is contained herein.* p. 66. Mr. *Baxter* admits, that the *Scots* were in the Wrong in tempting the young King to ſpeak and publiſh that which they might eaſily know was contrary to the Thoughts of his Heart; but ſurely, his Majeſty was no leſs to blame to trample upon the moſt ſacred Bonds of

of Religion and Society; but he ſtuck at nothing. He complied with the Rigors of the *Scots* Diſcipline and Worſhip: He heard many Prayers and Sermons of great length. "I remember (ſays Biſhop *Burnet*) "in one Faſt Day, there were ſix Sermons preached "without Intermiſſion. He was not allowed to walk "Abroad on Sundays; and if at any Time there had "been any Gaiety at Court, as Dancing, or playing "at Cards, he was ſeverely reproved for it, which "contributed not a little to beget in him an Aver-"ſion to all Strictneſs in Religion." And the *Scots* were ſo jealous that all this was from *Neceſſity*, that they would ſuffer none of his old Friends to come into his Preſence and Councils, nor ſo much as to ſerve in the Army. Commonwealth. 1651. p. 53.

Preſbyterian Plot.

While the *Scots* were raiſing Forces for the King's Service a private Correſpendence was carried on with the *Engliſh* Preſbyterians; Letters were alſo writ, and Meſſengers ſent from *London* to the King and Queen Mother in *France*, to haſten an Accommodation with the *Scots*, aſſuring them, that the *Engliſh* Preſbyterians would then declare for him the firſt Opportunity. Large Sums of Money were collected privately to forward an Expedition into *England*; but the Vigilance of the Commmonwealth diſcovered and defeated their Deſigns. The principal Gentlemen and Miniſters concerned in the Correſpondence were ſome diſbanded Officers who had ſerved the Parliament in the late Wars; as Major *Adams*, *Alford*, and *Huntington*; Coſonel *Vaughan*, *Titus*, *Sowton*, *Jackſon*, *Bains*, *Barton*; Captain *Adams*, *Potter*, *Maſſey*, *Starks*, *Farr*; and, Mr. *Gibbons*. The Miniſters were, Dr. *Drake*, Mr. *Caſe*, *Watſon*, *Heyrick*, *Jenkins*, *Jackſon*, *Jaquel*, *Robinſon*, *Cawton*, *Nalſon*, *Haviland*, *Blackmore*, and Mr. *Love*. Theſe had their private Aſſemblies at Major *Adams*'s, Colonel *Barton*'s, and at Mr. *Love*'s Houſe, and held a Correſpondence with the King, who deſired them to ſend Commiſſioners to *Breda* to moderate the *Scots* Demands, which Service he would

Common-wealth. 1651.

reward when God ſhould reſtore him to his Kingdoms.

But ſo numerous a Confederacy was hardly to be concealed from the watchful Eyes of the new Government, who had their Spies in all Places. Major *Adams* being apprehended on Suſpicion was the firſt who diſcovered the Conſpiracy to the *Council of State*. By his Information Warrants were iſſued out for apprehending moſt of the Gentlemen and Miniſters above-mentioned; but ſeveral abſconded, and withdrew from the Storm. The Miniſters who were apprehended were Dr. *Drake*, Mr. *Jenkins*, *Jackſon*, *Robinſon*, *Watſon*, *Blackmore*, and *Haviland*, who after ſome Time were releaſed on their Petition for Mercy, and promiſing Submiſſion to the Government for the future; but Mr. *Love* and *Gibbons* were made Examples, as a Terror to others. Mr. *Jenkins*'s Petition being expreſſed in very ſtrong Terms was ordered to be printed; it was intitled, *The humble Petition of* Will. Jenkins, *Priſoner, declaring his unfeigned Sorrow for all his late Miſcarriages, and promiſing to be true and faithful to the preſent Government; with three Queries, being the Ground of his late Petition, and Submiſſion to the preſent Powers.*

Mr. Loves's Trial.

The Reverend Mr. *Love* was brought before a new High Court of Juſtice erected for this purpoſe, as was the Cuſtom of theſe Times for *State Criminals*; when Mr. Attorney General *Prideaux*, *June* 20. exhibited againſt him the following Charge of High Treaſon, "That at ſeveral Times, in the Years 1649, 1650, and "1651. and in ſeveral Places, he, with the Perſons "above-mentioned, had maliciouſly combined, and "contrived to raiſe Forces againſt the preſent Go-"vernment —— That they had declared and publiſh-"ed *Charles Stuart*, eldeſt Son of the late King, to "be King of *England*, without Conſent of Parlia-"ment —— That they had aided the *Scots* to invade "this Commonwealth —— That the ſaid *Chriſtopher* "*Love*, at divers Times between the 29th of *March*,

"1650.

" 1650. and the firſt of *June*, 1651. at *London* and other Places, had traiterouſly and malicioufly maintained Correſpondence and Intelligence by Letters and Meſſages with *Charles Stuart*, Son of the late King, and with the Queen his Mother, and with ſundry of his Council —— That he did likewiſe hold Correſpondence with divers of the *Scots* Nation, and had aſſiſted them with Money, Arms, and other Supplies in the preſent War, as well as Colonel *Titus*, and others of the *Engliſh* Nation, in Confederacy with them, to the Hazard of the publick Peace, and in breach of the Laws of the Land ——." Commonwealth. 1651.

To this Charge Mr. *Love*, after having demurred to the Juriſdiction of the Court, pleaded *Not Guilty*. The Witneſſes againſt him were Eight of the abovementioned Gentlemen. The Reverend Mr. *Jackſon* was ſummoned, but refuſed to be ſworn, or give Evidence, becauſe he looked on Mr. *Love* to be a good Man; ſaying, he ſhould have an Hell in his Conſcience to his dying Day, if he ſhould ſpeak any Thing that ſhould be circumſtantially prejudicial to Mr. *Love*'s Life. The Court put him in mind of his Obligation to the Publick, and that the very Safety of all Government depended upon it. But he refuſed to be ſworn, for which the Court ſent him to the *Fleet*, and fined him five Hundred Pounds.

The Evidence.

But it appeared by the other Witneſſes, that Mr. *Love* had held a criminal Correſpondence both with the King, and the *Scots*: With regard to the King it was ſworn, That about a Month after his late Majeſty's Death ſeveral of them met at a Tavern at *Dowgate*, and other Places, to concert Meaſures to forward the King's Agreement with the *Scots*, for which Purpoſe they applied by Letters to the Queen, and ſent over Colonel *Titus* with one Hundred Pounds to defray his Expences. The Colonel having delivered his Meſſage, ſent back Letters by Colonel *Alsford*, which were read in Mr. *Love*'s Houſe; with the Copy of a Letter

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Letter from the King himſelf, Mr. *Love* being preſent. Upon theſe, and ſuch like Facts, the Council for the Commonwealth inſiſted, that here was a criminal Correſpondence to *Reſtore the King*, contrary to the Ordinance of *Jan.* 30. 1648. which ſays, "That "whoſoever ſhall proclaim, declare, publiſh, or any "ways promote *Charles Stuart*, or any other Perſon "to be King of *England*, without conſent of Parlia-"ment, ſhall be adjudged a Traytor, and ſuffer the "Pains of Death as a Traytor."

The other Branch of the Charge againſt Mr. *Love*, was, his correſponding with the *Scots*, and aſſiſting them in the War againſt the Parliament. To ſupport this, Captain *Potter*, *Adams*, and Mr. *Jaquel* ſwore, That Letters came from *Scotland* to Colonel *Bamfield* with the Letter L upon them, giving a large Narrative of the Fight at *Dunbar*, and of the *Scots* Affairs for three Months after till *Chriſtmas*. There came alſo Letters from the Earl of *Argyle*, *Lothian*, and *Loudon*, who propoſed the Raiſing ten Thouſand Pounds to buy Arms, and to hire Shipping, in order to land five Thouſand Men in *England*. The Letters were read at Mr. *Love*'s Houſe, but the Propoſals were diſliked: Only forty Pounds was raiſed for the Expences of the Meſſenger. At another Time a Letter was read from General *Maſſey*, in which he deſires them to provide Arms, and mentions his own and Colonel *Titus*'s Neceſſities; upon which it was agreed to raiſe two or three hundred Pounds by way of Contribution, and every one preſent writ down what he would lend, among whom was Mr. *Love*, who not only contributed himſelf, but carried about the Paper to encourage others. This was conſtrued by the Council for the Commonwealth ſufficient to bring Mr. *Love* within the Ordinance of *July* 1. 1649. which ſays, "That if any "ſhall procure, invite, aid, or aſſiſt, any Foreigners "or Strangers to invade *England* or *Ireland*; or ſhall "adhere to any Forces raiſed by the Enemies of the "Parliament, or Commonwealth, or Keepers of the "Liber-

" Liberties of *England*, all ſuch Perſons ſhall be " deemed, and adjudged guilty of High Treaſon." Commonwealth. 1651.

Mr. *Love*, in his Defence, behaved with a little too much Freedom and Boldneſs; he ſet too high a Value upon his ſacred Character, which the Court was inclined to treat with Neglect. He objected to the Witneſſes, as being forced into the Service to ſave their Lives. He obſerves, That to ſeveral of the Facts there was but one Witneſs; and that ſome of them had ſworn falſly, or at leaſt their Memories had fail'd them in ſome Things, which might eaſily happen at ſo great a Diſtance of Time. He called no Witneſſes to confront the Evidence, but at the Cloſe of his Defence confeſſed ingenuouſly, that there had been ſeveral Meetings of the above-named Perſons at his Houſe, and that a Commiſſion was read, but that he diſſented from it. He acknowledged further, That he was preſent at the Reading of Letters, or of ſome part of them, " but I was ignorant (ſays he) of the Danger " that I now ſee I am in. The Act of *Aug.* 2. 1650. " makes it Treaſon to hold any Correſpondence with " *Scotland*, or to ſend Letters thither though but in a " Way of Commerce, the two Nations being at War; " now here my Council acquaints me with my Dan- " ger, that I being preſent when Letters were read in " my Houſe am guilty of a Concealment, and there- " fore as to that, I humbly lay my ſelf at your Feet " and Mercy." *Mr. Love's Defence.*

And to move the Court to ſhew Mercy to him, he endeavoured to ſet out his own Character in the moſt favourable Light, " I have been called a *Malignant* " *and Apoſtate* (ſays he) but God is my Witneſs, I " never carried on a malignant Intereſt; I ſtill retain " my covenanting Principles, from which by the " Grace of God I will never depart; neither am I an " *Incendiary* between the two Nations of *England* and " *Scotland*, but I am grieved for their Diviſions; and " if I had as much Blood in my Veins as there is Wa- " ter in the Sea, I could account it well ſpent to

" quench

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" quench the Fire that our Sins have kindled between " them. I have all along engaged my Life and Eſtate " in the Parliament's Quarrel againſt the Forces raiſed " by the late King, not from a Proſpect of Advantage, " but from Conſcience and Duty; and I am ſo far " from repenting, that were it to do again upon the " ſame unqueſtionable Authority, and for the ſame " declared Ends, I ſhould as readily engage in it as " ever; though I wiſh from my Soul, that the Ends " of that juſt War had been better accompliſhed.

" Nor have my Sufferings in this Cauſe been incon-" ſiderable; when I was a Scholar in *Oxford*, and " *M. A.* I was the firſt who publickly refuſed to ſub-" ſcribe the Canons impoſed by the late Archbiſhop, " for which I was expelled the Convocation-Houſe. " When I came firſt to *London*, which was about " twelve Years ago, I was oppoſed by the Biſhop of " *London*, and it was about three Years before I could " obtain ſo much as a Lecture. In the Year 1640, or " 1641. I was impriſon'd in *Newcaſtle* for preaching " againſt the Service Book, from whence I was remo-" ved hither by *Habeas Corpus*, and acquitted. In " the begining of the War between the late King and " Parliament I was accuſed for preaching Treaſon and " Rebellion, merely becauſe I maintained in a Ser-" mon at *Tenterden* in *Kent*, the Lawfulneſs of a de-" fenſive War. I was again complained of by the " Commiſſioners at *Uxbridge* for preaching a Sermon, " which I hear is lately reprinted; and if it be print-" ed according to the firſt Copy I will own every " Line of it. After all this I have been three Times " in Trouble ſince the late Change of Government. " Once I was committed to Cuſtody, and twice cited " before the Committee for plunder'd Miniſters, but " for want of Proof was diſcharged. And now laſt " of all, this great Trial is come upon me; I have " been kept ſeveral Weeks in cloſe Priſon, and am " now arraigned for my Life, and like to ſuffer from " the Hands of thoſe for whom I have done and ſuf-

" fer'd

" fer'd ſo much, and who have lift up their Hands " with me in the ſame Covenant; and yet I am " not conſcious of any perſonal Act proved againſt " me, that brings me within any of your Laws as to " Treaſon. Commonwealth. 1651.

" Upon the whole, though I never writ nor " ſent Letters into *Scotland*, yet, I confeſs, their " Proceedings with the King are agreeable to my " Judgment, and for the Good of the Nation; and " though I diſown the Commiſſion and Inſtructions " mentioned in the Indictment, yet I have deſired an " Agreement between the King and the *Scots*, agree- " ably to the Covenant; for they having declared him " to be their King, I have deſired and prayed as a " private Man, that they might accompliſh their " Ends upon ſuch Terms as were conſiſtent with the " Safety of Religion and the Covenant."

He concludes with beſeeching the Court, that he may not be put to Death for State Reaſons. He owns he had been guilty of a *Concealment*, and begs the Mercy of the Court for it, promiſing for the future to lead a quiet and peaceable Life. He puts them in mind, that when *Abiathar* the Prieſt had done an unjuſtifiable Action, King *Solomon* ſaid, he would not put him to Death at that Time, *becauſe he bore the Ark of the Lord God before* David *his Father*; *and becauſe he had been afflicted in all wherein his Father had been afflicted*— Thus (ſays he) I commit my ſelf and my All to God, and to your Judgments and Conſciences, with the Words of *Jeremiah* to the Rulers of *Iſrael*, *As for me, behold I am in your Hands, do with me as ſeemeth good and meet to you; but know ye for certain, that if ye put me to Death ye ſhall ſurely bring innocent Blood upon your ſelves.* But I hope better Things of you, tho' I thus ſpeak.

The Court allowed Mr. *Love* the Benefit of Council learned in the Law to argue ſome Exceptions againſt the Indictment; but after all that Mr. *Hales* could ſay for the Priſoner, the Court, after ſix Days hearing, on

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the 5th of *July*, pronounced Sentence of Death againſt him as a Traytor.

Great Interceſſions were made for the Life of this Reverend Perſon by the chief of the Preſbyterian Party in *London*; his Wife preſented ſeveral moving Petitions; and two were preſented from himſelf, in one of which he acknowledges the Juſtice of his Sentence, according to the Laws of the Commonwealth; in the other he petitions, that if he may not be pardoned, his Sentence may be changed into Baniſhment; and that he might do ſomething to deſerve his Life, he preſented with his laſt Petition a Narration of all that he knew relating to the Plot, which admits almoſt all that had been objected to him at his Trial.

A remarkable Incident.

But the Affairs of the Commonwealth were now at a Criſis, and King *Charles* II. having enter'd *England* at the Head of ſixteen Thouſand *Scots*, it was thought neceſſary to ſtrike ſome Terror into the Preſbyterian Party by making an Example of one of their favourite Clergymen. Mr. *Whitlock* ſays, that Colonel *Forteſcue* was ſent to General *Cromwel* with a Petition on behalf of Mr. *Love*, but that both the General and the reſt of the Officers declined meddling in the Affair; but Biſhop *Kennet* and Mr. *Eachard* ſay, the *General* ſent Word, in a private Letter to one of his Confidents, that he was content that Mr. *Love* ſhould be reprieved, and upon giving Security for his future good Behaviour pardoned; but that the Poſt-Boy being ſtopt upon the Road by ſome *Cavaliers* belonging to the late King's Army, they ſearched his Packet, and finding this Letter of Reprieve for Mr. *Love* they tore it with Indignation, as thinking him not worthy to live who had been ſuch a Firebrand at the Treaty of *Uxbridge*. If this Story be true, Mr. *Love* fell a Sacrifice to the ungovernable Rage of the Cavaliers, as Dr. *Doriſlaus* and Mr. *Aſcham* had done before.

Compl. Hiſt. p. 202. Eachard, p. 689.

His Speech on the Scaffold, and Execution.

The Mail arriving from *Scotland*, and no Letter from *Cromwel* in behalf of Mr. *Love*, he was ordered to be executed upon *Tower-Hill*, *Aug.* 22. the very

Day

Day the King enter'd *Worceſter* at the Head of his *Scots* Army. Mr. *Love* mounted the *Scaffold* with great Courage and Reſolution, and taking off his Hat two ſeveral Times to the People, made a long Speech, wherein he declares the Satisfaction of his Mind in the Cauſe for which he ſuffer'd; and then adds, "I am "for a regulated, mixed Monarchy, which I judge "to be one of the beſt Governments in the World. "I oppoſed, in my Place, the Forces of the late "King, becauſe I am againſt ſcrewing up Monarchy "into Tyranny, as much as againſt thoſe who would "pull it down into Anarchy. I was never for putting "the King to death, whoſe Perſon I did promiſe in my "Covenant to preſerve; and I judge it an ill Way of "curing the Body politick by cutting off the political "Head. I die with my Judgment againſt the *En-* "*gagement*; I pray God forgive them that impoſe it, "and them that take it, and preſerve them that refuſe "it. Neither would I be looked upon as owning this "preſent Government; I die with my Judgment "againſt it. And *Laſtly*, I die cleaving to all thoſe "Oaths, Vows, Covenants, and Proteſtations that "were impoſed by the two Houſes of Parliament. I "bleſs God I have not the leaſt Trouble on my Spirit, "but I die with as much Quietneſs of Mind as if I was "going to lie down on my Bed to reſt. I ſee Men thirſt "after my Blood, which will but haſten my Happi-"neſs and their Ruin; for though I am but of mean "Parentage yet my Blood is the Blood of a Chriſtian, "of a Miniſter, of an innocent Man, and (I ſpeak it "without Vanity) of a Martyr — I conclude with "the Speech of the Apoſtle, *I am now ready to be of-* "*fered up, and the Time of my Departure is at Hand,* "*but I have finiſhed my Courſe, I have kept the Faith,* "*henceforth there is laid up for me a Crown of Righ-* "*teouſneſs — and not for me only, but for all them* "*that love the Appearance of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt,* "through whoſe Blood I expect Salvation, and Re-"miſſion of Sins. And ſo the Lord bleſs you all."

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After

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After this he prayed with an audible Voice for himſelf and his Fellow-Sufferer Mr. *Gibbon*, for the Proſperity of *England*, for his Covenanting Brethren in *Scotland*, and for an happy Union between the two Nations, *making no mention of the King*. He then roſe from his Knees, and having taken leave of the Miniſters, and others that attended him, he laid his Head upon the Block, which the Executioner took off at one Blow, before he had attained the Age of forty Years. Mr. *Love* was a zealous Preſbyterian, a popular Preacher, and highly eſteemed by his Brethren. His Funeral Sermon was preached by Dr. *Manton*, and publiſhed under the Title of, *The Saints Triumph over Death*; but his Memory has ſuffered very much by Lord *Clarendon*'s Character, who repreſents him as guilty of as much "Treaſon againſt the late King as "the Pulpit could contain; and delighting himſelf "with the Recital of it to the laſt, as dying with falſe "Courage, or (as he calls it) in a raving Fit of Satis-"faction for having purſued the Ends of the ſanctified "Obligation the *Covenant*, without praying for the "King, any further than he propagated the Cove-"nant." Such Quarter muſt they expect who can't go all his Lordſhip's Lengths, though they ſacrifice their Lives for their King!

Vol. III. p. 434.

Progreſs of the Engliſh *Army in* Scotland.

To return to more publick Affairs; after the Battle of *Dunbar* General *Cromwel*, through the Inclemency of the Weather, and his great Fatigues, was ſeized with an Ague which hung upon him all the Spring, but as the Summer advanced he recovered, and in the Month of *July* marched his Army towards the King's at *Sterlin*; but not thinking it adviſable to attempt his Camp, he tranſported part of his Forces over the *Frith* into *Fife*, who upon their Landing defeated the *Scots*, killing two Thouſand, and taking twelve Hundred Priſoners. After that, without waiting any longer on the King, he took *Johnſtown*, and almoſt all the Garriſons in the North.

While

While the General was employed in these Parts, the *Scots* Committee that directed the Marches of their Army, fearing the Storm would quickly fall upon themselves, resolved to march their Army into *England*, and try the Loyalty of the *English* Presbyterians; for this Purpose Colonel *Massey* was sent before into *Lancashire*, to prepare them for a Revolt; and the King himself enter'd *England* by the Way of *Carlile*, *August* 6. at the Head of sixteen Thousand Men; but when the *Committee of Ministers* that attended the Army, observed that the King and his Friends, upon their entering *England*, were for dropping the *Covenant*, they sent an Express to *Massey* without the King's Knowledge (says Lord *Clarendon*) requiring him to publish a Declaration, to assure the People of their Resolution to prosecute the Ends of the Covenant. The King had no sooner Notice of this, but he sent to *Massey*, forbidding him to publish the Declaration, and to behave with equal Civility towards all Men who were forward to serve him; "but before this Inhibition (says "his Lordship) the Matter had taken Air in all Pla-"ces, and was spread over the whole Kingdom, "which made all Men fly from their Houses, or con-"ceal themselves, who wished the King well." But his Lordship is surely mistaken, for the King's chief Hopes under *Massey* were from the Presbyterians, who were so far from being displeased with his Majesty's declaring for the Covenant, that it gave them all the Spirit he could wish for; but when it was known that the Covenant was to be laid aside, *Massey*'s Measures were broken, many of the *Scots* deserted and returned home; and not one in ten of the *English* would hazard his Life in the Quarrel. Mr. *Baxter*, who was a much better Judge of the Temper of the People than his Lordship, says, "The *English* knew "that the *Scots* coming into *England* was rather a "Flight than a March. They considered likewise, "that the implacable Cavaliers had made no Prepara-"tion of the People's Minds, by proposing any Terms

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The King marches into England with the Scots Army.

Vol. III. p. 400, 406.

Rapin, p. 64.

Life, p. 68.

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"of a future Reconciliation. That the Prelatical Di-
"vines were gone further from the Presbyterians by
"Dr. *Hammond*'s new Way, than their Predeceſſors;
"and that the Cauſe they contended for being not Con-
"cord but Government, they had given the Presby-
"terian Clergy and People no Hopes of finding any
"Abatement of their former Burdens; and 'tis hard
"to perſuade Men to venture their Lives in order to
"bring themſelves into a Priſon or Baniſhment."
However, theſe were the true Reaſons, ſays Mr. *Bax-
ter*, That no more came into the King at preſent;
and had the Preſbyterians obſerved them at the Re-
ſtoration, they had made better Terms for themſelves
than they did.

Preparations of the Parliament.

The Parliament at *Weſtminſter* were quickly advi-
ſed of the King's March, and by way of Precaution
expell'd all Delinquents out of the City; they raiſed
the Militia; they muſtered the Train'd Bands, to the
Number of fourteen Thouſand; and in a few Weeks
had got together an Army of near ſixty Thouſand brave
Soldiers. Mr. *Eachard* repreſents the Parliament as in a
terrible Panick, and projecting Means to eſcape out of
the Land; whereas in reality, the unhappy King was the
Pity of his Friends, and the Contempt of his Enemies.
General *Cromwel* ſent an Expreſs to the Parliament,
to have a watchful Eye over the Preſbyterians, who
were in Confederacy with the *Scots*, and told them,
That the Reaſon of his not interpoſing between the
Enemy and *England* was, becauſe he was reſolved to
reduce *Scotland* effectually before Winter. He deſired
the Houſe to collect their Forces together, and make
the beſt Stand they could till he could come up with
the Enemy, when he doubted not but to give a good
Account of them. At the ſame Time he ſent Major
General *Lambert* with a ſtrong Body of Horſe to har-
raſs the King's Forces, while himſelf, with the Body
of the Army, haſten'd after, leaving Lieutenant Gene-
ral *Monk* with a ſufficient Force to ſecure his Con-
queſts, and reduce the reſt of the Country, which he
quickly

p. 689.

quickly accompliſh'd. Biſhop *Burnet* ſays, there was an Order and Diſcipline among the *Engliſh*, and a Face of Gravity and Piety that amazed all People; moſt of them were Independants and Baptiſts, but all gifted Men, and preached as they were moved, but never above once diſturbed the publick Worſhip. Commonwealth. 1651. Burnet, p. 58.

The Earl of *Derby* was the only Nobleman in *England* who raiſed fifteen Hundred Men for the young King, but before he could join the Royal Army he was defeated by Colonel *Lilburn*, near *Wigan* in *Lancaſhire*, and his Forces entirely diſperſed. The Earl being wounded retired into *Cheſhire*, and from thence got to the King, who had marched his Army as far as *Worceſter*, which opened its Gates, and gave him an honourable Reception; from hence his Majeſty ſent Letters to *London*, commanding all his Subjects between the Age of Sixteen and Sixty to repair to his Royal Standard; but few had the Courage to appear, the Parliament having declared all ſuch Rebels, and burnt the King's Summons by the Hands of the Common Hangman. His Majeſty's Affairs were now at a Criſis; *Lambert* was in his Rear with a great Body of Horſe, and *Cromwel* follow'd with ten Thouſand Foot, which, together with the Forces that join'd him by order of Parliament, made an Army of thirty Thouſand Men. The King being unable to keep the Field fortified the City of *Worceſter*, and encamped almoſt under the Walls. *September* 3. *Cromwel* attacked *Powick* Bridge, within two Miles of the City, which drew out the King's Forces, and occaſioned a general Battle, in which his Majeſty's Army was entirely deſtroyed; four Thouſand being ſlain, ſeven Thouſand taken Priſoners, with the King's Standard, and one Hundred fifty eight Colours. Never was a greater Rout and Diſperſion, nor a more fatal Blow to the Royal Cauſe. The Account which the General gave to the Parliament was, "That the Battle was fought with various Suc- "ceſs for ſome Hours, but ſtill hopeful on our Part, "and in the End became an abſolute Victory, the "Ene- *King at Worceſter.* *Battle of Worceſter.*

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" Enemy's Army being totally defeated, and the " Town in our Poſſeſſion, our Men entering at the " Enemy's Heels, and fighting with them in the " Streets, took all their Baggage and Artillery. The " Diſpute was long and very often at puſh of Pike " from one Defence to another. There are about ſix " or ſeven Thouſand Priſoners, among whom are " many Officers, and Perſons of Quality. This, for " ought I know, may be a *crowning Mercy*." All poſſible Diligence was uſed to ſeize the Perſon of the King; it was declared High Treaſon to conceal him, and a Reward of a Thouſand Pounds was ſet upon his Head; but Providence ordained his Eſcape, for after he had travell'd up and down the Country ſix or ſeven Weeks, under various Diſguiſes, in company with one or two Confidents, and eſcaped a thouſand Dangers, he got a Paſſage croſs the Channel at *Brighthelmſtone* in *Suſſex*, and landed at *Diepe* in *Normandy*, *Octob.* 21. from whence he travell'd by Land to *Paris*, where his Mother maintained him out of her ſmall Penſion from the Court of *France*.

Low Condition of the King and the Church of England.

The Hopes of the Royaliſts were now expiring, for the Iſlands of *Guernſey* and *Jerſey*, with all the *Britiſh* Plantations in *America*, were reduced this Summer to the Obedience of the Parliament, in ſo much that his Majeſty had neither Fort nor Caſtle, nor a Foot of Land in all his Dominions. The Liturgy of the Church of *England* was alſo under a total Eclipſe, the Uſe of it being forbid not only in *England*, but even to the Royal Family in *France*, which had hitherto an Apartment in the *Louvre* ſeparated to that Purpoſe; but after the Battle of *Worceſter* an Order was ſent from the Queen Regent, to ſhut up the Chapel, it being the King's Pleaſure not to permit the Exerciſe of any Religion but the *Roman* Catholick in any of his Houſes; nor could Chancellor *Hyde* obtain more than a bare Promiſe, that the Queen of *England* would uſe her Endeavours, that the Proteſtants of the Family ſhould have liberty to exerciſe their Devotions

in

in ſome private Room belonging to the Lodgings. Commonwealth. 1651.

Upon the King's Arrival in *France* he immediately threw off the Maſk of a Preſbyterian, and never went once to the Proteſtant Church at *Charenton*, though they invited him in the moſt reſpectful Manner; but Lord *Clarendon* diſſuaded him, becauſe the *Hugonots* had not been hearty in his Intereſt, and becauſe it might look diſreſpectful to the old Church of *England*: But, in truth, there being no further Proſpect of the King's Reſtoration by the Preſbyterians, the Eyes of the Court were turned to the *Roman* Catholicks, and many of his Majeſty's Retinue changed their Religion, as appears by the *Legenda Lignea*, publiſhed about this Time, with a Liſt of Fifty three new Converts, among whom were the following Names in red Capitals; the *Counteſs of* Derby, *Lady* Kilmichin, *Lord* Cottington, *Sir* Marm. Langdale, *Sir* Fr. Doddington, *Sir* Theoph. Gilby, *Capt.* Tho. Cook, Tho. Vane, *D. D.* De Creſſy, *Preb. of* Windſor, *Dr.* Bayly, *Dr.* Coſins, *jun.* D. Goffe; and many others, not to mention the *King himſelf*, of whom Father *Huddleſton*, his Confeſſor, writes in his Treatiſe, intitled, *A ſhort and plain Way to the Faith of the Church*, publiſhed 1685. that he put it into the King's Hands in his Retirement; and that when his Majeſty had read it, he declared he did not ſee how it could be anſwer'd. Thus early, ſays a Reverend Prelate of the Church of *England*, was the King's Advance towards Popery, of which we ſhall meet with a fuller Demonſtration hereafter.

He neglects the Preſbyterians and turns his Eyes towards the Papiſts.

Clar. P. 444.

Kennet, p. 200, 210. Rapin, p. 105.

General *Monk*, whom *Cromwel* left in *Scotland* with ſix Thouſand Men, quickly reduced that Kingdom, which was ſoon after united to the Commonwealth of *England*, the Deputies of the ſeveral Counties conſenting to be governed by Authority of Parliament, without a King or Houſe of Lords. The Power of the Kirk was likewiſe reduced within a narrow Compaſs; for though they had liberty to excommunicate Offend-

Low Condition of the Kirk of Scotland. Whitl. p. 503, 504, 498.

Common-wealth. 1651.

ers, or debar them the Communion, they might not ſeize their Eſtates, or deprive them of their Civil Rights and Privileges. No Oaths or Covenants were to be impoſed but by Direction from *Weſtminſter*; and as all fitting Encouragement was to be given to the Miniſters of the Eſtabliſh'd Kirk, ſo others not ſatisfied with their Form of Church Government had liberty to ſerve God after their own Manner; and all who would live peaceably, and yield Obedience to the Commonwealth, were protected in their ſeveral Perſuaſions. This occaſioned a great Commotion among the Clergy, who complained of the Loſs of their Covenant, and Church Diſcipline; and exclaimed againſt the Toleration, as opening a Door to all Kinds of Error and Hereſy: But the *Engliſh* ſupported their Friends againſt all Oppoſition.

Engliſh *Commiſſioners ſettle Liberty of Conſcience in that Kingdom.* Whitl. p. 500, 505, 515.

The Laird of *Drum* being threaten'd with Excommunication, for ſpeaking againſt the Kirk, and refuſing to ſwear, that its Diſcipline was of *Divine Authority*, fled to the *Engliſh* for Protection, and then writ the Aſſembly Word, that their Oppreſſion was equal to that of the late Biſhops, but that the Commonwealth of *England* would not permit them to enſlave the Conſciences of Men any longer. The Preſbytery would have proceeded to Extremities with him, but *Monk* brandiſhed his Sword over their Heads, and threaten'd to treat them as Enemies to the State, upon which they deſiſted for the preſent. Soon after this, Commiſſioners chiefly of the Independant Perſuaſion, were ſent into *Scotland*, to viſit the Univerſities, and to ſettle Liberty of Conſcience in that Kingdom, againſt the coercive Claim of the Kirk, by whoſe Influence a Declaration was preſented to the Aſſembly at *Edinburgh*, *July* 26. in favour of the *Congregational Diſcipline*, *and for Liberty of Conſcience*; but the ſtubborn Aſſembly Men, inſtead of yielding to the Declaration, publiſhed a Paper, called a *Teſtimony againſt the preſent Encroachments of the Civil Power upon the Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction*, occaſioned by a Proclamation of the

the *Engliſh* Commiſſioners appointing a Committee for Viſiting their Univerſities, which they take to be a ſpecial Flower of the Kirk Prerogative. The Synod of *Fife* alſo proteſted againſt the publick Reſolutions of the Civil Power, but the Sword of the *Engliſh* kept them in awe; for when the Synod of *Perth* cited before them ſeveral Perſons for ſlighting the Admonitions of the Kirk, Mr. *Whitlock* ſays, that upon the Day of Appearance their Wives, to the Number of about one Hundred and twenty, with Clubs in their Hands, came and beſieged the Church where the Synod ſat; that they abuſed One of the Miniſters who was ſent out to treat with them, and threaten'd to excommunicate them; and that they beat the Clerk and diſperſed the Aſſembly; upon which thirteen of the Miniſters met at a Village about four Miles diſtant, and having agreed that no more Synods ſhould be held in that Place, they pronounced the Village accurſed. When the General Aſſembly met again at *Edinburgh* next Summer, and were juſt entering upon Buſineſs, Lieutenant Colonel *Cotterel* went into the Church, and ſtanding up upon one of the Benches, told them, that no Eccleſiaſtical Judicatories were to ſit there, but by Authority of the Parliament of *England*; and without giving them leave to reply, he commanded them to retire, and conducted them out of the Weſt Gate of the City with a Troop of Horſe and a Company of Foot; and having taken away the Commiſſions from their ſeveral Claſſes, enjoined them not to aſſemble any more above Three in a Company.

Commonwealth. 1651. *The* Kirk *inſulted.* Whitl. P. 511, 512.

But with all theſe Commotions, Biſhop *Burnet* obſerves, that the Country was kept in great Order; the Garriſons in the Highlands obſerved an exact Diſcipline, and were well paid, which brought ſo much Money into the Kingdom, that it continued all the Time of the Uſurpation in a flouriſhing Condition; Juſtice was carefully adminiſter'd, and Vice was ſuppreſſed and puniſhed; there was a great Appearance of Devotion; the Sabbath was obſerved with uncom-

State of Scotland. P. 61.

Common-wealth. 1651.

mon Strictneſs; none might walk the Streets in Time of Divine Service, nor frequent publick Houſes; the Evenings of the Lord's Days were ſpent in Catechiſing their Children, ſinging Pſalms, and other Acts of Family Devotion, in ſo much that an Acquaintance with the Principles of Religion, and the Gift of Prayer, encreaſed prodigiouſly among the common People.

Act of Indemnity, and a new Council of State.

The War being now at an End the Parliament publiſhed an Act of Indemnity for all Crimes committed before *June* 30. 1648. except Pyrates, *Iriſh* Rebels, the Murderers of Dr. *Doriſlaus*, and Mr. *Aſcham*, and ſome others, provided they laid hold of it, and took the Engagement before *Feb.* 1. 1652. In the Cloſe of the Year they choſe a new Council of State out of their own Body for the next Year, and continued themſelves, inſtead of diſſolving, and giving way to a new Parliament; the neglect of which was their Ruin.

Death of L. G. Ireton.

On the 26th of *Sept.* Lieutenant General *Ireton* died at *Limerick*, in *Ireland*, after he had reduced that City to the Obedience of the Commonwealth. He was bred to the Law, and was a Perſon of great Integrity, bold and couragious in all his Enterprizes, and never to be diverted from what he thought juſt and right by any Arguments or Perſuaſions. He was a thorough Commonwealths Man. Biſhop *Burnet* ſays, he had the Principles and Temper of a *Caſſius*, and was moſt liberal in employing his Purſe, and hazarding his Perſon in the Service of the Publick. He died in the Midſt of Life of a burning Fever, after ten Days ſickneſs. His Body being brought over into *England* was laid in State at *Somerſet Houſe*, and buried in *Weſtminſter Abbey* with a Pomp and Magnificence ſuited to the Dignity of his Station; but after the Reſtoration of the Royal Family, his Body was taken out of the Grave with *Cromwel*'s and buried under the Gallows.

p. 46.

Death of Mr. Woodcock.

About the ſame Time died Mr. *Francis Woodcock*, born in *Cheſter*, 1613. and educated in *Brazen Noſe College*, *Oxford*, where he took a Degree in Arts, enter'd into Orders, and had a Cure of Souls beſtowed upon

Ath. Ox.

upon him. In the Begining of the Civil Wars he ſided with the Parliament, and was one of the Aſſembly of Divines, being then Lecturer of St. *Lawrence Jewry*. He was afterwards, by Ordinance of Parliament dated *July* 10. 1646. made Parſon of St. *Olaves*, *Southwark*; having the Eſteem of being a good Scholar, and an excellent Preacher. He died in the Midſt of his Days and Uſefulneſs, *ætatis* 38. Commonwealth. 1651.

Mr. *George Walker* proceeded *B. D.* in St. *John's College*, *Cambridge*: He was famous for his Skill in the Oriental Languages, and was an excellent *Logician* and *Theologiſt*; being very much noted for his Diſputations with the Jeſuit *Fiſher*, and others of the *Romiſh* Church; and afterwards, for his ſtrict Sabbatarian Principles. He was one of the Aſſembly of Divines, where he gain'd great Reputation by his munificent and publick Behaviour. *Of Mr.* George Walker. Eachard.

Mr. *Thomas Wilſon* was born in *Cumberland* 1601. and educated in *Chriſt's College*, *Cambridge*, where he proceeded in Arts. He was firſt Miniſter of *Capel* in *Surrey*, and after ſeveral other Removes fixed at *Maidſtone* in *Kent*, where he was ſuſpended for refuſing to read the Book of Sports, and not abſolved till the *Scots* Troubles in 1639. In 1643. he was appointed one of the Aſſembly of Divines at *Weſtminſter*, being reputed a good Linguiſt, and well read in ancient and modern Authors. He was of a robuſt Conſtitution, and took vaſt Pains in preaching and catechiſing; he had a great deal of natural Courage, and was in every reſpect a chearful and active Chriſtian, but he treſpaſſed too much upon his Conſtitution, which wore him out when he was little more than fifty Years old. He died comfortably and chearfully towards the End of the Year 1651. Sir *Edward Deering* gave him this Character in the Houſe of Commons; "Mr. "*Wilſon* is as Orthodox in Doctrine, and Laborious "in Preaching, as any we have, and of an unblemiſh-"ed Life." *Of Mr.* Wilſon.

The

Common-wealth. 1652.

Low Terms of Conformity.

The Terms of Conformity in *England* were now lower than they had been ſince the Begining of the Civil Wars; the Covenant was laid aſide, and no other Civil Qualification for a Living required, but the *Engagement*, ſo that many Epiſcopal Divines complied with the Government; for tho' they might not read the Liturgy in form, they might frame their Prayers as near it as they pleaſed. Many Epiſcopal Conventicles were connived at, where the Liturgy was read, till they were found plotting againſt the Government; nor would they have been denied an open Toleration, if they would have given Security for their peaceable Behaviour, and not meddling with Politicks.

Petition againſt Tithes.

The Parliament having voted in the Year 1649. that *Tithes ſhould be taken away* as ſoon as another Maintenance for the Clergy could be agreed upon, ſeveral Petitions came out of the Country, praying the Houſe to bring this Affair to an Iſſue: One adviſed, that all the Tithes over the whole Kingdom might be collected into a Treaſury, and that the Miniſters might be paid their Salaries out of it. Others looking upon Tithes unlawful, would have the Livings valued, and the Pariſh engaged to pay the Miniſter. This was ſuſpected to come from the Sectaries, and awaken'd the Fears of the Eſtabliſh'd Clergy. Mr. *Baxter* printed the *Worceſter Petition* on the Behalf of the Miniſters, which was preſented to the Houſe by Colonel *Bridges* and Mr. *Foley*; and Mr. *Boreman*, B. D. and Fellow of *Trinity College*, *Cambridge*, publiſhed, *The Country Man's Catechiſm*; *or*, *the Church's Plea for Tithes*; dedicated to the Nobility, Gentry, and Commons of the Realm; in which he inſiſts upon their *Divine Right*, but the Clergy were more afraid than hurt; for though the Commons were of Opinion with Mr. *Selden*, that Tithes were aboliſhed with the old Law, yet the Committee not agreeing upon an Expedient to ſatisfy the Lay-Impropriators, the Affair was dropt for the preſent.

Life, p. 115.

Upon

Upon Complaint of *the Expence and Tediouſneſs of Law Suits*, it was moved in the Houſe, That Courts of Juſtice might be ſettled in every County, and maintained at the publick Charge; and that all Controverſies between Man and Man might be heard and determined free, according to the Laws of the Land; and that Clerks of all Courts and Committees might do their Duty without delay, or taking any Thing more than their ſettled Fees. Accordingly a Committee was appointed to conſider of the Inconveniencies and Delays of Law Suits, and how they might be remedied. The Committee came to ſeveral Reſolutions upon this Head; but the Diſſolution of the Parliament, which began with the next Year, prevented their bringing it to Perfection. Commonwealth. 1652. *Attempts to regulate Law Suits.*

An Act had paſſed in the Year 1649. for *Propagating the Goſpel in* Wales; and Commiſſioners were appointed for ejecting ignorant and ſcandalous Miniſters, and placing others in their Room; purſuant to which, Mr. *Whitlock* writes, "That by this Time "there were one Hundred and fifty good Preachers in "the thirteen *Welch* Counties, moſt of whom preach-"ed three or four Times a Week; that in every Mar-"ket Town there was placed one; and in moſt great "Towns two School-Maſters, able, learned, and Uni-"verſity Men; that the Tithes were all employed to "the Uſes directed by Act of Parliament; that is, to "the Maintenance of Godly Miniſters; to the Pay-"ment of Taxes and Officers; to School-Maſters; "and the Fifths to the Wives and Children of the "ejected Clergy:" Of which we ſhall meet with a more particular Relation in its proper Place. *Propagation of the Goſpel in* Wales. p. 518.

The Commonwealth was now very powerful, and the Nation in as flouriſhing a Condition (ſays Mr. *Rapin*) as under Queen *Elizabeth*. The Form of Government indeed was alter'd contrary to Law, and without Conſent of the People, the Majority of whom were diſaffected, preferring a mixed Monarchy to an abſolute Commonwealth; but the Adminiſtration was in *State of the Commonwealth.* p. 70.

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in the Hands of the ableſt Men *England* had beheld for a long while; all their Enemies were in a Manner ſubdued, and the two Kingdoms incorporated into one Commonwealth: But ſtill there were two Things that gave them Uneaſineſs; one was the growing Power of the Army, which were now at leiſure, and expected Rewards ſuitable to their Succeſſes. The other, the Neceſſity they were under to diſſolve themſelves in a little Time, and put the Power into other Hands.

War with the Dutch.

With regard to the Army, it was reſolved to reduce the Land Forces, and augment the Fleet with them, in order to ſecure the Nation againſt the *Dutch*; for the Parliament having a Deſire to ſtrengthen their Hands, by uniting with the Commonwealth of *Holland*, ſent over *Oliver St. John*, and Sir *Walter Strickland*, with Propoſals for this Purpoſe; but the *Dutch* treated them with Neglect, as their younger Siſter, which the Parliament reſenting, demanded Satisfaction for the Damages the *Engliſh* had ſuſtained at *Amboyna*, and other Parts of the *Eaſt Indies*; and to cramp them in their Trade, paſt the famous Act of Navigation, *prohibiting the importing Goods of foreign Growth in any but* Engliſh *Bottoms; or ſuch as were of the Country from whence they came.* Upon this the *Dutch* ſent over Ambaſſadors, deſiring a Clauſe of Exception for themſelves, who were the Carriers of *Europe*; but the Parliament in their Turn treated them coldly, and put them in mind of the Murder of their Envoy Dr. *Doriſlaus*. Both Commonwealths being diſſatisfied with each other, prepared for War; and *Van Trump*, the *Dutch* Admiral, with a Convoy of Merchant Men, meeting Admiral *Blake* in the Channel, and refuſing him the Flag, an Engagement enſued, *May* 17. which continued four Hours, till the Night parted them. The *Dutch* excuſed the Accident, as done without their Knowledge; but the Parliament was ſo enraged, that they reſolved to humble them. In theſe Circumſtances it was thought reaſonable to augment the Fleet from the Land Forces, who had nothing to do, and

and would in a little Time be a Burden to the Nation. *Common-wealth. 1652.*

CROMWEL, who was at the Head of the Army, quickly diſcovered, that the Continuance of the War muſt be his Ruin, by diſarming him of his Power, and reducing him from a great General to the Condition of a private Gentleman. Beſides, Mr. *Rapin* obſerves, that he had private Information of a Conſpiracy againſt his Life; and without all Queſtion, if the Army had not agreed to ſtand by their General his Ruin had been unavoidable; the Officers therefore determined to ſtand by one another, and not ſuffer their Men to be diſbanded, or ſent to Sea, till the Arrears of the whole Army were paid; for this Purpoſe they preſented a Petition to the Houſe, which they reſented, and inſtead of giving them ſoft Language, and Encouragement to hope for ſome ſuitable Rewards for their paſt Services, ordered them to be reprimanded, for preſuming to meddle in Affairs of State that did not belong to them. But the Officers were as reſolute as their Superiors, and inſtead of ſubmitting, preſented another Petition, in which, having juſtified their Behaviour, they boldly ſtrike *at the Parliament's Continuance*, and put them in mind how many Years they had ſat; that they had engroſſed all Preferments and Places of Profit to themſelves and their Friends; that it was a manifeſt Injury to the Gentlemen of the Nation to be excluded the Service of their Country, and an Invaſion of the Rights of the People to deprive them of the Right of frequent chooſing new Repreſentatives; they therefore inſiſt upon their ſettling a new Council of State for the Adminiſtration of publick Affairs; and upon their fixing a peremptory Day for the Choice of a new Parliament. *Quarrel between the Parliament and Army.*

Here was a new Criſis of Affairs; the Civil and Military Powers being engaged againſt each other, and reſolved to maintain their ſeveral Pretenſions: If *Cromwel*, with the Sword in his Hand, had ſecured the Election of a free Repreſentative of the People, and left *Remarks.*

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left the Settlement of the Nation to them, all Men would have bleſſed him, for the People were certainly weary of the Parliament, but when the *Officers* had pulled down this Form of Government, they were not agreed what to ſet up in its Room, whether a *Monarchy*, or a *New Republick*; the General being for a mixed Monarchy, had, no doubt, ſome ambitious Views to himſelf, and therefore called together ſome ſelect Friends of ſeveral Profeſſions to adviſe on the Affair, when Sir *Tho. Widdrington*, Lord Chief Juſtice *St. John*, and the reſt of the Lawyers, declared for Monarchy, as moſt agreeable to the old Conſtitution, and propoſed the Duke of *Glouceſter* for King; but the Officers of the Army then preſent were for a Republick. *Cromwel* himſelf, after much heſitation, gave his Opinion for ſomething of a Monarchical Power, as moſt agreeable to the Genius of the *Engliſh*, if it might be accompliſhed with Safety to their Rights and Privileges as *Engliſh* Men and Chriſtians.

Debates about a new Form of Government.

Some Time after *Cromwel* deſired Mr. *Whitlock*'s Opinion upon the preſent Situation of Affairs: "My "Lord (ſays he) 'tis Time to conſider of our pre- "ſent Danger, that we may not be broken in Pieces "by our particular Quarrels after we have gained an "intire Conqueſt over the Enemy." *Whitlock* replied, "That all their Danger was from the Army, who "were Men of Emulation, and had now nothing to "do." *Cromwel* anſwer'd, "That the Officers thought "themſelves not rewarded according to their De- "ſerts; that the Parliament had engroſſed all Places "of Honour and Truſt among themſelves; that they "delayed the publick Buſineſs, and deſigned to per- "petuate themſelves; that the Officers thought it im- "poſſible to keep them within the Bounds of Juſtice, "Law, or Reaſon, unleſs there was ſome Authority "or Power to which they might be accountable." *Whitlock* ſaid, "He believed the Parliament were ho- "neſt Men, and deſigned the publick Good, though "ſome particular Perſons might be to blame, but that

Crom-wel's *ambitious De-ſigns.* Whitl. P. 524.

"it was abſurd for the Officers, who were private Men, and had received their Commiſſions from the Parliament, to pretend to controul them." "But, ſays *Cromwel*, what if a Man ſhould take upon him to be King?" *Whitlock* anſwer'd, "That the Remedy was worſe than the Diſeaſe; and that the General had already all the Power of a King without the Envy, Danger and Pomp of the Title." "But, ſays he, the Title of KING would make all Acts done by him legal; it would indemnify thoſe that ſhould act under him at all Events, and be of Advantage to curb the Inſolence of thoſe whom the preſent Powers could not controul." *Whitlock* agreed to the General's Reaſons, but deſired him to conſider, "Whether the Title of KING would not loſe him his beſt Friends in the Army, as well as thoſe Gentlemen who were for ſettling in a free Commonwealth; but if we muſt have a King (ſays he) the Queſtion will be, Whether it ſhall be *Cromwel* or *Stuart?*" The General aſking his Opinion upon this, *Whitlock* propoſed a private Treaty with the King of *Scots*, with whom he might make his own Terms, and raiſe his Family to what Pitch of Greatneſs he pleaſed; but *Cromwel* was ſo apprehenſive of the Danger of this Propoſal, that he broke off the Converſation with ſome Marks of Diſſatisfaction, and never made uſe of *Whitlock* with Confidence afterwards. Commonwealth. 1652.

Thus Things continued throughout the whole Winter; the Army having little to do after the Battle of *Worceſter* drew near to *London*, but there was no Treaty of Accommodation between them and the Parliament; *one* would not diſband without their full Pay; nor the *other* diſſolve by the Direction of their own Servants, but voted the filling up their Numbers, and that it ſhould be High Treaſon to petition for their Diſſolution. When the *General* heard this, he called a Council of Officers to *Whitehall*, who all agreed, That *it was not fit the Parliament ſhould continue any longer*. This was publiſhed in Hopes of frightning the Houſe 1653. Cromwel *diſſolves the Long Parliament.*

to

Common-wealth. 1653.

to make ſome Advances towards a Diſſolution; but when Colonel *Ingoldsby* informed the General next Morning, that they were concluding upon an Act to prolong their Seſſion for another Year, he roſe up in a Heat, and with a ſmall Retinue of Officers and Soldiers marched to the Parliament Houſe, *April* 20. and having placed his Men without Doors, went into the Houſe and heard their Debates. After ſome Time he beckoned to Colonel *Harriſon*, on the other ſide of the Houſe, and told him in his Ear, That he thought the Parliament was ripe for Diſſolution, and that this was the Time for doing it. *Harriſon* replied, That the Work was dangerous, and deſired him to think better of it. Upon this he ſat down about a Quarter of an Hour, and then ſaid, *This is the Time I muſt do it*; and riſing up in his Place, he told the Houſe, That he was come to put an End to their Power, of which they had made ſo ill an Uſe; that ſome of them were Whore-Maſters, looking towards *Harry Martin* and Sir *Peter Wentworth*; others were Drunkards, and ſome corrupt, and unjuſt Men, who had not at Heart the publick Good, but were only for perpetuating their own Power. Upon the whole, he thought they had ſat long enough, and therefore deſired them to retire and go away. When ſome of the Members began to reply, he ſtept into the Middle of the Houſe, and ſaid, *Come, come, I will put an End to your Prating*; *You are no Parliament*; *I ſay you are no Parliament*; and ſtamping with his Foot, a File of Muſqueteers enter'd the Houſe; one of whom he commanded to take away that Fool's Bauble the Mace. And Major *Harriſon* taking the Speaker by the Arm conducted him out of the Chair. *Cromwel* then ſeizing upon their Papers obliged them to walk out of the Houſe; and having cauſed the Doors to be lock'd after them returned to *Whitehall*.

And diſmiſſes the Council of State.

In the Afternoon the General went to the *Council of State*, attended by Major General *Lambert* and *Harriſon*, and as he enter'd the Room, ſaid, "Gentlemen, "If you are met here as private Perſons you ſhall not "be

" be disturbed, but if as a Council of State this is no " Place for you; and since you cannot but know what " was done in the Morning, so take Notice the Par- " liament is dissolved." Serjeant *Bradshaw* replied, " Sir, We have heard what you did in the Morning, " but you are mistaken to think the Parliament is dis- " solved, for no Power can dissolve them but them- " selves; therefore take you notice of that." But the General not being frighted with big Words, the Council thought it their wisest Way to rise up and go home. Commonwealth. 1653.

Thus ended the Commonwealth of *England*, after it had continued four Years, two Months, and twenty Days, which though no better than an *Usurpation*, had raised the Credit of the Nation to a very high Pitch of Glory and Renown; and with the Commonwealth ended the Remains of the Long Parliament for the present; an Assembly famous throughout all the World for its Undertakings, Actions, and Successes: " The " Acts of this Parliament (says Mr. *Coke*) will hardly " find belief in future Ages; and to say the Truth, " they were a Race of Men most indefatigable and " industrious in Business, always seeking Men fit for " it, and never preferring any for Favour or Impor- " tunity: You hardly ever heard of any Revolt from " them; no Soldiers or Seamen being ever pressed. " And as they excell'd in Civil Affairs, so it must be " confessed, they exercised in Matters Ecclesiastical " no such Severities as others before them did upon " such as dissented from them." *Character of the Commonwealth.* Detect. p. 363.

But their Foundation was bad, and many of their Actions highly criminal; they were a packed Assembly, many of their Members being excluded by force, before they could be secure of a Vote to put the late King to Death — They subverted the Constitution, by setting up themselves, and continuing their Sessions after his Majesty's Demise — By erecting high Courts of Justice of their own Nomination for Capital Offences — By raising Taxes, and doing all other Acts *Remarks on the Change of Government.*

Commonwealth. 1653.

of Sovereignty without Conſent of the People; all which they deſigned to perpetuate among themſelves, without being accountable to any Superior, or giving Place to a new Body of Repreſentatives. If then it be inquired, What Right or Authority General *Cromwel* and his Officers had to offer Violence to this Parliament, it may be replied, 1. The Right of Self-Preſervation, the Ruin of one or the other being unavoidable. 2. The Right that every *Engliſh* Man has to put an End to an Uſurpation when 'tis in his Power, provided he can ſubſtitute ſomething better in its room; and if *Cromwel* could by this Method have reſtored the Conſtitution, and referr'd the Settlement of the Government to a free and full Repreſentative of the People, no wiſe Man would have blamed him. It was not therefore his turning out the old Parliament that was criminal, but his not ſummoning a new one, by a fair and free Election of the People; and yet Mr. *Rapin* is of Opinion, that even this was impracticable, there being three oppoſite Intereſts in the Nation; the *Republicans*, who were for an abſolute Commonwealth; the *Presbyterians*, who were for reſtoring Things to the Condition they were in, in 1648. and the *Cavaliers*, who were for ſetting the King upon the Throne, as before the Civil Wars; it was by no means poſſible (ſays he) to reconcile the three Parties, and if they had been let looſe they would have deſtroyed each other, and thrown the whole Nation into Blood and Confuſion; nothing therefore but giving a forcible Superiority to *one* was capable to hold the *other* two in ſubjection. The King was no way intereſted in the Change, for it was not *Charles Stuart*, but a *Republican Uſurpation* that was diſpoſſeſſed of the ſupreme Power. If the *General* had failed in his Deſign, and loſt his Life in the Attempt, the King would have received no manner of Advantage, for the Nation was by no means diſpoſed to reſtore him at this Time. Suppoſing then it was not practicable to chooſe a free Parliament, nor fit to let the *old one* perpetuate themſelves,

p. 88.

Ib. p. 149.

ſelves, *Oliver Cromwel* had no other Choice, but to abandon the State; or to take the Adminiſtration upon himſelf; or put it into the Hands of ſome other Perſon that had no better a Title. How far private Ambition took place of the publick Good, in the Choice, muſt be left to the Judgment of every Reader; but if it was neceſſary that there ſhould be a *Supreme Authority*, capable of commanding Obedience, it cannot be denied, but that General *Cromwel* was more capable to govern the State in ſuch a Storm, than any Man then living. No Objection can be raiſed againſt him, which might not with more Juſtice have been urged againſt any other ſingle Perſon, or Body of Men in the Nation, except the *right Heir*. However, all the three Parties of *Cavaliers*, *Presbyterians*, and *Republicans*, were diſpleaſed with his Conduct, loaded him with Invectives, and formed Conſpiracies againſt his Perſon, though they could never agree in any other Scheme, which in the preſent Criſis was more practicable. Commonwealth. 1653.

The Parliament being thus broken up, the Sovereign Power fell into the Hands of the Council of Officers, of which *Cromwel* was head, who publiſhed a Declaration, juſtifying his Diſſolution of the late Parliament, and promiſing to put the Adminiſtration into the Hands of Perſons of approved Fidelity and Honeſty, and leave them to form it into what Shape they pleaſed. Accordingly, *April* 30. another Declaration was publiſhed, ſigned by *Oliver Cromwel*, and Thirty of his Officers, nominating a new Council of State to take Care of the Government till a new Repreſentative Body of Men could be called together; and *June* 8. the General, by advice of his Council, ſent the following Summons to one Hundred and forty ſelect Perſons, out of the ſeveral Counties of *England*, to meet at *Weſtminſter*, in order to ſettle the Nation; "I OLIVER "CROMWEL, Captain General, *&c.* do hereby ſum- "mons and require you — being one of the Perſons no- "minated by my ſelf, with the Advice of my Council, "per- *G. Crom. and the Council of Officers aſſume the Government.*

Common-wealth. 1653.

" perſonally to appear at the Council Chamber at " *Whitehall*, upon the Fourth of *July* next enſuing " the Date hereof, to take upon you the Truſt of the " Affairs of the Commonwealth; to which you are " hereby called and appointed to ſerve as a Member " for the County of ——— And hereof you are not " to fail. Given under my Hand this 8th of *June*, " 1653."

O. CROMWEL.

Theſe were high Acts of Sovereignty, and not to be juſtified but upon the Suppoſition of *extreme Neceſſity*. The Diſſolution of the Long Parliament was an Act of Violence, but not unacceptable to the People, as appeared by the numerous Addreſſes from the Army, the Fleet, and other Places, approving the General's Conduct, and promiſing to ſtand by him and his Council in their Proceedings; but then for the General himſelf, and thirty Officers, to chuſe Repreſentatives for the whole Nation, without intereſting any of the Counties or Corporations of *England* in the Choice, would have deſerved the higheſt Cenſure under any other Circumſtances.

The Little Parliament.

About one Hundred and twenty of the new Repreſentatives appeared at the Time and Place appointed, when the *General*, after a ſhort Speech, delivered them an *Inſtrument* in Parchment under his Hand and Seal, reſigning into their Hands, or the Hands of any Forty of them, the Supreme Authority and Government of the Commonwealth, limiting the Time of their Continuance to *November* 3. 1654. and empowering them, three Months before their Diſſolution, to make Choice of others to ſucceed them, for a Year, and they to provide for a future Succeſſion. It was much wonder'd, ſays *Whitlock*, that theſe Gentlemen, many of whom were Perſons of Fortune and Eſtate, ſhould accept of the Supreme Authority of the Nation, upon ſuch a Summons, and from ſuch Hands. Moſt of them were Men of Piety, but no great Politicians, and were therefore in Contempt called ſometimes the *Little Parliament*;

p. 534.

ment; and by others, *Barebone*'s Parliament, from a *Leatherſeller* of that Name, who was one of the moſt active Members. When the General[g] was withdrawn they choſe Mr. *Rouſe*, an aged and venerable Man, Member in the late Parliament for *Truro* in *Cornwal*, their Speaker, and then voted themſelves the Parliament of the Commonwealth of *England*. Mr. *Baxter* places them in a contemptible Light, and ſays, "They intended to eject all the Pariſh Miniſters, and to encourage the gathering Independant Churches; that they caſt out all the Miniſters in *Wales*, which, though bad enough for the moſt part, were yet better than none, or the few Itinerants they ſet up in their room; and that they attempted, and had almoſt accompliſh'd the ſame in *England*." But nothing of this appears among their Acts. When the City of *London* petitioned, that more learned and approved Miniſters might be ſent into the Country to preach the Goſpel; that their ſettled Maintenance by Law might be confirmed, and their juſt Properties preſerved; and that the Univerſities might be zealouſly countenanced and encouraged, the Petitioners had the Thanks of that Houſe; and the Committee gave it as their Opinion, that Commiſſioners ſhould be ſent into the ſeveral Counties, who ſhould have Power to eject ſcandalous and inſufficient Miniſters, and to ſettle others in their Room. They were to appoint Preaching in all vacant Places, that none might have above three Miles from a Place of Worſhip. That ſuch as were approved for publick Miniſters ſhould enjoy the Maintenance provided by the Laws; and that if any ſcrupled the Payment of Tithes the neighbouring Juſtices of Peace ſhould ſettle the Value, which the Owner of the Land ſhould be obliged to pay; but as for the Tithes themſelves they were of Opinion, that the Incumbents and Impropriators had a Right in them, and therefore they could not be taken away till they were ſatisfied.

Commonwealth. 1653.

Their Proceedings.

p. 70, 180.

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Liberty of Conſcience

July 23. it was referr'd to a Committee, to conſider of a Repeal of ſuch Laws as hinder'd the Progreſs of the Goſpel; that is (ſays Biſhop *Kennet*) to take away the few remaining Rules of Decency and Order; or in other Language, the *Penal Laws*. This was done at the Inſtance of the *Independants*, who petitioned for Protection againſt the Preſbyteries; upon which it was voted, that a Declaration ſhould be publiſhed, for giving proper Liberty to all that feared God; and for preventing their impoſing Hardſhips on one another.

Mr. *Eachard*, and others of his Stamp, write, that this Parliament had under Deliberation the taking away the old *Engliſh* Laws, as Badges of the *Norman* Conqueſt, and ſubſtituting the *Moſaick* Laws of Government in their Place; and that all Schools of Learning, and Titles of Honour, ſhould be extinguiſhed, as not agreeing with the Chriſtian Simplicity. But no ſuch Propoſals were made to the Houſe, and therefore 'tis unjuſt to lay them to their Charge.

Ordinance for Marriages.

The Solemnizing of Matrimony had hitherto been engroſſed by the Clergy, but this *Convention* conſidered it as a civil Contract, and put it into the Hands of the Juſtices of Peace, by an Ordinance, which ſays, "That after the 29th of *September*, 1653. All Perſons who ſhall agree to be married within the Commonwealth of *England*, ſhall deliver in their Names, and Places of Abode, with the Names of their Parents, Guardians, and Overſeers, to the Regiſter of the Pariſh where each Party lives, who ſhall publiſh the *Bans* in the Church or Chapel three ſeveral Lord's Days, after the Morning Service; or elſe in the Market-Place three ſeveral Weeks ſucceſſively, between the Hours of Eleven and Two, on a Market Day, if the Party deſire it. The Regiſter ſhall make out a Certificate of the due Performance of one or the other, at the Requeſt of the Parties concerned, without which they ſhall not proceed to Marriage.

"It

" It is further enacted, That all Perſons intending " to Marry ſhall come before ſome Juſtice of Peace " within the County, City, or Town Corporate, " where Publication has been made, as aforeſaid, with " their Certificate, and with ſufficient Proof of the " Conſent of the Parents, if either Party be under " Age, and then the Marriage ſhall proceed in this " Manner: Commonwealth. 1653.

" The Man to be married ſhall take the Woman " by the Hand, and diſtinctly pronounce theſe Words, " I *A. B.* do here, in the Preſence of God, the Searcher " of all Hearts, take thee *C. D.* for my wedded " Wife; and do alſo, in the Preſence of God, and " before theſe Witneſſes, promiſe to be to thee a loving " and faithful Huſband.

" Then the Woman taking the Man by the Hand " ſhall plainly and diſtinctly pronounce theſe Words, " I *C. D.* do here, in the Preſence of God, the Searcher " of all Hearts, take thee *A. B.* for my wedded Huſ- " band; and do alſo, in the Preſence of God, and " before theſe Witneſſes, promiſe to be to thee a loving, " faithful, and obedient Wife.

" After this the Juſtice may, and ſhall declare the " ſaid Man and Woman to be from thenceforth Huſ- " band and Wife; and from and after ſuch Conſent " ſo expreſſed, and ſuch Declaration made of the " ſame (as to the Form of Marriage) it ſhall be good " and effectual in Law; and no other Marriage what- " ſoever, within the Commonwealth of *England*, after " the 29th of *Sept.* 1653. ſhall be held, or accounted " a Marriage, according to the Law of *England*."

This Ordinance was confirmed by the Protector's Parliament in the Year 1656. except the Clauſe, *That no other Marriage whatſoever within the Commonwealth of* England *ſhall be held, or accounted a legal Marriage*; and it was wiſely done of the Parliament at the Reſtoration, to confirm theſe Marriages, in order to prevent vexatious Law-ſuits in future Times. But the Acts of this Convention were of little ſignificance, for

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when they found the Affairs of the Nation too intricate, and the ſeveral Parties too ſtubborn to yield to their Ordinances, they wiſely reſigned, and ſurrender'd back their Sovereignty into the ſame Hands that gave it them, after they had ſat five Months and twelve Days.

O. Cromwel *declared Protector by a Council of Officers.*

The *General* and his *Officers* finding themſelves reinveſted with the Supreme Authority, by what they fancied a more Parliamentary Delegation, took upon them to ſtrike out a new Form of Government, a little tending towards Monarchy, contained in a large Inſtrument of Forty two Articles, entitled, *The Government of the Commonwealth of* England, Scotland, *and* Ireland. It appoints the Government to be in a ſingle Perſon; —— That the ſingle Perſon be the General, O. CROMWEL, whoſe Stile and Title ſhould be, *His Highneſs, Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of* England, Scotland, *and* Ireland, *and of the Dominions thereunto belonging* —— That the Lord Protector ſhould have a Council, conſiſting of no more than Twenty one Perſons, nor leſs than Thirteen, to aſſiſt him in the Adminiſtration —— A Parliament was to be choſen out of the Three Kingdoms every three Years at longeſt, and not to be diſſolved without their Conſent in leſs than five Months. It was to conſiſt of four Hundred Members for *England* and *Wales*; Thirty for *Scotland*, and Thirty for *Ireland*; whereof Sixty was to make a Houſe. The Counties of *England* and *Wales* were to chooſe two Hundred thirty nine; the other Elections to be diſtributed among the chief Cities and Market Towns, without regard to ancient Cuſtom. The County of *Dorſet* was to chooſe eleven Members, *Cornwal* eight, *Bedfordſhire* five; the ſeveral Ridings of *Yorkſhire* fourteen; *Middleſex* four; the City of *London* ſix; *Weſtminſter* two; the whole Number of Cities and Burroughs that had Privilege of Election were one Hundred and ten; and the Number of Repreſentatives to be choſen by them one Hundred and ſixty —— If the Protector refuſed to iſſue out Writs, the

Abſtract of the new Inſtrument of Government.

New Model of a Parliament.

the Commiſſioners of the Great Seal, or the High Sheriff of the County, was to do it under pain of Treaſon — None to have Votes but ſuch as were worth two Hundred Pounds. — This Regulation being wiſely porportion'd met with univerſal Approbation. Lord *Clarendon* ſays, it was fit to be more warrantably made, and in a better Time — All the great Officers of State, as Chancellor, Treaſurer, *&c.* if they become vacant in Time of Parliament, to be ſupplied with their Approbation; and in the Intervals with the Approbation of the Council —— Such Bills as were offered to the Protector by the Parliament, if not ſigned in Twenty Days, were to be Laws without him, if not contrary to this Inſtrument — In the preſent Criſis the Protector and his Council might publiſh Ordinances which ſhould have force till the firſt Seſſions of Parliament — The Protector was to have Power to make War and Peace, to confer Titles of Honour, to pardon all Crimes except Treaſon and Murder; the Militia was intruſted with him and his Council, except during the Seſſions of Parliament, when it was to be jointly in both. In ſhort, the Protector had almoſt all the Royalties of a King — but then the Protectorſhip was to be elective, and no Protector after the preſent to be General of the Army —— Oliver *Protector.* 1653.

The Articles relating to Religion were theſe;

Art. 35. "That the Chriſtian Religion contained in "the Scriptures be held forth and recommended as the "publick Profeſſion of theſe Nations, and that as ſoon "as may be, a Proviſion leſs ſubject to Contention, "and more certain than the preſent, be made for the "Maintenance of Miniſters; and that till ſuch Pro- "viſion be made the preſent Maintenance continue. *Articles relating to Religion.*

Art. 36. "That none be compelled to conform to "the publick Religion by Penalties or otherwiſe; but "that Endeavours be uſed to win them by ſound Do- "ctrine, and the Example of a good Converſation.

Art. 37. "That ſuch as profeſs Faith in God by "Jeſus Chriſt, though differing in Judgment from "the

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" the Doctrine, Worſhip, or Diſcipline, publickly held forth, ſhall not be reſtrained from, but ſhall be protected in the Profeſſion of their Faith, and Exerciſe of their Religion, ſo as they abuſe not this Liberty to the Civil Injury of others, and to the actual Diſturbance of the publick Peace on their Parts; provided this Liberty be not extended to Popery or Prelacy, or to ſuch as under a Profeſſion of Chriſt hold forth and practiſe Licentiouſneſs.

Art. 38. " That all Laws, Statutes, Ordinances, and Clauſes in any Law, Statute or Ordinance, to the contrary, of the aforeſaid Liberty, ſhall be eſteemed null and void."

Inſtalment of the Protector.

The Protector was inſtalled with great Magnificence, *Decemb.* 16. 1653. in the Court of *Chancery*, by Order of the Council of Officers, in preſence of the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of *London*, the Judges, the Commiſſioners of the Great Seal, and other great Officers, who were ſummoned to attend on this Occaſion. O. CROMWEL ſtanding uncover'd on the left Hand of a Chair of State ſet for him, firſt ſubſcribed the Inſtrument of Government in the Face of the Court, and then took the following Oath.

His Oath.

" WHereas the major Part of the laſt Parliament (judging that their ſitting any longer as then conſtituted, would not be for the Good of the Commonwealth) did diſſolve the ſame; and by a Writing under their Hands, dated the 12th of this inſtant *December*, reſigned to me their Powers and Authorities. And whereas it was neceſſary thereupon that ſome ſpeedy Courſe ſhould be taken for the Settlement of theſe Nations upon ſuch a Baſis and Foundation, as, by the Bleſſing of God, might be laſting, ſecure Property, and anſwer thoſe great Ends of Religion and Liberty, ſo long contended for; and upon full and mature Conſideration had of the Form of Government hereunto annexed, being ſatisfied that the ſame, through Divine Aſſiſtance, may anſwer

" ſwer the Ends afore-mentioned. And having alſo " been deſired and adviſed, as well by ſeveral Perſons " of Intereſt and Fidelity in the Commonwealth, as " the Officers of the Army, to take upon me the " Protection and Government of theſe Nations in the " Manner expreſſed in the ſaid Form of Government, " I have accepted thereof, and do hereby declare my " Acceptance accordingly; and do promiſe, in the " Preſence of God, that I will not violate, or infringe " the Matters and Things contained therein, but to my " Power obſerve the ſame, and cauſe them to be ob- " ſerved; and ſhall in all other Things, to the beſt of " my Underſtanding, govern theſe Nations according " to the Laws, Statutes and Cuſtoms, ſeeking their " Peace, and cauſing Juſtice and Law to be equally " adminiſter'd."

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After this he ſat down in the *Chair* of *State* covered, and the Commiſſioners delivered him the Great Seal, and the Lord Mayor his Sword and Cap of Maintenance; which he returned in a very obliging Manner. The Ceremony being over, the Soldiers, with a Shout, cried out, *God bleſs the Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of* England, Scotland, *and* Ireland. In their Return to *Whitehall* the Lord Mayor carried the Sword before HIS HIGHNESS uncovered, and preſently after he was proclaimed in the City of *London*, and throughout all the *Britiſh* Dominions.

Thus did this wonderful Man, by ſurprizing Management, ſupported only by the Sword, advance himſelf to the ſupreme Government of three Kingdoms without conſent of Parliament or People. His Birth ſeemed to promiſe nothing of this kind; nor does it appear that he had formed the Project, till after the Battle of *Worceſter*, when he apprehended the Parliament had deſigned his Ruin by diſbanding the Army, and perpetuating their Authority among themſelves: Which of the two Uſurpations was moſt eligible muſt be left with the Reader; but how he brought the Officers into his Meaſures, and ſupported his

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his Sovereignty by an Army of Enthuſiaſts, Anabaptiſts, Fifth Monarchy Men, and Republicans, will be the Admiration of all Poſterity; and though by this adventurous Act he drew upon himſelf the Plots and Conſpiracies of the ſeveral Factions in the Nation, yet his Genius and Courage ſurmounted all Difficulties, his ſhort Empire being one continued Blaze of Glory and Renown to the *Britiſh* Iſles, and of Terror to the reſt of *Europe*.

Remarks on the Inſtrument of Government.

The Reader will make his own Remarks upon the new *Inſtrument of Government*, and will neceſſarily obſerve, that it was a Creature of *Cromwel*'s and his Council of Officers, and not drawn up by a proper Repreſentative of the People. How far the preſent Circumſtances of the Nation made this neceſſary, muſt be concluded from the Remarks we have made upon the Change of Government; but the Articles relating to Religion can hardly be complained of, though they diſguſted all that part of the Clergy who were for *Church Power*; the *Presbyterians* preached and writ againſt the 36th and 37th Articles, as inconſiſtent with their Eſtabliſhment, and ſinking it almoſt to a Level with the Sectaries. The *Republicans* were diſſatisfied becauſe the ENGAGEMENT, by which they had ſworn Fidelity to a Commonwealth, without a ſingle Perſon, or Houſe of Lords, was ſet aſide. Biſhop *Kennet* is angry with the Protector's Latitude, becauſe there was no Teſt or Barrier to the Eſtabliſhment. "How little Religion was the Concern, or ſo much "as any longer the Pretence of *Cromwel* and his Offi- "cers (ſays his Lordſhip) appears from hence, that "in the large Inſtrument of the Government of the "Commonwealth, which was the *Magna Charta* of "the new Conſtitution, there is not a Word of Churches "or Synods, or Miniſters, nor any Thing but the "Chriſtian Religion in general, with liberty to all "differing in Judgment, from the Doctrine, Wor- "ſhip, or Diſcipline, publickly held forth." Strange, that this ſhould diſpleaſe a Chriſtian Biſhop! But his Lord-

Lordſhip ſhould have remember'd, that this Liberty was not to extend to any kinds of Immoralities, nor to ſuch as injured the Civil Rights of others, nor to ſuch as diſturbed the publick Peace. And do the Scriptures authorize us to go further? The ſixth Article provides, "That the Laws in being relating to the "Preſbyterian Religion were not to be ſuſpended, al-"ter'd, abrogated or repealed; nor any new Law "made, but by conſent of Parliament." The 36th adds, "That until a better Proviſion can be made for "the Encouragement and Maintenance of able and "painful Teachers the preſent Maintenance ſhall not "be taken away nor impeached." And TRYERS were appointed ſoon after for preventing ſcandalous and unlearned Perſons invading the Pulpit. This part of the *Inſtrument* is, in my Opinion, ſo far from being criminal, that it breathes a noble Spirit of Chriſtian Liberty, though it was undoubtedly faulty, in putting *Popery*, *Prelacy*, and *Licentiouſneſs of Manners*, upon a level. The open Toleration of Popery is hardly conſiſtent with the Safety of a Proteſtant Government; and Licentiouſneſs of Manners, is not to be indulged in any civilized Nation; but if the Epiſcopalians would have given Security for their living peaceably under their new Maſters, they ought certainly to have been protected; however, the Protector did not in every Inſtance adhere ſtrictly to the *Inſtrument*.

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But though in point of Policy the Epiſcopalians were at this Time excepted from a legal Toleration, their Aſſemblies were connived at; and ſeveral of their Clergy indulged the publick Exerciſe of their Miniſtry without the Fetters of Oaths, Subſcriptions, or Engagements; as Dr. *Hall*, afterwards Biſhop of *Cheſter*, Dr. *Wild*, *Pearſon*, *Ball*, *Hardy*, *Griffith*, *Farringdon*, and others. Several of the Biſhops who had been kept from publick Service by the *Covenant* and *Engagement*, preached again publickly in the City, as Archbiſhop *Uſher*, Biſhop *Brownrigge*, and others. Mr. *Baxter*, who was very far from being a Friend of the

Epiſcopalians tolerated.

Oliver *Protector.* 1653. p. 186.

the Protector's, says, "That all Men were suffered to "live quietly, and enjoy their Properties under his "Government —— That he removed the Terrors "and Prejudices which hinder'd the Success of the "Gospel, especially considering that Godliness had "Countenance and Reputation as well as Liberty, "whereas before, if it did not appear in all the Fetters "and Formalities of the Times, it was the Way to "common Shame and Ruin. 'Tis well known that "the Presbyterians did not approve of the *Usurpation*, "but when they saw that *Cromwel*'s Design was to do "Good in the Main, and encourage Religion as far as "his Cause would admit, they acquiesced." And then comparing these Times with those after the Restoration, he adds, "I shall for the Future think that "Land happy, where the People have but bare Li-"berty to be as good as they are willing; and if "Countenance and Maintenance be but added to Li-"berty, and tolerated Errors and Sects be but forced "to keep the Peace, I shall not hereafter much fear "such a Toleration, nor despair that Truth will bear "down its Adversaries." This was a considerable Testimony to the *Protector*'s Administration from the Pen of an Adversary.

Protector's Council.

The Protector's first Council were, Major General *Lambert*, Lieutenant General *Fleetwood*, Colonel *Montague*, afterwards Earl of *Sandwich*; *Philip* Lord Viscount *Lisle*, since Earl of *Leicester*; Colonel *Desborough*, Sir *Gilbert Pickering*, Sir *Anthony Ashley Cooper*, afterwards Earl of *Shaftsbury*; Sir *Charles Woolsley*, Major General *Skippon*, Mr. *Strickland*, Colonel *Sydenham*, Colonel *Jones*, Mr. *Rouse*, Mr. *Lawrence*, and Mr. *Major*: Men of great Name in those Times; some of whom made a considerable Figure after the Restoration. The Protector's wise Conduct appeared in nothing more than his unwearied Endeavours to make all Religious Parties easy. He indulged the Army in their enthusiastick Raptures, and sometimes joined in their Prayers and Sermons. He countenanced

ced the *Presbyterians*, by assuring them he would maintain the publick Ministry, and give them all due Encouragement. He supported the *Independants*, by making them his Chaplains; by preferring them to considerable Livings in the Church and Universities; and by joining them in one Commission with the Presbyterians as TRYERS of all such as desired to be admitted to Benefices. But he absolutely forbid the Clergy of every Denomination dealing in Politicks, as not belonging to their Profession; and when he perceived the *Managing Presbyterians* took too much upon them, he always found means to mortify them; and would sometimes glory that he had curbed that insolent Sect, that would suffer none but it self. Oliver *Protector.* 1653.

It was happy for the wise and moderate Presbyterians, that the *Protector* disarmed their Discipline of its coercive Power, for he still left them all that was sufficient for the Purposes of Religion; they had their Monthly or Quarterly Classical Presbyteries in every County, for the Ordination of Ministers, by Imposition of Hands, according to the *Directory*, to whom they gave Certificates, or Testimonials, in the following Words: *State of the Presbyterians.*

" WE the Ministers of the Presbytery of ——— having examined Mr. ——— according to " the Tenor of the Ordinance for that purpose, and " finding him duly qualified and gifted for that holy " Office and Employment (no just Exception having " been made to his Ordination) have approved him, " and accordingly on the Day and Year hereafter ex- " pressed, have proceeded solemnly to set him apart to " the Office of a Preaching Presbyter, and Work of " the Ministry, with Fasting and Prayer, and Impo- " sition of Hands; and do hereby actually admit him " (as far as concerns us) to perform all the Offices and " Duties of a faithful Minister of Jesus Christ. In " Witness whereof we have hereunto subscribed our " Names this ——— Day of *September*, 1653." *Copies of Testimonials.*

Oliver *Protector.* 1653.

Other Teſtimonials were in this Form:

"WE the Miniſters of Chriſt, who are called to watch over this Part of his Flock in the City of —— with the Aſſiſtance of ſome others, that we might not be wanting to the Service of the Church in its Neceſſity, having received credible Teſtimonials, under the Hands of divers Miniſters of the Goſpel, and others, of the ſober, righteous, and godly Converſation of —— as alſo concerning his Gifts for the Miniſtry, have proceeded to make further Trial of his Fitneſs for ſo great a Work; and being in ſome good Meaſure ſatisfied concerning his Piety and Ability, have, upon the Day of —— 1653. proceeded ſolemnly to ſet him apart to the Office of a Preſbyter, and Work of the Miniſtry, by laying on our Hands with Faſting and Prayer; by Virtue whereof we do eſteem and declare him a lawful Miniſter of Chriſt, and hereby recommend him to the Church of —— In Witneſs whereof we have ſet our Hands, *&c.*"

Aſſociations of Miniſters in the Countries.

When the Preſbyterians found that their Claſſes could obtain no Power to inflict Pains and Penalties on thoſe who refuſed to ſubmit to their Diſcipline, the Miniſters of the ſeveral Denominations, in the Country, began to enter into friendly Aſſociations for brotherly Council and Advice. Mr. *Baxter*, and his Brethren of *Worceſterſhire*, formed a Scheme upon ſuch general Principles as all good Men were agreed in, which he communicated to the Reverend Mr. *Vines* and *Gataker*; and when he had drawn up *Articles of Concord* he ſubmitted them to the Correction of Archbiſhop *Uſher*, and other Epiſcopal Divines, who agreed with him, that no more Diſcipline ſhould be practiſed than the Epiſcopalian, Preſbyterian, and Independant Divines agreed in; that they ſhould not *meddle with Politicks, or Affairs of Civil Government in their Aſſemblies, nor pretend to exerciſe the Power of the Keys, or any Church Cen-*

Baxter's *Life*, Part II. p. 147, *&c.* p. 167, *&c.*

Oliver Protector 1653.

Cenſures, but only to aſſiſt, adviſe, and encourage each other in propagating Truth and Holineſs, and in keeping their Churches from prophane and ſcandalous Communicants. Their Meetings were appointed to be once a Month in ſome Market Town, where there was a Sermon in the Morning; and after Dinner the Converſation was upon ſuch Points of Doctrine or Diſcipline as required Advice; or elſe an Hour was ſpent in diſputing upon ſome Theological Queſtion which had been appointed the Month before. Doctor *Warmeſtry*, afterwards Dean of *Worceſter*, and Dr. *Good*, one of the Prebendaries of *Hereford*, ſent Mr. *Baxter* a Letter, dated *Sept.* 20. 1653. wherein they teſtify their Approbation of the Aſſociation abovementioned, and of the Articles of Concord.

In the Weſt of *England* Mr. *Hughes* of *Plimouth*, and Mr. *Good* of *Exeter*, prevailed with the Miniſters of the ſeveral Perſuaſions in thoſe Parts to follow the Example of *Worceſterſhire*; accordingly they parcell'd themſelves into four Diviſions, which met once a Quarter; and all Four had a general Meeting for Concord once a Year: The Reverend Mr. *Hughes* preſided in thoſe of 1655, and 1656. The Moderator began and ended with Prayer, and ſeveral of the *Epiſcopal* Divines of the beſt Character, as well as *Independants*, join'd with them; "The chief of the "Preſbyterian and Independant Divines, who were "weary of Diviſions, and willing to ſtrengthen each "others Hands, united in theſe Aſſemblies, though "the exaſperated Prelatiſts, the more rigid Preſbyte-"rians, and ſeverer Sort of Independants kept at a "Diſtance: But many remarkable Advantages (ſays "Mr. *Baxter*) attended theſe Aſſociations;" they opened and preſerv'd a friendly Correſpondence among the Miniſters; they removed a great many Prejudices and Miſunderſtandings, inſomuch that the Controverſies and Heats of angry Men began to be allayed, their Spirits better'd, and the Ends of Religion more generally promoted.

Oliver *Protector.* 1653.

But theſe Country Aſſociations were not countenanced by the more zealous Preſbyterians of *London*, who met weekly at *Sion College*; they could hardly digeſt a Toleration of the Sectaries, much leſs ſubmit to a Coalition, but reſolved to keep cloſe to the Ordinances of Parliament, and to the Acts of their Provincial Aſſembly: They wanted the Sword of Diſcipline, and were impatient under the preſent Reſtraints; and nothing but the watchful Eye of the *Protector*, whoſe Spies were in every Corner, kept them from preaching, praying, and plotting againſt the Government. However, the Country Miniſters being eaſy in their Poſſeſſions, cultivated good Neighbourhood, and ſpread the Aſſociations through *Wiltſhire*, *Eſſex*, *Hampſhire*, *Dorſetſhire*, *Cumberland*, *Weſtmoreland*, and other Parts; and if I am not miſinformed, there are the like brotherly Aſſociations among the Diſſenters, in ſeveral Counties, to this Day.

Not countenanced by the London *Preſbyterians.*

Death of Doctor Gouge.

This Year died old Dr. *William Gouge*, born at *Stratford Bow* in the Year 1575. and educated at *Eaton College*, *Cambridge*, of which he was Fellow. He enter'd into Orders 1607. and the very next Year was ſettled at *Black Friars*, *London*, where he continued to his Death. He commenced Doctor of Divinity in the Year 1628. about which Time he became one of the Feoffees for buying up Impropriations, for which he was ordered to be proſecuted in the *Star Chamber*. In the Year 1643. he was nominated one of the Aſſembly of Divines, and was in ſuch Reputation, that he often filled the *Moderator's Chair* in his Abſence. He was a modeſt, humble, and affable Perſon, of ſtrict and exemplary Piety; an univerſal Scholar, and a moſt conſtant Preacher, as long as he was able to get up into the Pulpit. For many Years he was eſteemed the Father of the *London* Miniſters, and died comfortably and piouſly, *December* 12. 1653. in the 79th Year of his Age, having been Miniſter of *Black Friars*, almoſt Forty ſix Years.

Doctor

Doctor *Thomas Hill*, of whom mention has been made before, was born in *Worcestershire*, and educated in *Emanuel College*, *Cambridge*, of which he was a Fellow, and Tutor to young Scholars for many Years. He was afterwards preferr'd to the Living of *Tichmarsh* in *Northamptonshire*, and was chosen into the Assembly of Divines for that County. While he was at *London* he preached every Lord's Day at St. *Martin's in the Fields*, and was one of the Morning Lecturers at *Westminster Abbey*. He was afterwards chosen to be Master of *Emanuel College*, *Cambridge*, and from thence removed to *Trinity College*; in which Stations he behaved with great Prudence and Circumspection. He was a good Scholar, and very careful of the Antiquities and Privileges of the University; a strict *Calvinist*, a plain, powerful, and practical Preacher, and of an holy and unblameable Conversation. He died of a Quartan Ague, *December* 18. 1653. in an advanced Age, very much lamented by his Acquaintance and Brethren.

Oliver *Protector.* 1653.

Of Dr. Hill. Clark's *Lives.*

CHAP. III.

From the Beginning of the Protectorſhip of OLIVER CROMWELL *to his Death.*

Oliver *Protector.* 1653.

IF the Reader will carefully review the Unhappy State of the Nation at this Time, the Strength of the ſeveral Parties of oppoſite Intereſts, and almoſt equal Power, each reſolved upon his own Scheme of Settlement, and all conſpiring againſt the preſent, he will be ſurprized that any wiſe Man ſhould be prevailed with to put himſelf at the Head of ſuch a disjointed Body; and much more, that ſuch a Genius ſhould ariſe, that without any foreign Alliances was capable of guarding againſt ſo many foreign and domeſtick Enemies, and of ſteering the Commonwealth through ſuch an Hurricane, clear of the Rocks and Quickſands which threaten'd its Ruin.

State of the Nation.

Protector gives Peace to the Dutch.

This was the Province that the Mighty OLIVER undertook, with the Stile and Title of Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*. He aſſumed all the State and Ceremony of a crowned Head; his Houſhold Officers and Guards attended in their Places, and his Court appeared in as great Splendor, and more Order, than had been ſeen at *Whitehall* ſince Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign. His firſt Concern was to fill the Courts of Juſtice with the ableſt Lawyers; Sir *Matthew Hales* was made Lord Chief Juſtice of the *Common Pleas*; Mr. *Maynard*, *Twiſden*, *Newdigate* and *Windham*, Serjeants at Law; Mr. *Thurloe* Secretary of State; and *Monk* Governor of *Scotland*. His next Care was to deliver himſelf from his foreign Enemies; for this Purpoſe he gave Peace to the *Dutch*, which the Greatneſs of his Reputation enabled him to accompliſh without the Ceremony of a formal Treaty; he therefore ſent his Secretary *Thurloe* with the Conditions to which they were to ſubmit; the *Dutch* pleaded for Abatements, but

but his HIGHNESS was at a Point, and obliged them to deliver up the Iſland of *Polerone* in the *Eaſt Indies*; to pay three Hundred Thouſand Pounds for the Affair of *Amboyna*; to abandon the Intereſts of King *Charles* II. to exclude the Prince of *Orange* from being Stadtholder, and to yield up the Sovereignty of the Seas. Oliver *Protector.* 1654.

When this was accompliſhed moſt of the foreign Powers of *Europe* ſent to compliment his *Highneſs* upon his Advancement, and to cultivate his Friendſhip: The King of *Portugal* aſked Pardon for receiving Prince *Rupert* into his Ports; the *Danes* got themſelves included in the *Dutch* Treaty, and became Security for one Hundred and forty Thouſand Pounds Damages done to the *Engliſh* Shipping; the *Swedes* ſued for an Alliance, which was concluded with their Ambaſſador; the Crown of *Spain* made Offers which the Protector would not accept; but the Addreſs of the *French Ambaſſador* was very extraordinary; the Protector received him in the *Banquetting Houſe* at *Whitehall*, with all the State and Magnificence of a crowned Head; and the Ambaſſador having made his Obeiſance, acquainted his *Highneſs* with the King his Maſter's Deſire to eſtabliſh a Correſpondence between his Dominions and *England*. He mentioned the Value of the Friendſhip of *France*, and how much it was courted by the greateſt Potentates of the Earth; "but (ſays "the Ambaſſador) the King my Maſter communi- "cates his Reſolutions to none with ſo much Joy and "Chearfulneſs, as to thoſe whoſe virtuous Actions, "and extraordinary Merits, render them more con- "ſpicuouſly Famous, than the Largeneſs of their Do- "minions. His Majeſty is ſenſible, that all theſe "Advantages do wholly reſide in your HIGHNESS, "and that the Divine Providence, after ſo many Ca- "lamities, could not deal more favourably with theſe "three Nations, nor cauſe them to forget their paſt "Miſeries with greater Satisfaction, than by ſubſtitu- "ting them to ſo juſt a Government —"

His high Reputation among foreign Nations.

French *Ambaſſador's Speech.*

Oliver *Protector.* 1654.

But the Protector's moſt dangerous Enemies were the *Royaliſts*, *Presbyterians*, and *Republicans* at home; the former threaten'd him with an Aſſaſſination, upon which he declared openly, that though he would never begin ſo deteſtable a Practice, yet if any of the King's Party ſhould attempt it and fail, he would make an aſſaſſinating War of it, and deſtroy the whole Family, which he had Servants ready to execute; the Terror of which was a greater Security to him than his Coat of Mail or Guards. The Protector had the Skill always to diſcover the moſt ſecret Deſigns of the Royaliſts by ſome of their own Number, whom he ſpared no Coſt to gain over to his Intereſts. Sir *Richard Willis* was Chancellor *Hide*'s chief Confident, to whom he writ often, and in whom all the Party confided, as in an able and wiſe States-Man; but the Protector gained him with two Hundred Pounds a Year, by which means he had all the King's Party in a Net, and let them dance in it at pleaſure. He had another Correſpondent in the King's little Family, one *Manning* a *Roman* Catholick, who gave Secretary *Thurloe* Intelligence of all his Majeſty's Councils and Proceedings. But though the King's Friends were always in one Plot or other againſt the Protector's Perſon and Government, he always behaved with Decency towards them, as long as they kept within tolerable Bounds; and without all queſtion, the ſevere Laws that were made againſt the Epiſcopal Party were not on the Account of Religion, but of their irreconcileable Averſion to the Government.

Protector's domeſtick Enemies. Of the Cavaliers.

Burn. p. 65.

The Preſbyterians.

The whole Body of the *Presbyterians* were in Principle for the King and the Covenant, but after the Battle of *Worceſter*, and the Execution of Mr. *Love*, they were terrified into a Compliance with the Commonwealth, though they diſallowed their Proceedings, and were pleaſed to ſee them broken in pieces; but the ſurprizing Advancement of *Cromwel* to the Protectorſhip filled them with new Terrors, and threaten'd the Overthrow of their *Church Power*, for they conſider'd

ſider'd him not only as an *Uſurper*, but a *Sectarian*, who would countenance the free Exerciſe of Religion to all that would live peaceably under his Government; and though he aſſured them he would continue Religion upon the Foot of the preſent Eſtabliſhment, yet nothing would content them as long as their Diſcipline was diſarmed of its coercive Power. Oliver *Protector.* 1654.

But the Protector's moſt determined Adverſaries were the *Commonwealth Party*; theſe were divided into two Branches; *one* had little or no Religion, but were for a Democracy in the State, and univerſal Liberty of Conſcience in Religion; the Heads of them were *Deiſts*, or in the Language of the Protector, *Heathens*, as *Algernoon Sidney*, *Henry Neville*, *Martin*, *Wildman* and *Harrington*. It was impoſſible to work upon theſe Men, or reconcile them to the Government of a ſingle Perſon, and therefore he diſarmed them of their Power. The *other* were high Enthuſiaſts, and Fifth Monarchy Men, who were in Expectation of *King Jeſus*, and of a glorious Thouſand Years Reign of Chriſt upon Earth. They were for pulling down Churches (ſays Biſhop *Burnet*) for diſcharging Tithes, and leaving Religion free (as they called it) without either Encouragement or Reſtraint. Moſt of them were for deſtroying the Clergy, and for breaking every Thing that look'd like a National Eſtabliſhment. Theſe the Protector endeavoured to gain, by aſſuring them in private Converſation, "That he had "no manner of Inclination to aſſume the Government, "but had rather have been content with a Shepherd's "Staff, were it not abſolutely neceſſary to keep the Na"tion from falling to Pieces, and becoming a Prey to "the common Enemy; that he only ſtept in be"tween the Living and the Dead, as he expreſſed it, "and this only till God ſhould direct them on what Bot"tom to ſettle, when he would ſurrender his Dignity "with a Joy equal to the Sorrow with which he had ta"ken it up." With the Chiefs of this Party he affected to converſe upon Terms of great Familiarity, ſhutting *The Republicans.* p. 67.

Oliver *Protector.* 1654.

the Door, and making them ſit down covered in his Preſence, to let them ſee how little he valued thoſe Diſtances he was bound to obſerve for Form ſake with others; he talked with them in their own Language, and the Converſation commonly ended with a long Prayer.

His Friends.

The Protector's chief Support againſt theſe powerful Adverſaries were the *Independants*, the *City* of *London*, and the *Army*; the former look'd upon him as the Head of their Party, though he was no more theirs than as he was averſe to Church Power, and for an univerſal Toleration. He courted the City of *London* with a decent Reſpect, declaring, upon all Occaſions, his Reſolution to confirm their Privileges, and conſult Meaſures for promoting Trade and Commerce. Theſe, in return, after his Inſtalment, entertained him at Dinner in a moſt Magnificent and Prince-like Manner, and by degrees modell'd their Magiſtrates to his Mind. But his chief Dependance was upon the Army, which being made up of different Parties, he took care to reform by Degrees, till they were in a manner entirely at his Devotion. He paid the Soldiers well, and advanced them according to their Merits, and Zeal for his Government, without regard to their Birth, or Seniority.

Burnet, p. 68.

Remarks.

It was the Protector's Happineſs, that the Parties above-mentioned had as great an Enmity to each other, as to the Protector himſelf; the *Cavaliers* hated the Preſbyterians and Republicans, as *theſe* did the Cavaliers; the *Royaliſts* fancied that all who were againſt the Protector muſt join with them in reſtoring the King; while the *Preſbyterians* were puſhing for their Covenant Uniformity, and the *Republicans* for a Commonwealth. *Cromwel* had the Skill not only to keep them divided, but to encreaſe their Jealouſies of each other, and by that Means to diſconcert all their Meaſures againſt himſelf. Let the Reader recollect what a difficult Situation this was; and, what a *Genius* it muſt require to maintain ſo high a Reputation abroad,

in

in the Midſt of ſo many domeſtick Enemies, who were continually plotting his Deſtruction. Oliver *Protector.* 1654.

In purſuance of the *Inſtrument of Government*, the Protector publiſhed an Ordinance, *April* 12. to incorporate the two Kingdom of *Scotland* and *England*. The Ordinance ſets forth, "That whereas the Parliament in 1651. had ſent Commiſſioners into *Scotland*, to invite that Nation to an Union with *England* under one Government; and whereas the Conſent of the *Shires* and *Boroughs* was then obtained, therefore for compleating that Work, he ordains, That the People of *Scotland*, and all the Territories thereunto belonging, ſhall be incorporated into one Commonwealth with *England*, and that in every Parliament to be held ſucceſſively for the ſaid Commonwealth, thirty Members ſhall be called from thence to ſerve for *Scotland*—" Shortly after *Ireland* was incorporated after the ſame Manner; and from this Time the Arms of *Scotland* and *Ireland* were quartered with thoſe of *England*. Scotland *and* Ireland *incorporated with* England.

But the Protector was hardly fixed in his Chair before an Aſſaſſination Plot of the Royaliſts was diſcovered, and three of the Conſpirators *(viz.)* Mr. *Fox*, Mr. *Gerhard*, and Mr. *Vowel*, were apprehended, and tried before an high Court of Juſtice, for Conſpiring to murder the Lord Protector as he was going to *Hampton Court*, to ſeize the Guards, and the *Tower* of *London*; and to proclaim the King. Mr. *Fox*, who confeſſed moſt of what was alledg'd againſt him, pleaded guilty, and was reprieved; but the other Two putting themſelves on their Trial, though they denied the Juriſdiction of the Court, were convicted, and executed *July* 10. *Gerhard*, a young hot-headed Enſign in the late King's Army being beheaded; and *Vowel*, a School Maſter at *Iſlington*, hanged at *Charing Croſs*: *Gerhard* confeſſed he knew of the Plot, but *Vowel* was ſilent. Theſe Commotions were the Occaſion of the Hardſhips the Royaliſts underwent ſome Time after. *Plot of the Royaliſts.*

Don

Oliver *Protector.* 1654.

Portugueze *Ambaſſador's Brother executed.*

Don Pantaleon Sa, Brother of the *Portugueze* Ambaſſador, was beheaded the ſame Day, upon account of a Riot and Murder in the *New Exchange*. *Pantaleon* had quarrell'd with the above-mentioned *Gerhard*, and to revenge himſelf, brought his Servants next Day armed with Swords and Piſtols to kill him; but inſtead of *Gerhard*, they killed another Man, and wounded ſeveral others. The *Portugueze* Knight, and his Aſſociates, fled to the Ambaſſador's Houſe for Sanctuary, but the Mob followed them, and threaten'd to pull down the Houſe, unleſs they were delivered up to Juſtice. The *Protector* being informed of the Tumult, ſent an Officer with a Party of Soldiers to demand the Murderers. The Ambaſſador pleaded his publick Character, but the *Protector* would admit of no Excuſe; and therefore being forced to deliver them up, they were tried and convicted, by a Jury half *Engliſh* and half Foreigners; the Servants (ſays *Whitlock*) were reprieved and pardoned; but the Ambaſſador's Brother, who was the Principal, notwithſtanding all the Interceſſion that could be made for his Life, was carried in a Mourning Coach to *Tower Hill* and beheaded. This remarkable Act of Juſtice raiſed the People's Eſteem of the Protector's Reſolution, and of the Juſtice of his Government.

p. 577.

A new Parliament.

In order to a better Settlement of the Nation, the Protector ſummoned a Parliament to meet at *Weſtminſter*, *September* 3. which being reckon'd one of his auſpicious Days, he would not alter, though it fell on a *Sunday*; the Houſe met accordingly, and having waited upon the Protector in the *Painted Chamber*, adjourned to the next Day, *September* 4. when his HIGHNESS rode from *Whitehall* to *Weſtminſter* with all the Pomp and State of the greateſt Monarch; ſome Hundreds of Gentlemen went before him uncovered; his Pages and Lacqueys in the richeſt Liveries; the Captains of his Guards on each ſide his Coach, with their Attendance, all uncover'd; then follow'd the Commiſſioners of the Treaſury, Maſter of Ceremonies,

The Protector's State.

nies, and other Officers. The Sword, the Great Seal, the Purſe, and four Maces, were carried before him by their proper Officers. Oliver *Protector.* 1654.

After a Sermon preached by Dr. *Tho. Goodwin* his Highneſs repaired to the *Painted Chamber*, and being ſeated in a Chair of State, raiſed by ſundry Steps, he made a Speech to the Members, in which he complain'd of the *Levellers* and Fifth Monarchy Men, who were for ſubverting all the eſtabliſhed Laws, and for throwing all Things back into Confuſion. He put them in mind of the Difficulties the Nation was involved in at the Time when he aſſumed the Government. *His Speech.* Whitl. p. 582.

"That it was at War with *Portugal*, *Holland*, and "*France*; which together with the Diviſion among our "ſelves (ſays he) begat a Confidence in the Enemy that "we could not hold out long. In this heap of Confuſion it was neceſſary to apply ſome Remedy that the "Nation might not ſink; and the Remedy (ſays he) is "THIS GOVERNMENT, which is calculated for the Intereſt of the People alone, without regard to any other, "let Men ſay what they will; I can ſpeak with Comfort "before a Greater than you all as to my own Intention. "Since this Government has been erected, Men of the "moſt known Integrity and Ability have been put "into Seats of Juſtice. The *Chancery* has been reformed. It has put a Stop to that heady Way for "every Man that will, to make himſelf a Preacher, by "ſettling a Way for Approbation of Men of Piety and "fitneſs for the Work. It hath taken care to expunge "Men unfit for that Work; and now, at length, it "has been inſtrumental of calling a free Parliament.

"A Peace is now made with *Sweden*, and with the *Danes*; a Peace honourable to the Nation, and ſatisfactory to the Merchants. A Peace is made with the *Dutch*, and with *Portugal*; and ſuch an one that the People that trade thither have Liberty of Conſcience, without being ſubject to the bloody Inquiſition." He then adviſes them to concert Meaſures for the Support of the preſent Government, and deſires

Oliver *Protector.* 1654.

deſires them to believe, that he ſpoke to them not as one that intended to be a Lord over them, but as one that was reſolved to be a Fellow-Servant with them for the Intereſt of their Country; and then having exhorted them to Unanimity, he diſmiſſed them to their Houſe to chuſe a Speaker.

Proceedings of the Houſe.

William Lenthal, Eſq; Maſter of the Rolls, and Speaker of the Long Parliament, was choſen without Oppoſition. The firſt Thing the Houſe went upon was the *Inſtrument of Government*, which occaſioned many warm Debates, and was like to throw all back into Confuſion. To prevent this the Protector gave Orders, *Sept.* 12. that as the Members came to the Houſe they ſhould be directed to attend his Highneſs in the *Painted Chamber*, where he made the following remarkable Speech, which deſerves the Reader's careful Attention. "Gentlemen, I am ſurprized at "your Conduct, in debating ſo freely the *Inſtrument* "*of Government*, for the ſame Power that has made "you a Parliament has appointed me PROTECTOR, "ſo that if you diſpute the one, you muſt diſown the "other. He added, That he was a Gentleman by "Birth, and had been called to ſeveral Employments "in Parliament, and in the Wars, which being at an "End, he was willing to retire to a private Life, and "prayed to be diſmiſſed, but could not obtain it. "That he had preſſed the *Long Parliament*, as a "Member, to diſſolve themſelves; but finding they "intended to continue their Seſſions, he thought "himſelf obliged to diſmiſs them, and to call "ſome Perſons together from the ſeveral Parts of "the Nation, to ſee if they could fall upon a bet-"ter Settlement. Accordingly he reſigned up all "his Power into their Hands, but they after ſome "Time returned it back to him. After this (ſays "he) *divers Gentlemen having conſulted together,* "*framed the preſent Model without my privity*, and "told me, that unleſs I would undertake the ſame, "Blood and Confuſion would break in upon them;

Protector's Speech. Dugdale.

"but

" but I refuſed again and again, till conſidering that
" it did not put me into an higher Capacity than I
" was in before, I conſented; ſince which Time I
" have had the Thanks of the *Army*, the *Fleet*, the
" *City* of *London*, and of great Numbers of Gentry in
" the three Nations. Now the Government being
" thus ſettled, I apprehend there are four Fundamen-
" tals which may not be examined into, or alter'd.
" (1.) That the Government be in a ſingle Perſon and
" a Parliament. (2.) That Parliaments be not perpe-
" tual. (3.) The Article relating to the Militia.
" And, (4.) A due Liberty of Conſcience in Matters
" of Religion. Other Things in the Government
" may be changed as Occaſion requires. For as much
" therefore as you have gone about to ſubvert the
" Fundamentals of this Government, and throw all
" Things back into Confuſion, to prevent the like
" for the future I am neceſſitated to appoint you a
" *Teſt*, or *Recognition* of the Government, by which
" you are made a Parliament, before you go any more
" into the Houſe." Accordingly at their return, they found a Guard at the Door denying Entrance to any who would not firſt ſign the following Engagement. *I A. B. do hereby freely promiſe, and engage to be true and faithful to the Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of* England, Scotland, *and* Ireland, *and will not propoſe or give my Conſent to alter the Government, as it is ſettled in one ſingle Perſon and a Parliament.* About three Hundred of the Members ſigned the Recognition, and having took their Place in the Houſe, with ſome Difficulty confirmed the *Inſtrument of Government* almoſt in every Thing, but the Right of nominating a Succeſſor to the preſent Protector; which they reſerved to the Parliament. They voted the preſent Lord Protector to continue for Life. They continued the Standing Army of ten Thouſand Horſe and twenty Thouſand Foot, and ſixty Thouſand Pounds a Month for their Maintenance. They gave the *Protector* two hundred Thouſand Pounds a Year for his Civil Liſt,

Oliver Protector. 1654.

Whitl. p. 587.

The Recognition.

Oliver *Protector.* 1654.

and aſſigned *Whitehall*, St. *James*'s, and the reſt of the late King's Houſes, for his Uſe; but they were out of Humour, and were ſo far from ſhewing reſpect to the Court, that they held no manner of Correſpondence with it; which, together with their voting, That *no one Clauſe of what they had agreed upon ſhould be binding, unleſs the Whole were conſented to*, provoked the *Protector*, as derogating from his Power of conſenting to, or refuſing particular Bills, and therefore having diſcovered ſeveral Plots againſt his Government ready to break out, in which ſome of the Members were concerned, he ſent for them into the *Painted Chamber*, *Jan.* 22. and after a long and intricate Speech, in which, after ſome ſtrong Expreſſions in favour of Liberty to Men of the ſame Faith, tho' of different Judgments in leſſer Matters, he complained, that they had taken no more Notice of him, either by Meſſage or Addreſs, than if there had been no ſuch Perſon in being; that they had done nothing for the Honour and Support of the Government, but ſpent their Time in fruitleſs Debates of little Conſequence, while the Nation was bleeding to Death; and inſtead of making Things eaſy, that they had laid a Foundation for future Diſſatisfactions; he therefore diſſolved them, without confirming any of their Acts, after they had ſat five Months, according to the *Inſtrument of Government*, reckoning *Twenty eight Days* to a Month. This was thought an unpopular Action, and a renouncing the additional Title the Parliament would have given him; but this GREAT MAN with the Sword in his Hand was not to be joſtled out of the Saddle with Votes and Reſolutions; and if one may credit his Speech, his aſſuming the Government was not ſo much the Effect of his own Ambition, as of a bold Reſolution to prevent the Nation's falling back into Anarchy and Blood.

Life *of* Cromwel. p. 291.

Protector diſſolves them.

Plot of the Republicans. Whitl. p. 600.

Upon the Riſing of the Parliament Major General *Harriſon*, one of the Chiefs of the *Republicans*, was taken into Cuſtody; and Mr. *John Wildman*, who had been

been expell'd the Houſe, was apprehended as he was drawing up a Paper, entitled, *A Declaration of the free and well affected People of* England *now in Arms againſt the Tyrant* OLIVER CROMWEL; which prevented the Riſing of that Party. Oliver *Protector.* 1654.

The *Royaliſts* were buying up Arms at the ſame Time, and preparing to riſe in ſeveral Parts of the Kingdom. They had procured Commiſſions from the young King at *Cologn*, and deſired his Majeſty to be ready on the Sea Coaſt by the 11th of *March*, when there would be a Revolt in the Army, and when *Dover Caſtle* would be delivered into their Hands. The King accordingly removed to *Middleburgh* in *Zealand*; but the Protector had Intelligence of it from his Spies, and declared it openly as ſoon as he was arrived, which intimidated the Conſpirators, and made them fear they were diſcovered: However, about the Time appointed, ſome ſmall Parties of Royaliſts got together in *Shropſhire* with an Intent to ſurprize *Shrewſbury* and *Chirk* Caſtle. A Cart load of Arms was brought to a Place of Rendezvous for the Northern Parts, where they were to be headed by *Wilmot* Earl of *Rocheſter*; but they no ſooner met but they diſperſed for fear of being fallen upon by the regular Troops. In the *Weſt* Sir *Joſeph Wagſtaffe*, Colonel *Penruddock*, Captain *Hugh Grove*, Mr. *Jones*, and others, enter'd the City of *Salisbury*, with 200 Horſe well armed, in the Time of the Aſſizes, and ſeized the Judges *Rolls* and *Nichols*, with the Sheriff of the County, whom they reſolved to hang. They proclaimed the King, and threaten'd Violence to ſuch as would not join them; but the Country not coming in according to their Expectations they were intimidated, and after five or ſix Hours marched away into *Dorſetſhire*, and from thence to *Devonſhire*, where Captain *Crook* overtook them, and with one ſingle Troop of Horſe defeated, and took moſt of them Priſoners; *Penruddock* and *Grove* were beheaded at *Exeter*; and ſome few others *And of the Royaliſts.* Clar. Vol. III. p. 551.

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others were hanged at *Salisbury*, the Place where they had ſo lately triumph'd.

Protector's Vigilance. Whitl. p. 602.

The Vigilance of the Protector on this Occaſion is almoſt incredible; he cauſed a great many ſuſpected Lords and Gentlemen to be ſecured; he ſent Letters to the Juſtices of Peace in every County, whom he had already changed to his mind, commanding them to look out, and to ſecure all Perſons who ſhould make the leaſt Diſturbance. And his private Intelligence of Peoples Diſcourſe and Behaviour, in every Corner of the Land, never failed.

And Severity againſt them by Decimation.

If the Reader will duly conſider the Danger ariſing from theſe Commotions, and the Neceſſity of ſtriking ſome Terror into the Authors of them, he will eaſily account for the Protector's Severity againſt the Royaliſts; when therefore the Inſurrection was quaſh'd he reſolved to make the *whole Party* pay the Expence; and accordingly, with the Conſent of his Council, publiſhed an Order, "That all who had been in Arms "for the King, or had declared themſelves of the "*Royal Party*, ſhould be decimated; that is, pay a "tenth Part of their Eſtates, to ſupport the Charge "of ſuch extraordinary Forces as their turbulent and "ſeditious Practices oblig'd him to keep up; for "which Purpoſe Commiſſioners were appointed in "every County, and conſiderable Sums were brought "into the Treaſury." To juſtify this extraordinary Method of Proceeding, the Protector publiſhed another Declaration; in which he complains of the Irreconcileableneſs of thoſe who had adhered to the King, towards all thoſe who had ſerved their Country on the Side of the Parliament; that they were now to be looked upon as publick Enemies, and to be kept from being able to do Miſchief, ſince it ſufficiently appear'd that they were always diſpoſed to do all they could. Upon theſe Accounts he thought it highly reaſonable, and declares it to be his Reſolution, that if any deſperate Attempts were undertaken by them for the future, the whole Party ſhould ſuffer for it.

To

Oliver *Protector.* 1654.

To return to the Affairs of Religion: Though the Presbyterian Discipline was at a low Ebb, it was still the established Religion of the Nation. The Provincial Assembly of *London* continued their Sessions at *Sion College* every half Year, and endeavoured to support the Dignity of the Ministerial Office. Complaint having been made that the Pulpit Doors were set open to Laymen, and gifted Brethren, they appointed a Committee to collect Materials for the Vindication of the Ministerial Character, which being revised by the Synod, was published this Summer under the Title of *Jus Divinum Ministerii Evangelici*: Or, *The Divine Right of an Evangelical Ministry, in Two Parts. By the Provincial Assembly of* London. *With an Appendix, of the Judgment and Practice of Antiquity.*

Affairs of Religion.

Attempts to settle Fundamentals. Baxter's *Life,* Part II. p. 197.

In the Debates of Parliament upon the *Instrument of Government* it was observed, that by the Thirty seventh Article, *All who professed Faith in God by Jesus Christ should be protected in their Religion.* This was interpreted, to imply an Agreement in *Fundamentals.* Upon which it was voted, That *all should be tolerated, or indulged, who professed the Fundamentals of Christianity*; and a Committee was appointed to nominate certain Divines to draw up a Catalogue of *Fundamentals* to be presented to the House: The Committee being about Fourteen, named each of them a Divine; among others Archbishop *Usher* was nominated, but he declining the Affair, Mr. *Baxter* was appointed in his room: The rest that acted, were

Committee to draw up the Fundamentals of Religion.

Dr. *Owen*,	Mr. *Nye*,
Dr. *Goodwin*,	Mr. *Sydrach Simpson*,
Dr. *Cheynel*,	Mr. *Vines*,
Mr. *Marshal*,	Mr. *Manton*,
Mr. *Reyner*,	Mr. *Jacomb.*

Mr. *Baxter* would have persuaded his Brethren to offer the Committee the *Apostles Creed*, the *Lord's Prayer*, and the *Ten Commandments* alone, as containing

Life, Part II. P. 198.

Oliver *Protector.* 1654.

taining the *Fundamentals* of Religion; but it was objected, that this would include *Socinians* and *Papiſts*. Mr. *Baxter* replied, That it was ſo much fitter for a Centre of Unity or Concord, becauſe it was impoſſible, in his Opinion, to deviſe a Form of Words which Hereticks would not ſubſcribe, when they had perverted them to their own Senſe. But theſe Arguments not prevailing, the following Articles were preſented to the Committee, but not brought into the Houſe; under the Title of, *The Principles of Faith preſented by Mr.* THO. GOODWIN, *Mr.* NYE, *Mr.* SYDRACH SIMPSON, *and other Miniſters, to the Committee of Parliament for Religion, by way of Explanation to the Propoſals for propagating the Goſpel.*

The Articles. V. P. N° 68.

Firſt, That *the Holy Scripture is that Rule of knowing God, and living unto him, which whoſo does not believe cannot be ſaved.*

2 Theſ. ii. 10, 11, 12, 15. 1 Cor. xv. 1, 2, 3. 2 Cor. i. 13. John v. 39. 2 Peter ii. 1.

Secondly, That *there is a God, who is the Creator, Governor, and Judge of the World, which is to be received by Faith, and every other Way of the Knowledge of him is inſufficient.*

Heb. xi. 3, 6. Rom. i. 19, 20, 21, 22. 1 Cor. i. 21. 2 Theſ. i. 8.

Thirdly, That *this God who is the Creator, is eternally diſtinct from all Creatures in his Being and Bleſſedneſs.*

Rom. i. 18, 25. 1 Cor. viii. 5, 6.

Fourthly, That *this God is One in three Perſons or Subſiſtences.*

1 John v. 5, 6, 7, 8, 9. *compar'd with* John viii. 17, 18, 19, 21. Matth. xxviii. 19. *compar'd with* Epheſ. iv. 4, 5, 6. 1 John ii. 22, 23. 2d Epiſt. John ver. 9, 10.

Fifthly, That *Jeſus Chriſt is the only Mediator between God and Man, without the Knowledge of whom there is no Salvation.*

1 Tim.

1 Tim. ii. 4, 5, 6. 2 Tim. iii. 15. 1 John ii. 22. Acts iv. 10, 12. 1 Cor. iii. 10, 11.

Sixthly, That *this Jeſus Chriſt is the true God.*

1 John v. 29. Iſaiah xlv. 21, 22, 23, 24, 25.

Seventhly, That *this Jeſus Chriſt is alſo true Man.*

1 John iv. 2, 3. 2d Epiſt. John, ver. 7.

Eighthly, That *this Jeſus Chriſt is God and Man in one Perſon.*

1 Tim. iii. 16. Matth. xvi. 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18.

Ninthly, That *this Jeſus Chriſt is our Redeemer, who by paying a Ranſom, and bearing our Sins, has made Satisfaction for them.*

Iſa. liii. 11. 1 Pet. ii. 24, 25. 1 Cor. xv. 2, 3. 1 Tim. ii. 4, 5, 6.

Tenthly, That *this ſame Lord Jeſus Chriſt is he that was crucified at* Jeruſalem, *and roſe again, and aſcended into Heaven.*

John viii. 24. Acts iv. 10, 11, 12. Acts x. 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43. 1 Cor. xv. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8. Acts xxii. 8. Acts ii. 36.

Eleventhly, That *this ſame Jeſus Chriſt, being the only God and Man in one Perſon, remains for ever a diſtinct Perſon from all Saints and Angels, notwithſtanding their Union and Communion with him.*

Col. ii. 8, 9, 10, 19. 1 Tim. iii. 16.

Twelfthly, That *all Men by Nature are dead in Sins and Treſpaſſes; and no Man can be ſaved unleſs he be born again, repent and believe.*

John iii. 3, 5, 6, 7, 10. Acts xvii. 30, 31. Acts xxvi. 17, 18, 19, 20. Luke xxiv. 47. Acts xx. 20, 21. John v. 24, 25.

Thirteenth, That *we are juſtified and ſaved by Grace, and Faith in Jeſus Chriſt, and not by Works.*

Acts xv. 24. *compared with* Gal. i. 6, 7, 8, 9. Gal. v. 2, 4, 5. Rom. ix. 31, 32, 33. Rom. x. 3, 4. Rom. i. 16, 17. Gal. iii. 11. Epheſ. ii. 8, 9, 10.

Fourteenth, That *to continue in any known Sin, upon what Pretence or Principle ſoever, is damnable.*

Oliver *Protector.* 1654.

Rom. i. 32. Rom. vi. 1, 2, 15, 16. 1 John i. 6, 8. 1 John iii. 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8. 2 Pet. ii. 19, 20. Rom. viii. 13.

Fifteenth, That *God is to be worſhipped according to his own Will; and whoſoever ſhall forſake and deſpiſe all the Duties of his Worſhip cannot be ſaved.*

Jer. x. 15. Pſalm xiv. 4. Jude, ver. 18, 19, 20, 21. Rom. x. 13.

Sixteenth, That *the Dead ſhall riſe; and that there is a Day of Judgment, wherein all ſhall appear, ſome to go into everlaſting Life, and ſome into everlaſting Condemnation.*

1 Tim. i. 19, 20. *compared with* 2 Tim. ii. 17, 18. Acts xvii. 30, 31. John v. 28, 29. 1 Cor. xv. 19.

Mr. *Baxter* ſays Dr. *Owen* worded theſe Articles; that Dr. *Goodwin*, Mr. *Nye* and Mr. *Simpſon* were his Aſſiſtants; that Dr. *Cheynel* was Scribe; and that Mr. *Marſhal*, a ſober, worthy Man, did ſomething; but that the reſt were little better than paſſive. He adds, that Twenty of their Propoſitions were printed, tho' in my Copy, licenſed by *Scobel*, there are but Sixteen: However, the Parliament being abruptly diſſolved they were all buried in Oblivion.

Life, p. 205.

Remarks. It appears by theſe Articles, that theſe Divines intended to exclude, not only *Deiſts*, *Socinians*, and *Papiſts*, but *Arians*, *Antinomians*, *Quakers*, and others. Into ſuch Difficulties do wiſe and good Men fall, when they uſurp the Kingly Office of Chriſt, and pretend to reſtrain that Liberty which is the Birthright of every reaſonable Creature. 'Tis an unwarrantable Preſumption for any Number of Men to declare what is Fundamental in the Chriſtian Religion, any further than the Scriptures have expreſly declared it. 'Tis one Thing to maintain a Doctrine to be true, and another to declare, that without the Belief of it no Man can be ſaved: None may ſay this but God himſelf. Beſides, why ſhould the Civil Magiſtrate protect none but thoſe who profeſs *Faith in God by Jeſus Chriſt?* If a Co-

lony of *Engliſh* Merchants ſhould ſettle among the *Mahometans* or *Chineſe*, ſhould we not think that the Government of thoſe Countries ought to protect them in their Religion as long as they invaded no Man's Property, and behaved with a dutiful Obedience and Submiſſion to the Government under which they lived? Why then ſhould Chriſtians deny others the ſame Liberty? Oliver Protector. 1654.

The Protector and his Council were in larger Sentiments of Liberty, as will appear hereafter. Mr. *Baxter* ſays, the Protector and his Friends gave out, That *they could not underſtand what the Magiſtrates had to do in Matters of Religion; they thought that all Men ſhould be left to the Liberty of their own Conſciences, and that the Magiſtrate could not interpoſe without enſnaring himſelf in the Guilt of Perſecution.* And were not theſe noble and generous Sentiments, though the Parliament could not be brought into them? His Highneſs therefore, in his Speech at their Diſſolution, reproaches them in theſe Words; —— "How proper is it to labour for Liberty, that Men ſhould not be trampled upon for their Conſciences? Had we not lately laboured under the Weight of Perſecution; and is it fit then to ſit heavy upon others? Is it ingenuous to aſk Liberty and not to give it? What greater Hypocriſy, than for thoſe who were oppreſſed by the Biſhops to become the greateſt Oppreſſors themſelves ſo ſoon as their Yoke is removed? I could wiſh, that they who call for Liberty now alſo, had not too much of that Spirit, if the Power were in their Hands. As for prophane Perſons, Blaſphemers, ſuch as preach Sedition, Contentious Railers, Evil-Speakers, who ſeek by evil Words to corrupt good Manners; and Perſons of looſe Converſation, Puniſhment from the Civil Magiſtrate ought to meet with them; becauſe if theſe pretend Conſcience, yet walking diſorderly, and not according, but contrary to the Goſpel and natural Light, they are judged of all, and their Sins being open, make them the

Protector for univerſal Liberty. p. 193.

Life of Cromw. p. 307.

Oliver *Protector.* 1654.

" Subject of the Magiſtrates Sword, who ought not " to bear it in vain ——"

Agreeable to theſe Principles, Dr. *George Bates*, an eminent Royaliſt, and a great Enemy of *Cromwel*'s, writes, " That the Protector indulged the Uſe of the " Common Prayer in Families, and in private Con- " venticles; and tho' the Condition of the Church of " *England* was but melancholy, yet (ſays the Doctor) " it cannot be denied, but they had a great deal more " Favour and Indulgence than under the Parliament; " which would never have been interrupted had they " not inſulted the Protector, and forfeited their Li- " berty by their ſeditious Practices, and Plottings " againſt his Perſon and Government."

The Approbation of publick Miniſters had been hitherto reſerved to the ſeveral Preſbyteries in City and Country; but the Protector obſerving ſome Inconvenience in this Method, and not being willing to entruſt the Qualification of Candidates all over *England* to a Number of *Presbyterians* only, who might admit none but thoſe of their own Perſuaſion, contrived a middle Way of joining the ſeveral Parties together, and intruſting the Affair with certain Commiſſioners of each Denomination, Men of as known Abilities and Integrity (ſays he) as any the Nation has. This was done by an Ordinance of Council, bearing Date *March* 20. 1653-4. the Preamble to which ſets forth, " That " whereas for ſome Time paſt, there had not been any " certain Courſe eſtabliſhed for ſupplying vacant Pla- " ces with able and fit Perſons to preach the Goſpel, " by Reaſon whereof the Rights and Titles of Patrons " were prejudiced, and many weak, ſcandalous, popiſh, " and ill affected Perſons had intruded themſelves, or " been brought in; for Remedy of which it is ordain- " ed, by his Highneſs the Lord Protector, by and with " the Conſent of his Council, that every Perſon who " ſhall, after the 25th of *March*, 1654. be preſented, " nominated, choſen, or appointed to any Benefice " with Care of Souls; or to any publick ſettled Le- " cture

Baxter's *Life*, p. 72. *Ordinance appointing Commiſſioners for Approbation of publick Preachers.* Scobel, p. 279.

" ćture in *England* or *Wales*, ſhall, before he be ad- Oliver
" mitted, be examined and approved by the Perſons *Protector.*
" hereafter named, to be a Perſon, for the Grace of 1654.
" God in him, his holy and unblameable Conver-
" ſation, as alſo for his Knowledge and Utterance,
" able and fit to preach the Goſpel." Among the Commiſſioners were eight or nine Laymen, the reſt Miniſters; their Names were,

Francis Rouſe, Eſq;
Alderman *Titchbourne*,
Mark Hildeſley, Eſq;
Thomas Wood, Eſq;
John Sadler, Eſq;
William Goffe, Eſq;
Thomas St. Nicholas, Eſq;
William Packer, Eſq;
Edward Creſſet, Eſq;

The Reverend
Dr. *John Owen*,
Dr. *Thomas Goodwin*,
Dr. *Arrowſmith*,
Dr. *Tuckney*,
Dr. *Horton*,
Thankful Owen, M. A.
Mr. *Joſeph Caryl*,
Mr. *Philip Nye*,
Mr. *William Carter*,
Mr. *Sydrach Simpſon*,

The Reverend
Mr. *William Greenhill*,
Mr. *William Strong*,
Dr. *Thomas Manton*,
Mr. *Samuel Slater*,
Mr. *William Cooper*,
Mr. *Stephen Marſhall*,
John Tombes, B. D.
Mr. *Walter Craddock*,
Mr. *Samuel Fairclough*,
Mr. *Hugh Peters*,
Mr. *Peter Sterry*,
Mr. *Samuel Bamford*,
Tho. Valentine, of *Chaford*, B. D.
Mr. *Henry Jeſſe*,
Mr. *Obadiah Sedgwick*,
Mr. *Nicolas Lockyer*,
Mr. *Dan. Dike*,
Mr. *James Ruſſel*,
Mr. *Nath. Campfield.*

Theſe were commonly called TRYERS; in all Thirty eight; of whom ſome were Preſbyterians, others Independants, and two or three were Baptiſts. Any Five were ſufficient to approve; but no Number under Nine had power to reject a Perſon as unqualified. In caſe of Death, or Removal of any of the Commiſſioners, their Numbers were to be filled up by the Protector and his Council; or by the Parliament if

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Scobel, p. 366.

sitting. But some of the Presbyterian Divines declined acting, for want of a better Authority; or because they did not like the Company; though the Authority was as good as any these Times could produce till the next Sessions of Parliament. By an Ordinance of *Sept.* 2. 1654. I find the Reverend Mr. *John Rowe*, Mr. *John Bond*, Mr. *George Griffith* of the *Charter House*, Mr. *John Turner*, and *Godfrey Bosville*, Esq; added to the Commissioners above-mentioned.

Their Instructions.

To such as were approved, the Commissioners gave an *Instrument* in writing under a Common Seal for that Purpose, by virtue of which they were put into as full Possession of the Living to which they were nominated or chosen, as if they had been admitted by Institution and Induction of a Bishop.

It was further provided, That all who presented themselves for Approbation should produce a Certificate signed by three Persons at least of known Integrity, one of whom to be a Preacher of the Gospel in some settled Place, testifying on their personal Knowledge, the holy and good Conversation of the Person to be admitted; which Certificate was to be register'd and filed. And, *All Penalties for not subscribing, or reading the Articles of Religion, according to the Act of 13th* Eliz. *were to cease and be void.*

And for as much as some Persons might have been preferr'd to Livings within the last Twelvemonth, when there was no settled Method of Approbation, the Ordinance looks back, and ordains, "That no "Person who had been placed in any Benefice or Le-"cture since *April* 1. 1653. should be allowed to con-"tinue in it, unless he got himself approved by the "24th of *June*, or at furthest the 23d of *July*, "1654."

Remarks.

'Tis observable, that this Ordinance provides no Security for the Civil Government, the Commissioners not being impowered to administer an Oath of Allegiance or Fidelity to the Protector. By this Means some of the sequester'd Clergy taking Advantage of the Act

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of Oblivion in 1651. paſſed their Trials before the Commiſſioners and returned to their Livings. The Protector being adviſed of this Defect, by Advice of his Council, publiſhed an Additional Ordinance, *Sept.* 2. 1654. requiring the Commiſſioners not to give Admiſſion to any who had been ſequeſter'd from their Eccleſiaſtical Benefices for Delinquency, 'till by Experience of their Conformity, and Submiſſion to the preſent Government, his *Highneſs* and his Council ſhould be ſatisfied of their Fitneſs to be admitted into Eccleſiaſtical Promotions; and the ſame to be ſignified to the ſaid Commiſſioners. Both theſe Ordinances were confirmed by Parliament in the Year 1656. with this Proviſo, "That the Commiſſioners appointed by his "*Highneſs* in the Intervals of Parliament ſhould afterwards be confirmed by the ſucceeding Parliament." Another Defect in the Ordinance was, that it did not appoint ſome Standard or Rule for the TRYERS to go by; this would have taken off all Odium from themſelves, and prevented a great many needleſs Diſputes; but as Matters now ſtood, Mens Qualifications were perhaps left too much to the arbitrary Opinions and Votes of the Commiſſioners. After Examination they gave the Candidate a Copy of the Preſentation in theſe Words: "Know all Men by theſe Preſents, that the "—— Day of ——— in the Year —— there was "exhibited to the Commiſſioners for Examination of "publick Miniſters, a Preſentation of Mr. ——— "to the Rectory of ——— in the County of —— "made to him by Mr. —— the Patron thereof, "under his Hand and Seal, together with a Teſtimony of his holy and godly Converſation. Upon Peruſal, and due Conſideration of the Premiſes, and finding him to be a Perſon qualified, as in and by the Ordinance for ſuch Qualifications is required, the Commiſſioners above-mentioned have adjudged and approved the ſaid Mr. —— to be a fit Perſon to preach the Goſpel, and have granted him Admiſſion, and do admit the ſaid Mr. —— to the Rectory of "— afore-

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Additional Ordinance. Scobel, P. 366.

Calamy, Vol. II. P. 247.

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" —— aforeſaid, to be full and perfect Poſſeſſor " and Incumbent thereof: And do hereby ſignify to " all Perſons concerned therein, that he is hereby in- " titled to all the Profits and Perquiſites, and to all " Rights and Dues incident and belonging to the ſaid " Rectory, as fully and effectually as if he had been " inſtituted and inducted, according to any ſuch Laws " and Cuſtoms, as have in this Caſe formerly been made " or uſed in this Realm. In Witneſs whereof they " have cauſed the Common Seal to be hereunto affix- " ed, and the ſame to be atteſted by the Hand of the " Regiſter, by his *Highneſs* in that Behalf appointed. " Dated at —— the —— Day of —— in the " Year ——

(*L. S.*) *John Nye*, Reg.

Complaints againſt the Tryers.

Loud Complaints have been made againſt theſe TRYERS; Mr. *Collier* objects to their being Eight Laymen among the Commiſſioners, and that any Five having Power to act, it might ſometimes happen that none but ſecular Men might determine the Qualifications of ſuch, who were to preach and adminiſter the Sacraments.

Mr. *John Goodwin*, an Independant Divine of *Arminian* Principles, ſays, the *Tryers* made their own narrow *Calvinian* Sentiments in Divinity the Door of Admiſſion to all Church Preferments; and that their Power was greater than that of the Biſhops, becauſe the Laws had provided a Remedy againſt their arbitrary Proceedings, by a *Quare impedit*; or if the Biſhop might determine abſolutely of the Qualifications of the *Candidate* or *Clerk* to be admitted into a Living, yet theſe Qualifications were ſufficiently ſpecified, and particularized in the Eccleſiaſtical Laws or Canons, and the Biſhop might be obliged, by due Courſe of Law, to aſſign the Reaſons of his Refuſal; whereas the Determinations of theſe Commiſſioners for *Approbation* were final; nor were they obliged ſo much as to ſpe-

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cify any Reaſon for their rejecting any Perſon, but only their Vote, *not approved.* Oliver *Protector.* 1654.

It was further complained of as a very great Hardſhip, that "there was but one Set of *Tryers* for the "whole Nation, who reſided always at *London*, which "muſt occaſion great Expence, and long Journies, "to ſuch as lived in the remoter Countries." But to remedy this Inconvenience, Dr. *Walker* ſays, they appointed Sub-Commiſſioners in the remoter Countries. Walker, p. 172. And (according to Mr. *Baxter*) if any were unable to come to *London*, or were of doubtful Qualifications, the Commiſſioners of *London* uſed to refer them to ſome Miniſters in the Country where they lived; and upon their Teſtimonial they approved or rejected them. But the Reader ſees how impoſſible it was to pleaſe the ſeveral Parties; when there were no *Tryers* the Complaint was, that the Pulpit Doors were left open to all Intruders, and now they cannot agree upon any one Method of Approbation. But it muſt be left with the Reader, Whether a Biſhop and his Chaplain, or a Claſſis of Preſbyters, or the preſent Mixture, was moſt eligible?

The chief Objections againſt theſe TRYERS has been to the Manner of executing their Powers. Biſhop *Kennet* ſays, "That this holy Inquiſition was turned into a Snare to catch Men of Probity and Senſe, and ſound Divinity, and to let none eſcape but ignorant, bold, canting Fellows; for theſe *Tryers* (ſays the Biſhop) aſked few or no Queſtions in Knowledge or Learning, but only about Converſion, and the Grace of God in the Heart, to which the readieſt Anſwers would ariſe from Infatuation in ſome, and the Trade of Hypocriſy in others. By this Means the Rights of Patronage were at their Pleaſure, and the Character and Abilities of Divines whatever they pleaſed to make them, and Churches were filled with little Creatures of the State." But the Biſhop has produced no Examples of this; nor were any of theſe *canting little Creatures* turn'd out for Inſufficiency at the Reſtoration. Dr. *George Bates*, *Objections to their Management.* Compl. Hiſt. p. 209.

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an eminent Royaliſt, with a little more Temper and Modeſty, ſays, "That they enquired more narrowly "into their Affection to the preſent Government, and "into the internal Marks and Characters of the Grace "of God in their Hearts, than into their Learning; by "which means many ignorant Laicks, Mechanicks, and "Pedlars, were admitted to Livings, when Perſons of "greater Merit were rejected." But it muſt be obſerved again, that as bad as they were, not one of theſe *Mechanicks* or *Pedlars* who conformed at the Reſtoration was ejected for Inſufficiency. When the Commiſſioners had to do with Perſons of known Learning, Sobriety, reputed Orthodoxy, and a peaceable Behaviour, they made but little Enquiry into the Marks of their Converſion; as appears by the Example of Mr. *Fuller* the Hiſtorian, who being preſented to a Living was approved by the *Tryers*, without giving any other Evidence of the Grace of God in him than this, *That he made Conſcience of his Thoughts.*

Their Proceedings.

Dr. *Walker* has publiſhed the Examinations of two or three Clergymen, who were notorious for their Malignity and Diſaffection to the Government, whom the Commiſſioners puzzled with dark and abſtruſe Queſtions in Divinity, that they might ſet them aſide without having Recourſe to their political Principles; for when they had private Intimations, of *notorious Malignants* to come before them, they frequently had recourſe to this Method; though 'tis not unlikely but that upon ſome other Occaſions, they might lay too great ſtreſs upon the internal Characters of Regeneration, which depend entirely upon the Integrity of the Reſpondent. But I believe not a ſingle Inſtance can be produced, of any that were rejected without being firſt convicted either of Immorality, of obnoxious Sentiments in the *Socinian* or *Pelagian* Controverſy, or of Diſaffection to the preſent Government. Mr. *Sadler* who was preſented to a Living in *Dorſetſhire*, but rejected by the *Tryers*, publiſhed his Examination in a Pamphlet, which he calls, *Inquiſitio Anglicana*, where

in he endeavours to expoſe the Commiſſioners in a very ridiculous Manner; but Mr. *John Nye*, Clerk to the Commiſſioners, followed him with an Anſwer, intitled, *Sadler examined; or, His Diſguiſe diſcovered:* Shewing the groſs Miſtakes, and moſt notorious Falſehoods in his Dealings with the Commiſſioners for Approbation of publick Preachers, in his *Inquiſitio Anglicana.* To which Mr. *Sadler* never replied. Oliver Protector. 1654. Ath. Ox. p. 370.

Doctor *George Bates*, and Dr. *Walker* have charged the *Tryers* with Simony, upon no other Proof, but that *Hugh Peters* ſaid once to Mr. *Camplin*, a Clergyman of *Somerſetſhire*, upon his applying to him, by a Friend, for Diſpatch, *Has thy Friend any Money?* A ſlender Proof of ſo heavy a Charge. They that are acquainted with the jocoſe Converſation of *Hugh Peters*, will not wonder at ſuch an Expreſſion. But I refer the Reader back to the Names and Characters of the Commiſſioners, moſt of whom were Men of unqueſtionable Probity, for a ſufficient Anſwer to this Calumny.

No doubt but the *Tryers* might commit ſundry Miſtakes, which it was impoſſible to avoid in their Station. I am far from vindicating all their Proceedings; they had a difficult Work on their Hands, and were to deal with Men of different Principles in Religion and Politicks; and thoſe who were *not approv'd*, would of courſe complain. Had this Power been lodged with the Biſhops of theſe Times, or their Chaplains; or with the high Preſbyterians, would they not have had their *Shibboleth*, for which ill natur'd Men might have called them an *Holy Inquiſition?* But Mr. *Baxter* has given a very fair and candid Account of them; his Words are theſe, "Becauſe this Aſſembly of *Tryers* is moſt heavily accuſed and reproached by ſome Men, I ſhall ſpeak the Truth of them, and ſuppoſe my Word will be taken, becauſe moſt of them took me for one of their boldeſt Adverſaries: The Truth is, though their Authority was null, and though ſome few over rigid and over buſy *Inde-* *Remarks.* *Mr.* Baxter's *Opinion of them.* Baxter's *Life*, p. 72.

"*pendants*

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" *pendants* among them were too ſevere againſt all
" that were *Arminians*, and too particular in enqui-
" ring after Evidences of Sanctification in thoſe whom
" they examined; and ſomewhat too lax in admitting
" of unlearned and erroneous Men, that favour'd *An-*
" *tinomianiſm* or *Anabaptiſm*; yet, to give them their
" due, they did abundance of good to the Church.
" They ſaved many a Congregation from ignorant,
" ungodly, drunken Teachers, that Sort of Men who
" intend no more in the Miniſtry than to ſay a Ser-
" mon, as Readers ſay their Common Prayers on *Sun-*
" *days*, and all the reſt of the Week go with the
" People to the Ale-houſe and harden them in Sin;
" and that Sort of Miniſters who either preached
" againſt a holy Life, or preached as Men that were
" never acquainted with it: Theſe they uſually reject-
" ed, and in their ſtead admitted of any that were
" able, ſerious Preachers, and lived a godly Life, of
" what tolerable Opinion ſoever they were; ſo that
" though many of them were a little partial for the
" Independants, Separatiſts, Fifth Monarchy Men,
" and Anabaptiſts, and againſt the Prelatiſts and Ar-
" minians, yet ſo great was the Benefit above the
" Hurt which they brought to the Church, that many
" Thouſands of Souls bleſs'd God for the faithful Mi-
" niſters whom they let in, and grieved when the Pre-
" latiſts afterwards caſt them out again."

The Commiſſioners were not empowered to look further back than one Year before the Date of the Ordinance that conſtituted them. All that were in Poſſeſſion of Livings before that Time were out of their Reach; nor would the *Protector* have given theſe any Diſturbance, had he not received certain Information of their ſtirring up the People to join the Inſurrection that was now on foot for the Reſtoration of the King. They continued ſitting at *Whitehall* till the Protector's Death, or the Year 1659. and were then diſcontinued.

But to humble the Clergy yet further, and keep them within the Bounds of their ſpiritual Function, his Highneſs

neſs, by the Advice of his Council, publiſhed an Ordinance, bearing Date *Aug.* 28. 1654. entitled, An Ordinance for ejecting *ſcandalous, ignorant, and inſufficient Miniſters and School-Maſters*. The Ordinance appoints, and nominates certain *Lay-Commiſſioners* for every County, and joins with them Ten or more, of the graveſt, and moſt noted Miniſters, as their Aſſiſtants, and empowers any Five, or more of them, to call before them any publick Preacher, Lecturer, Parſon, Vicar, Curate, or School-Maſter, who is, or ſhall be reputed *ignorant, ſcandalous, inſufficient, or negligent*; and to receive all Articles or Charges that ſhall be exhibited againſt them on this Account; and to proceed to the Examination and Determination of ſuch Offences, according to the following Rules.

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New Ordinance for ejecting ſcandalous Miniſters. Scobel, p. 335, 340.

" Such Miniſters and School-Maſters ſhall be accounted SCANDALOUS in their Lives and Converſations, as ſhall hold or maintain ſuch blaſphemous, or atheiſtical Opinions, as are puniſhable by the Act, entitled, An Act againſt ſeveral blaſphemous and atheiſtical Opinions, *&c.* or that ſhall be guilty of prophane Swearing and Curſing, Perjury, and Subornation of Perjury; ſuch as maintain any popiſh Opinions, required to be abjured by the Oath of Abjuration; or are guilty of Adultery, Fornication, Drunkenneſs, common Haunting of Taverns, or Ale-houſes; frequent Quarrellings or Fightings; frequent playing at Cards or Dice; prophaning of the Sabbath; or that do allow and countenance the ſame in their Families, or in their Pariſhes. Such as have frequently read, or uſed the Common Prayer Book in publick ſince the firſt of *Jan.* laſt; or ſhall at any Time hereafter do the ſame. Such as publickly and prophanely ſcoff at the ſtrict Profeſſion, or Profeſſors of Godlineſs. Such as encourage or countenance *Whitſon-Ales*, *Wakes*, *Morrice-Dancing*, *May-Poles*, *Stage-Plays*, or ſuch like licentious Practices. Such as have declared, or ſhall declare

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" by writing, preaching, or otherwiſe publiſhing, " their Diſaffection to the preſent Government.

" Such Miniſters ſhall be accounted NEGLIGENT " as omit the publick Exerciſe of preaching and praying " on the Lord's Day (not being hinder'd by neceſſary " Abſence or Infirmity of Body;) or that are, or ſhall " be Non-Reſidents. Such School-Maſters ſhall be " accounted *Negligent* as abſent themſelves from their " Schools, and wilfully neglect to teach their Scho- " lars.

" Such Miniſters or School-Maſters ſhall be ac- " counted IGNORANT and INSUFFICIENT as ſhall " be ſo declared and adjudged by the Commiſſioners " in every County, or any Five of them, together " with Five of the Miniſters mentioned in the Ordi- " nance."

Their Inſtructions. The Lay-Commiſſioners were to proceed upon Oath both for and againſt the Perſon accuſed; but in Caſes of *Ignorance* or *Inſufficiency*, they were to be joined by Five of the Aſſiſtant Clergy at leaſt; and if Ten of the Commiſſioners, whereof Five to be Miniſters, gave it under their Hands, that the Party was *Ignorant* or *Inſufficient*, then the ſaid Miniſter or School-Maſter was to be ejected, and the ſaid *Judgment* enter'd in a Regiſter Book *with the Reaſons thereof*. After Ejectment the Party might not preach or teach School in the Pariſh from whence he was ejected; but convenient Time was to be allowed for his Removal, and the *Fifths* reſerved for the Support of his Family. The rightful Patron was to preſent to the vacant Living an approved Preacher; and in caſe of Lapſe it fell to the Protector and his Council.

This Ordinance being confirmed by the Parliament of 1656. gave great Offence to the old Clergy; Mr. *Gatford*, the ſequeſter'd Rector of *Dennington*, publiſhed a Pamphlet, entitled, *A Petition for the Vindication of the publick Uſe of Common Prayer*, &c. occaſioned by the late Ordinance for ejecting ſcandalous Miniſters; as alſo Thirty ſeven Queries concerning the ſaid

said Ordinance; which he presented to the Parliament, which began *Sept.* 3. 1654. but they took no Notice of it. Oliver *Protector.* 1654.

Mr. *Gatford* observes, That the Protector and his Council had no legal Authority to make this, or any other Ordinance, without consent of a Parliament; whereas the *Instrument of Government* empowered them to provide for the Safety of the State by making Laws, till the Parliament should meet. He observes further, That such a Proceeding must justify his late Majesty and Council in all their illegal Proceedings before the Civil Wars; that it would justify the High Commission Court; and, that by the same Authority, an Ordinance might be published to eject Freeholders out of their Estates. *Objections against it.*

He complains, That the Power of the Commissioners is final, and admits of no Appeal; that it looks back to Crimes antecedent to the Law for a Twelvemonth; whereas it ought only to declare, that for the future such Offences shall be punished with Deprivation.

That the Commissioners who were to sit in Judgment upon the Clergy were all *Laymen*, the Ministers being called in only in Cases of Ignorance and Insufficiency; that the Ordinance admits of the Oath of one Witness, provided it be supported with other concurrent Evidence, which is contrary to the Laws of God and Man.

That some Crimes in the Ordinance were none at all, and others of a very doubtful Nature; as, how often a Minister omitting to pray and preach in his Pulpit should render him *Negligent*; and what should be deem'd *Non-Residence*. Above all, he complains that the publick Reading of the Common Prayer should be ranked with the Sins of Swearing and Drunkenness, and be an Evidence of a scandalous Life and Conversation; which Observation was unquestionably just.

To give the Reader an Example or two of the Proceedings of the Commissioners: Those for *Berkshire* *Dr.* Porridge *ejected.*

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ſummoned Dr. *Pordage*, Rector of *Bradfield*, to appear before them at *Speenham Land*, near *Newbury*, to anſwer to divers Articles of *Blaſphemy and Hereſy*. After ſeveral Days hearing, and Witneſſes produced on both Sides, the Commiſſioners determined *Dec.* 8. 1654. that the ſaid Doctor was guilty of denying the Deity of Chriſt; the Merits of his precious Blood and Paſſion; and ſeveral other dangerous Opinions. 'Tis further declared under the Hands of ſix of the Commiſſioners, and a ſufficient Number of *Miniſters* their Aſſiſtants, that the ſaid Doctor was ignorant, and inſufficient for the Work of the Miniſtry; it is therefore ordered, that the ſaid Doctor be, and he is hereby ejected out of the Rectory of *Bradfield*, and the Profits thereof; but the ſaid Commiſſioners do grant him Time, till the 2d of *February*, to remove himſelf, his Family, his Goods and Chattels, out of the ſaid Parſonage Houſe; and further Time to remove his Corn out of the Barns, till the 25th of *March*.

The *Oxford* Hiſtorian ſays, this *Pordage* was a Dr. by *Charientiſmus*, and had been Preacher of St. *Lawrence* Church in *Reading* before he came to *Bradfield*. That he was a myſtick Enthuſiaſt, and uſed to talk of the *Fiery Deity of Chriſt dwelling in the Soul, and mixing it ſelf with our Fleſh*. He dealt much in *Aſtrology*, and pretended to converſe with the World of Spirits. After his Ejectment he writ againſt the Commiſſioners a Pamphlet, entitled, *Innocency appearing*; which was anſwered by Mr. *Chriſtopher Fowler* Vicar of St. *Mary*, *Reading*, in his *Demonium Meridianum*. However, the Doctor was reſtored to his Living at *Bradfield* at the Reſtoration.

And Mr. Buſhnel.

The *Wiltſhire* Commiſſioners ſummoned Mr. *Walter Buſhnel*, Vicar of *Box*, near *Malmsbury*, before them, to anſwer to a Charge of *Drunkenneſs*, *Profanation of the Sabbath*, *Gaming*, *and Diſaffection to the Government*; and after a full Hearing, and Proof upon Oath, they ejected him. The Vicar prepared for the Preſs a Narrative of the Proceedings of the

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Commiſſioners appointed by *O. Cromwel* for ejecting ſcandalous and ignorant Miniſters, in the Caſe of *Walter Buſhnel*, &c. but it was not printed till the King's Reſtoration; and even then the Commiſſioners did themſelves Juſtice in a Reply, which they called, A Vindication of the *Marlborough* Commiſſioners, by the Commiſſioners themſelves. And Dr. *Chambers*, who was reproached by the ſaid *Buſhnel*, did himſelf Juſtice in a diſtinct Vindication. However, the *Vicar* was reſtored to his Vicarage in a Lump with the reſt at the Reſtoration. Oliver Protector. 1654.

Upon the Whole, the induſtrious Dr. *Walker* ſays, he can find no Footſteps of the Numbers of Clergy that were ejected by the Commiſſioners, tho' he imagines they might be conſiderable. But I am well ſatisfied, there were none of any Character; for there were not a great many zealous Loyaliſts in Poſſeſſion of Livings at this Time; and thoſe that were, had the Wiſdom to be ſilent about publick Affairs, while they ſaw the Eyes of the Government were upon them in every Corner of the Land. The Commiſſioners continued to act till ſome Time after the Protector's Death, and were a greater Terror to the Fanaticks, than to the regular Clergy of any Denomination.

The Protector and his Council paſſed another Ordinance, *Auguſt* 30. for the Service of *Wales*, appointing Sir *Hugh Owen*, and about Eighteen other Commiſſioners, for the ſix Counties of *South Wales*, with the County of *Monmouth*; and *Matthew Morgan*, with about Twelve other Commiſſioners, for the ſix Counties of *North Wales*; any Three of which were empowerd to call before them, all ſuch, who by Authority of the *Act for propagating the Goſpel in* Wales, had received, or diſpoſed of any of the Profits of the Rectories, Vicarages, *&c.* in that Principality; and to give an Account upon Oath, of all ſuch Rents and Profits; and the Surplus Money in the Hands of the Commiſſioners, to be paid into the *Exchequer*. *Commiſſioners for* Wales. Scobel, p. 347.

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To ſet this Affair before the Reader in one View; the Principality of *Wales*, by reaſon of the Poverty of the People, and the ſmall Endowments of Church Livings, was never well ſupplied with a learned or pious Clergy; the People were generally very ignorant, and but one remove from Heathens. In 1641. a Petition was preſented to the King and Parliament, which declares, That there were not ſo many conſcientious and conſtant Preachers in *Wales* as there were Counties; and that theſe were either ſilenced, or much perſecuted. The Civil Wars had made their Condition worſe; for as they generally adhered to the King, and received great Numbers of *Iriſh* Papiſts into their Country, their Preachers went into his Majeſty's Service, or fled from their Cures, when the Parliament Forces took Poſſeſſion of it. After the King's Death the Parliament paſſed the Ordinance already mentioned, for the better propagating the Preaching of the Goſpel in *Wales*, and for ejecting ſcandalous Miniſters and School-Maſters, and for Redreſs of ſome Grievances; it bears Date *Feb.* 22. 1649. and empowers the Commiſſioners therein mentioned, or any Twelve of them, to receive and diſpoſe of all and ſingular Rents, Iſſues, and Profits of all Eccleſiaſtical Livings, Impropriations, and Glebe Lands, within the ſaid Counties, which then were, or afterwards ſhould be under Sequeſtration, or in the Diſpoſal of the Parliament, and out of them to order and appoint a conſtant yearly Maintenance for ſuch Perſons as ſhould be recommended, and approved for the Work of the Miniſtry, or Education of Children; and for ſuch other Miniſters as were then reſiding in the ſaid Counties. The Ordinance to continue in Force for three Years, from *March* 25. 1650.

Sad State of that Principality.

Calamy's Comp. of Church and Diſſenters.

Ordinance for propagating the Goſpel in Wales.

Calamy's Comp. of Church and Diſſenters. p. 46.

By virtue of this Ordinance many were ejected, but not all, for in *Montgomeryſhire* Eleven or Twelve remained, as did ſeveral in other Counties; but all that were ejected were for manifeſt Scandal. After this Complaints being made, that the People were turning

Papiſts

Papists or *Heathens*, for want of the Word of God, several were sent into *Montgomeryshire*, where there were at least Sixteen Preachers, of which Ten were University Men, the Meanest of which were approved and settled in Parishes at the Restoration. The Commissioners were empowered to examine into the Behaviour of such as were reputed *Ignorant*, *Insufficient*, *Non-Resident*, *Scandalous*, *or Enemies to the present Government*. And it being impossible to fill up the vacant Livings with such as could preach in the *Welch* Language, the Revenues were to be collected and brought into a common Treasury, out of which one Hundred Pounds *per Annum* was to be given to sundry itinerant Preachers in each County.

Oliver *Protector.* 1654.

Dr. *Walker* says, that from the Account drawn up by the Commissioners themselves in *April* 1652. it appears, that there had been ejected in *South Wales*, and *Monmouthshire*, one Hundred seventy five Ministers; that is, Fifty six from the Year 1645. to the Time when this Act took place, and one Hundred and nineteen by the present Commissioners. Mr. *Vavasor Powel*, who had a chief Hand in the Sequestrations, says, that by virtue of this Act between Fifty and Sixty of the old Clergy were dispossessed of their Livings when he writ. Upon the Whole, the Commissioners who continued to act as long as the Protector lived, charge themselves with between three Hundred and twenty, and three Hundred and thirty several and distinct Livings; but there could not be an equal Number of sequester'd Clergymen, because in the Compass of seven Years a great many must die; some fled, or were killed in the Wars; in many Parishes the Tithes were not duly paid by reason of the Confusion of the Times, and the Livings being but from Five to Ten, or Twenty Pounds a Year most of the Incumbents were Pluralists. It is computed that about one half of the Church Lands and Revenues in the Principality of *Wales*, by the several Accidents of Death, Desertion, Sequestration, *&c.* fell into the Hands of the Govern-

Numbers ejected.

Oliver *Protector.* 1654.

ment before the Expiration of this Ordinance in 1653. the Profits of which, if duly collected, and paid, muſt amount to a very conſiderable Sum. There were Thirteen Counties in *North* and *South Wales* within the Limits of the Commiſſion; but the largeſt Sum that the Sequeſtrators and Agents charge themſelves with for the County of *Brecknockſhire*, in any one Year, till the Year 1658. when the Propagation had ſubſiſted eight Years, is one Thouſand five hundred forty three Pounds, by which the Reader may make a tolerable Computation of the Whole; and if we may believe Mr. *Whitlock*, who lived through theſe Times, that in the Year 1653. there were one Hundred and fifty good Preachers in the Thirteen *Welch* Counties, moſt of whom preached Three or Four Times a Week; that in every Market Town there was a School-Maſter, and in moſt great Towns two, able, learned, and Univerſity Men; and that the Tithes were all employed to the Uſes directed by Act of Parliament, there can be no great Reaſon to complain of the Negligence of the Commiſſioners.

p. 518.

Their Crimes.

The Crimes for which the old Clergy were ejected, were *Malignancy*, *Inſufficiency*, *Drunkenneſs*, and *Negligence of their Cures*. Mr. *Vavaſor Powel* ſays, That *of all the Men they had put out in* North Wales, *he knew not any that had the Power of Godlineſs, and very few the Form*; *but that moſt of them were unpreaching Curates, or ſcandalous in their Morals.* The Commiſſioners affirm, That *of the Sixteen they had diſpoſſeſſed in* Cardiganſhire *there were but Three that were Preachers, and thoſe moſt ſcandalous Livers.* And Mr. *Baxter* admits, That *they were all weak, and bad enough for the moſt part.* But the Writers on the other Side ſay, That the Commiſſioners had no regard to Ability in Preaching, or Sobriety in Converſation. And Dr. *Walker* thinks, the ſequeſter'd *Welch* Clergy need no other Vindication than to let the World know, *That many of them were Graduates in the Univerſity*; as if every Graduate muſt of Courſe be poſſeſſed

poſſeſſed of all miniſterial Qualifications. There might poſſibly be ſome few pious and induſtrious Preachers among the ejected *Welch* Clergy; but they who will argue very ſtrenuouſly in favour of the Body of them, muſt know very little of the Country, or their manner of Life. Oliver Protector. 1654.

It was not in the Power of the Commiſſioners to find a Succeſſion of pious and learned Preachers in the *Welch* Language; but to remedy this in the beſt Manner they could, they appointed Six itinerant Preachers of Univerſity Education for each County, to whom they allowed one Hundred Pounds *per Annum*; beſides which, they ſent out Thirty two Miniſters, of whom Twenty four were Univerſity Men, and ſome of the reſt good Scholars; but theſe were too few for the Work, though they were indefatigable in their Pains. To ſupply what was further wanting, they approved of ſeveral *Gifted Laymen*, Members of Churches, to travel into the Neighbourhood, and aſſiſt the Peoples Devotions, and to theſe they allowed from Seventeen to Twenty Pounds *per Annum*. In an Article of the Sequeſtrators Accompts there appears three Hundred and forty Pounds *per Annum* diſtributed among godly Members of the Church of *Lanvacles*, and *Mynthiſt Loyn*, who had been ſent out to exerciſe their Gifts among the *Welch* Mountaineers, and to help forward the Work of the Lord. Many others of the ſame Quality were approved by the Commiſſioners, who went through great Difficulties and Hardſhips in their Work. Mr. *Powel* ſays, that ſome Hundreds, if not Thouſands, had been converted and reformed by the *Propagators*. But after all, it muſt be allowed, that at firſt the Number of Itinerants, both Scholars and others, was by no means equal to their Work; the Pariſhes in that Mountainous Country are large and wide, and there being but one *Itinerant* to ſeveral of thoſe Pariſhes, the People muſt be neglected, and their Children too much without Inſtruction; *Their Method of ſupplying the Vacancies.* Calamy's Comp. p. 48.

Oliver *Protector.* 1654.

ction; but this was owing to the Neceſſity of the Times.

Petitions againſt the Commiſſioners.

When the Commiſſioners had acted about two Years, a Petition was preſented to the Parliament by the Inhabitants of *South Wales*, ſigned by above a Thouſand Hands, in favour of the old ejected Clergy, ſetting forth, The Numbers that had been diſpoſſeſſed, and the Want of a competent Number of Preachers in their Places, upon which Account the Country was reduced to a very miſerable Condidition. They therefore pray the Houſe to take ſome Courſe for a future Supply of godly and able Preachers; and to call thoſe Perſons to Account who had received all the Profits of Church Livings into their Hands. The Houſe received the Petition, and referr'd it to the *Committee for plunder'd Miniſters*, who were empowered to examine Witneſſes, and to authorize other Commiſſioners in the Country to examine Witneſſes upon Oath, touching the Matters contained in the Petition. The Committee order'd the Commiſſioners to bring in their Accounts in a Months Time, which they did accordingly. And the Petitioners were ordered to give in the Particulars on which they deſired Witneſſes might be examined, within two Days; but not being provided, they deſired liberty to make good their Allegations in the Country; to which the Commiſſioners willingly agreed. But this taking up ſome Time, the Long Parliament was diſſolved, and the Proſecution of this Enquiry ſuſpended for the preſent; but as ſoon as the Protector was fixed in his Government, he publiſhed an Ordinance, *Aug.* 20. 1654. to bring the *Propagators* to an Account; purſuant to which the Sequeſtrators and Treaſurer for *South Wales* delivered in their Accounts for the Years 1650, 1651, 1652. which was all the Time the Ordinance was in force; and the Commiſſioners appointed by the Protector having received and examined them, after a full Enquiry allowed and paſſed them, *Aug.* 10. 1655.

Walker, p. 168.

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Oliver *Protector.* 1654.

It is hard to expreſs with Decency, the Reproaches caſt upon theſe Commiſſioners by our angry Hiſtorians, who have charged them with all manner of Corruption, as if they had got great Eſtates out of the Revenues of the Church, tho' without producing a ſingle Example. Mr. *Powel*, who took more Pains among them than any Man of his Time, declares, that he never received for all his Preaching in *Wales*, by Salary, above ſix or ſeven Hundred Pounds; that he never had any Thing from the Tithes. And whereas it was ſaid, That he had inriched himſelf by purchaſing ſome Thouſands a Year of Crown Lands, he proteſts, that he never purchaſed above Seventy Pounds a Year, which he loſt at the Reſtoration. And if Mr. *Powel* did not inrich himſelf, I apprehend, none of his Brethren could. Beſides, if this had been true, the Protector's Commiſſioners would have diſcovered them; or if they had eſcaped the Protector's Enquiry, their Enemies would have expoſed them at the Reſtoration, when King *Charles* appointed a Commiſſion to make the ſtricteſt Enquiry into their Management. "All Perſons who had acted as Commiſſioners for propagating the Goſpel, were by his Majeſty's Inſtructions to be ſummoned before his Commiſſioners; and all that had acted under them as Farmers, Tenants, *&c.* all that had ſucceeded in the ſequeſter'd Livings, or received any of the Profits; all Pariſhioners, who had kept any of the Tithes in their Hands; the Heirs, Executors, or Adminiſtrators, of any of the aforeſaid Perſons; and all credible Perſons, who could give Evidence of any of theſe Matters. They were likewiſe to enquire after Books and Writings; and to ſignify to all Perſons concerned, that if they would forthwith apply to his Majeſty's Commiſſioners, they might compound for what they ſtood charged with, and ſo avoid the Expence of a Law Suit." But after all this mighty Noiſe and Scrutiny nothing of any Conſequence appeared, and therefore it was thought proper to drop the Commiſſion, and bury the

Further Complaints againſt them.

Calamy's Comp. p. 46.

Oliver *Protector.* 1654. Walker, p. 149.

the whole Affair in ſilence. Mr. *Vavaſor Powel*, above-mentioned, was cruelly handled by the *Welch* Clergy, but he did himſelf Juſtice in a Pamphlet, entitled, *Examen & Purgamen Vavaſoris*, publiſhed 1653. wherein he vindicates his Proceedings in the *Propagation*. And when he was in the Fleet after the Reſtoration, he publiſhed a brief Narrative concerning the Proceedings of the Commiſſioners in *Wales* againſt the ejected Clergy, occaſioned by a Report that he had been thrown into that Priſon for ſome of the Revenues; which was never anſwer'd.

Ordinance for uniting ſmall Livings, and dividing greater. Scobel, p. 353.

By an Ordinance of *September* 2. Commiſſioners were appointed to enquire into the yearly Value of all Eccleſiaſtical Livings and Benefices without Cure of Souls; what Perſon or Perſons received the Profits, and who was the Patron; and to certify the ſame into *Chancery*; and if upon a careful Conſideration of Things, it ſhall be found convenient and advantagious, to unite two Pariſhes or more into one, and that the whole Eccleſiaſtical Revenues, Tithes, and Profits belonging to the ſaid Pariſhes ſo united, ſhould be applied for a Proviſion for one godly and painful Miniſter, to preach in the ſaid united Pariſhes, then the Truſtees, or Commiſſioners appointed by this Act ſhall repreſent the ſame to his HIGHNESS and *Council*, upon whoſe Approbation they ſhall, by an Inſtrument under the Hands and Seals of any Five, or more of them, declare, that they do thereby unite ſuch Pariſhes into one; which *Inſtrument* being enrolled in *Chancery*, the ſaid Pariſhes from thenceforth ſhall be adjudged and taken to be conſolidated into one. If there happen to be more Patrons than one in the Pariſhes thus united, the Patrons ſhall preſent by Turns; but the Union ſhall not take Place till the Avoidance of one of the Livings by the Death of the Incumbent.

On the other hand, where Pariſhes were too large, the Truſtees for the Augmentation of poor Livings were empowered to divide them into Two, or more, upon their Avoidance by Death.

Fur-

Oliver *Protector.* 1654.

Further, if when Two, or more Pariſhes were united into one, the Income or Salary did not amount to one Hundred Pounds *per Annum*, the Truſtees for receiving Impropriations, Tithes, Firſt Fruits, and Tenths, *&c.* were directed to make up the Deficiency; and where there was a conſiderable Surplus they might take off the Augmentations formerly granted. Provided this Ordinance be not conſtrued to reſtrain the ſaid Truſtees from granting Augmentations to Preachers in Cities and Market Towns, where there ſhall be cauſe, to a greater Proportion, with the Conſent of the Protector and his Council. This was a noble and generous Deſign; and if the Protector had lived to have ſeen it executed, muſt have been of general Service to the Body of the Clergy.

Protector for encouraging Learning. Whitl. p. 588.

Though his HIGHNESS himſelf was no great Scholar, he was a Patron of Learning and learned Men: He ſettled one Hundred Pounds a Year on a Divinity Profeſſor in *Oxford*; and gave Twenty four rare Manuſcripts to the *Bodleian* Library; he erected and endowed a College in *Durham* for the Benefit of the Northern Counties, Mr. *Frankland*, M. A. being one of the firſt Fellows. But theſe, and ſome other Deſigns that he had formed for the Advancement of Learning, died with him.

In order to ſecure the Education of Youth he took care to regulate both Univerſities, by appointing new Viſitors, the former ceaſing with the Diſſolution of the Long Parliament, *viz.*

For the Univerſity of Oxford,

The *Vice Chancellor* for the Time being,

Viſitors for the Univerſities. Scobel, p. 366.

Dr. *Harris*, Preſident of *Trinity College*,
Dr. *Rogers*, Principal of *New Inn Hall*,
Dr. *T. Goodwin*, Preſident of *Magdalen College*,
Dr. *John Owen*, Dean of *Chriſt Church*,
Dr. *Hen. Wilkinſon, Marg.* Profeſſor of Divinity,
Dr. *Peter French*, Prebend of *Chriſt Church*,

Dr.

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Dr. *John Conant*, Rector of *Exeter College*,
Dr. *John Goddard*, Ward. of *Merton College*,
Mr. *Thankful Owen*, Pref. of St. *John's*,
Mr. *Stephens*, Principal of *Hart Hall*,
Mr. *James Baron*, of *Magd. College*,
Mr. *Francis Howel*, Fellow of *Exeter College*.

William, Vifc. *Say* and *Seal*,
Nathaniel Fiennes, Eſq;
Bulſtrode Whitlock, Comm. of the *Great Seal*,
Samuel Dunch, Eſq;
Sir *John Dreyden*,
Rich. Ingoldsby,
John Crew,
George Fleetwood,
John Bright,
— *Jenkinſon*,
— *Greenfield*,
} Eſqs;

For the Univerſity of Cambridge,

The *Vice Chancellor* for the Time being,

Dr. *Tuckney*, Maſter of St. *John's College*,
Dr. *Arrowſmith*, Maſter of *Trinity College*,
Dr. *Horton*, Preſident of *Queen's College*,
Dr. *Sam. Bolton*, Maſter of *Chriſt's College*,
Dr. *Law. Seaman*, Maſter of *Peter Houſe*,
Dr. *Lightfoot*, Maſter of *Katherine Hall*,
Mr. *John Sadler*, Maſter of *Magdalen College*,
Dr. *Whitchcot*,
Dr. *Cudworth*,
Mr. *Worthington*, Maſter of *Jeſus College*,
Mr. *Dillingham*, Maſter of *Emanuel College*,
Mr. *Simpſon*, Maſter of *Pembroke Hall*,
Mr. *Templer*, Fellow of *Trinity College*,

Mr. *Mowbrey*, Fellow of St. *John's College*,
Mr. *William Moſes*, Fellow of *Pembroke Hall*,
Mr. *Wood*, Fellow of *Magd. College*.

Henry Cromwell,
Henry Lawrence, Lord Preſident of his Highneſs's *Council*,
J. Lambert,
J. Desborough,
} Eſqs;
Sir *Gilbert Pickering*,
Col. *Ed. Montague*,
Francis Rouſe,
} Eſqs;
Oliver St. John, Lord Ch. Juſtice of *Com. Pleas*,
J. Thurloe,
Robert Caſtle,
Tho. Bendiſh,
Rob. Viner,
Griffith Lloyd,
} Eſqs;
Sir *William Strickland*.

Any

Any Seven, or more of the Commiſſioners above-named, were authorized to viſit all *Colleges* and *Halls* within their reſpective Univerſities; to examine what Statutes were fit to be abrogated, alter'd, or added, and to exhibit the ſame to his HIGHNESS, and the PARLIAMENT. They are further authorized, to explain ſuch Statutes as are ambiguous and obſcure; to determine Appeals; and are to be aſſiſted upon all Occaſions by the Mayor, Sheriffs, and Juſtices of Peace. The ſaid *Viſitors*, or any Four of them, are authorized to viſit *Weſtminſter School*, *Wincheſter School*, *Merchant Taylor's School*, and *Eaton College*; and to conſider of ſuch Statutes of the ſaid Schools as are fit to be abrogated, and of others that may be proper to be added for the well Government of the ſaid Schools and Colleges. Oliver *Protector.* 1654.

Their Influence.

The Viſitors diſcharged their Duty with great Fidelity; and the Heads of Colleges had a watchful Eye over their ſeveral Houſes; Drunkenneſs, Swearing, Gaming, and all kinds of Immorality, were ſeverely puniſhed; all Students, Graduates, and others, were obliged to be at home in proper Hours; the publick Houſes were ſearched; and the Practice of Religion in the ſeveral Colleges enforced with Rigor. One of the Profeſſors writes, That there was more frequent practical Preaching in the Colleges than ever had been known. On the Lord's Day, at different Hours, there were Three or Four Sermons in ſeveral Churches; and on the Week Days, Lectures on *Tueſdays*, *Thurſdays*, *Fridays* and *Saturdays*. The Tutors were very diligent in diſcharge of their Duty; the publick Readings were well attended, and the Students under ſtrict Diſcipline; Learning revived, and the Muſes returned to their Seats, as appears by the Numbers of learned Men who adorned the Reign of King *Charles* II. and owed their Education to theſe Times.

The Protector's Zeal for the Pr. Religion.

The Protector's Zeal for the Welfare of the Proteſtant Churches abroad deſerves a particular Notice, and was highly valued by all the Reformed in foreign Parts.

Hiſt. Stuarts, p. 423.

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Parts. He took all imaginable Care to put himſelf at the Head of that Intereſt on all Occaſions, and to ſhew his Power in protecting them. The Prince of *Tarente* having writ a reſpectful Letter to the Protector, his Highneſs returned him the following Anſwer, "That "it was with extreme Pleaſure he had learn'd by Let- "ters his inviolable Zeal and Attachment to the "Reformed Churches, for which his Praiſe was the "greater, in as much as he ſhewed that Zeal at a "Time, and in a Place, where ſuch flattering Hopes "were given to Perſons of his Rank if they would "forſake the Orthodox Faith; and where thoſe who "continue ſtedfaſt are threaten'd with ſo many Trou- "bles. He rejoices that his own Conduct in Religion "was ſo pleaſing to him; he calls God to witneſs, "that he deſired nothing ſo much as an Opportunity "to anſwer the favourable Opinion the Churches have "of his Zeal and Piety, by endeavouring to propa- "gate the true Faith, and procure Reſt and Peace for "the Church. He exhorts the Prince to hold out "firm to the End in the Orthodox Religion which he "received from his Fathers; and adds, that nothing "would bring him greater Glory than to protect it "as much as lay in his Power." What Projects the Protector formed for this Purpoſe will be ſeen hereafter.

State of the Royal Family.

Compl. Hiſt. p. 203. Kennet's Chron. p. 599.

But the Royal Intereſt Abroad was enclining towards Popery; the Duke of *York* was already perverted to the *Romiſh* Faith; no Attempts were uneſſayed by the Queen Mother, the Queen of *France*, and others, to gain the young Duke of *Glouceſter*, who had been under the Inſtruction of Parliamentary Tutors till the laſt Year: But this young Prince was too well eſtabliſhed in his Religion to be perverted at preſent, upon which the Queen forbid him her Preſence; and the Marquiſs of *Ormond* conducted him to his Brother at *Cologn*. The King was a Man of no Religion, and having little to do, devoted his leiſure Hours to the Ladies, and other private Pleaſures. His Majeſty had ſome Trial (ſays Biſhop *Kennet*) of his Conſcience and Courage in reſiſt-

Compl. Hiſt. p. 213.

reſiſting the little Arguments, or rather Importunities of Popery. The Papiſts put him in mind, that all his Hopes from the Proteſtant Party were at an end; that the Biſhops were dead, except a very few; and the Church Lands ſold; and that ſince the late Defeat at *Worceſter* the Preſbyterian Power was deſtroyed; all his Hopes therefore muſt be from the *Roman* Catholicks, from whoſe Power and Aſſiſtance only he could now hope for his Reſtoration. But the Proſpect was ſo diſtant, that the King, by Advice of Lord *Clarendon*, was prevailed with not to declare himſelf openly at preſent. Oliver Protector. 1654.

On the laſt of *November* died the learned Mr. *John Selden*, the Glory of the *Engliſh* Nation: He was born in *Suſſex*, *Dec.* 16. 1584. and educated in *Hart Hall*, *Oxford*, after which he was tranſplanted to the *Inner Temple*, where he became a Prodigy in the moſt uncommon Parts of Learning. He was a great Philologiſt, Antiquary, Herald, Linguiſt, Stateſman, and Lawyer, but ſeldom appeared at the Bar. He was choſen Burgeſs for ſeveral Parliaments, where he ſhewed his profound Learning in Speeches and Debates for the Liberty of the Subject; for which he was impriſoned, and ſeverely fined with Mr. *Pym* in the Parliaments of 1618, and 1628. He was choſen again in the *Long Parliament*, and appeared againſt the *Prerogative*, as he had formerly done. He was one of the Laymen in the Aſſembly of Divines, and by his vaſt Skill in the Oriental Learning, and *Jewiſh* Antiquities, frequently puzzled the moſt able Divines. He writ many learned Works, which gained him the Title among Foreigners, of the *Dictator of Learning in the* Engliſh *Nation*. Among other remarkable Writings of our Author we may reckon his *Hiſtory of Tithes*, publiſhed 1618. in which he proves them not to be due to the Chriſtian Clergy by Divine Inſtitution: For this he was ſummoned before the *High Commiſſion Court*, and obliged to make a publick Recantation. But after ſome Time his Reputation was *Death of Mr.* Selden. Ath. Ox.

ſo

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ſo great, that it was thought worth while to gain him over to the Court; and upon the new Civilities he received at *Lambeth*, he was prevailed with to publiſh his *Mare Clauſum* againſt *Hugo Grotius*, which was eſteemed ſuch an invaluable Treaſure, that it was ordered to be laid up in the Court of Records. The Archbiſhop offer'd him Preferments, but he would accept nothing. Upon the firſt Preſſures againſt the Biſhops he publiſhed his *Eutychius* in *Greek* and *Latin*, with Notes, in which he proves, that *Biſhops and Presbyters differ only in degree.* He afterwards anſwered his Majeſty's Declaration about the *Commiſſion of Array*, and was made Maſter of the *Rolls* by the *Long Parliament.* He had a large and curious Library of Books, in the Frontiſpiece of each he uſed to write this Motto, Πρὸ παντὸς ἐλευθερίαν, *Above all*, LIBERTY. At length, being worn out with Age, and hard Study, he died at his Houſe in the *White Fryars*, aged Seventy Years, and was magnificently buried in the *Temple Church* on the South Side of the round Walk, *according to the Directory*, in the Preſence of all the Judges, ſome Parliament Men, Benchers, and great Officers. His Funeral Sermon was preached by Archbiſhop *Uſher*, who acknowledged he was not worthy to carry his Books after him. His Works are lately collected, and printed together in ſix Volumes, Folio.

Of the Reverend Mr. Gataker.

Mr. *Thomas Gataker* was born in *London*, 1574. and was educated in St. *John's College*, *Cambridge*, where he proceeded *M. A.* and was afterwards removed to *Sidney College*, where he became remarkable for his Skill in the *Hebrew* and *Greek* Languages. After his Ordination he was choſen Miniſter of *Lincoln's Inn*, and continued in that Station ten Years; but in the Year 1611. he was preſented to the Rectory of *Rotherhithe*, where he continued till his Death. In the Year 1643. he was choſen a Member of the Aſſembly of Divines, and was an Ornament and Reputation to it. When the Earl of *Mancheſter* viſited and

and reformed the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, he offered Mr. *Gataker* the Maſterſhip of *Trinity College*, but he refuſed it on the Account of his Health. Mr. *Gataker* was a very learned Man, and a conſiderable Critick and Linguiſt, as appears by his Writings, which were very numerous, conſidering his infirm State of Health. He was a conſtant Preacher; of a moſt holy and exemplary Life, but withal, of great Modeſty. It is hard, ſays Mr. *Eachard*, to ſay, which was moſt remarkable, his exemplary Piety and Charity, his polite Literature, or his Humility and Modeſty in refuſing Preferments. He maintained a Correſpondence with *Salmaſius*, *Hornbeck*, and other learned Foreigners, and was in high Eſteem both at Home and in the *Low Countries*, where he had travelled. He died of Age, and a Complication of Infirmities, *July* 27. 1654. in the Eightieth Year of his Age. Oliver *Protector*: 1654.

Mr. *William Strong* was educated in *Katherine Hall*, *Cambridge*, of which he was Fellow. He was afterwards Rector of *More Chrichel* in *Dorſetſhire*, where he continued till he was forced to fly from the Cavaliers; he then came to *London* and was choſen one of the Aſſembly of Divines, and Miniſter of St. *Dunſtan's* in the *Weſt*. After ſome Time he became Preacher at *Weſtminſter Abbey*, where he died ſuddenly, in the Vigor of Life, and was buried in the *Abbey Church*, *July* 4. 1654. His Funeral Sermon was preached by Mr. *Ob. Sedgwick*, who ſays, That he was ſo plain in Heart, ſo deep in Judgment, ſo painful in Study, ſo exact in Preaching; and in a Word, ſo fit for all the Parts of the Miniſterial Service, that he did not know his Equal. But after the Reſtoration his Bones were dug up, and removed to St. *Margaret's Church Yard*, with thoſe of other eminent Preſbyterian Divines. He publiſhed ſeveral Sermons, and Theological Treatiſes in his Lifetime; and after his Death there was a Poſthumous one *upon the Covenants*, in the Preface to which Mr. *Theophilus Gale* ſays, That the Author was a Wonder of Nature for natural Parts, and a Miracle of Grace for *Of Mr.* Strong. Ath. Ox. p. 218.

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his deep Inſight into the more profound Myſteries of the Goſpel. His Thoughts were ſublime, but clear and penetrating, eſpecially in interpreting difficult Texts.

Of Mr. Pern.

Mr. *Andrew Pern*, was educated in *Cambridge*, and from thence removed to *Welby* in *Northamptonſhire*, where he continued a zealous, laborious, and ſucceſsful Preacher for Twenty ſeven Years. In the Year 1643. he was choſen a Member of the Aſſembly of Divines at *Weſtminſter*. When he was at *London* he was offered ſeveral conſiderable Preferments, but refuſed them, reſolving to return to his People at *Welby*, who honoured him as a Father; for by his awakening Sermons, and exemplary Life and Converſation, he accompliſhed a great Reformation of Manners in the Town. He was full of ſpiritual Warmth (ſays the Writer of his Funeral Sermon) filled with an holy Indignation againſt Sin, active in his Work; and never more in his Element than in the Pulpit. As his Life was holy, ſo his Death was comfortable. He bleſſed God that he was not afraid to die; nay, he earneſtly deſired to be gone, often crying out, in his laſt Sickneſs, *When will that Hour come? One Aſſault more and this earthen Veſſel will be broken, and I ſhall be with God.* He died the Beginning of *December*, 1654. before he was arrived to the Age of Sixty.

Mr. Ainſworth.

Of Dr. Bolton.

Dr. *Samuel Bolton* was educated in *Cambridge*, and from thence removed to the Living of St. *Martins Ludgate*. Upon his coming to the City he was choſen one of the additional Members of the Aſſembly of Divines, being a Perſon of great Name and Character for Learning, and practical Preaching. He was a burning and ſhining Light (ſays Mr. *Clarke*) an Interpreter one of a Thouſand, an admirable Preacher, and his Life was an excellent Commentary upon his Sermons. Upon the Death of Dr. *Bainbrigge* he was choſen Maſter of *Chriſt's College*, *Cambridge*, which he governed with great Wiſdom and Prudence till his Death, which happen'd about the 10th of *October*, 1654. He was buried

buried with great Solemnity in his Pariſh Church of *Ludgate* on the 16th of the ſame Month, very much lamented by the *London* Clergy of thoſe Times. Oliver *Protector.* 1654.

Mr. *Jer. Whitaker* was born at *Wakefield* in *Yorkſhire*, 1599. and educated in *Sidney College*, *Cambridge*, where he proceeded in Arts. He taught the Free School at *Okeham* in *Rutlandſhire* Seven Years, and then became Miniſter of *Stretton* in the ſame County, where he continued Thirteen Years. In 1643. he was nominated one of the Aſſembly of Divines at *Weſtminſter*, which brought him to *London*, where he was choſen to the Rectory of St. *Mary Magdalen Bermondſey*, in *Southwark*. He preached Three or Four Sermons every Week; two in *Southwark*, one at *Weſtminſter*, and one at *Chriſt Church*, *London*. He never withdrew from any Opportunity of Preaching if he was in Health; and though he preached often, his Sermons were ſolid and judicious. He was an univerſal Scholar, both in Arts and Languages; well acquainted with the Fathers and Schoolmen, an acute Diſputant, and inferior to none in his Acquaintance with the holy Scriptures. He was of the *Presbyterian* Perſuaſion, and had a chief Hand in compoſing the *Defence of the Goſpel Miniſtry*, publiſhed this Year by the Provincial Synod of *London*. He refuſed the *Engagement*, and lamented the Wars between *England*, *Scotland*, and *Holland*. No Man was more beloved by the *Presbyterian* Miniſters of *London* than Mr. *Whitaker*. When he was ſeized with the violent and tormenting Pain of the Stone about the Beginning of *November*, many Days of Prayer and Faſting were kept for his Recovery, but the Diſtemper was incurable. He bore his Pains with uncommon Patience, fearing nothing more than to diſhonour God by unreaſonable Complaints. When his Diſtemper was moſt violent he would deſire his Friends to withdraw, that they might not be affected with his Roarings. At length Nature being quite ſpent, he cheerfully reſigned his Soul into the Hands of his Redeemer, about the Fifty

Of Mr. Whitaker.

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fifth Year of his Age. His Funeral Sermon was preached by Mr. *Calamy*, who gave him a large and deſerved Encomium.

Mr. Rich. Vines. Fuller's Worthies, p. 134.

Mr. *Richard Vines*, of whom mention has been made already, was born at *Blazon* in *Leiceſterſhire*, educated in *Magdalen College*, *Cambridge*, where he commenced *M. A.* He was firſt School-Maſter at *Hinckley*, then Miniſter of *Weddington* in *Warwickſhire*. At the Beginning of the Civil War he was driven from his Pariſh, and forced to take Shelter in *Coventry*. When the Aſſembly of Divines was called he was choſen one of their Number; and, as *Fuller* ſays, was the Champion of their Party. While he was at *London* he became Miniſter of St. *Clements Danes*; afterwards he removed to *Watton* in *Hartfordſhire*, and was choſen Maſter of *Pembroke Hall* in *Cambridge*, but reſigned that, and his Living of St. *Lawrence Jewry*, on account of the *Engagement*. He was a Son of Thunder, and therefore compared to *Luther*; but moderate and charitable to them that differ'd from him in Judgment. The Parliament employed him in all their Treaties with the King; and his Majeſty, tho' of a different Judgment, valued him for his Ingenuity, ſeldom ſpeaking to him without touching his Hat, which Mr. *Vines* returned with moſt reſpectful Language and Geſtures. He was an admirable Scholar; holy and pious in his Converſation, and indefatigable in his Labours, which waſted his Strength, and brought him into a Conſumption, when he had lived but about Fifty ſix Years. He was buried in his own Pariſh Church, *Feb.* 7. 1655. his Funeral Sermon being preached by Dr. *Jacomb*, who gave him his juſt Commendation. He was a perfect Maſter of the *Geeek* Tongue, a good Philologiſt, and an admirable Diſputant. He was a thorough *Calviniſt*, and a bold honeſt Man without Pride or Flattery. Mr. *Newcomen* calls him *Diſputator acutiſſimus, concionator fæliciſſimus, Theologus eximius.* Many Funeral Poems and Elegies were made upon his Death.

The

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The Protector having diſſolved his ſecond Parliament without confirming their Acts, was obliged ſtill to rely on the Military Arm; this, together with the Inſurrections in ſeveral Parts of the Country, induced him for his greater Security to canton the Nation into Eleven Diſtricts, and place over them *Major Generals*, whoſe Commiſſion was to inſpect the Behaviour of the inferior Commiſſioners within their Diſtricts; to commit to Priſon all ſuſpected Perſons; to take care of collecting the publick Taxes; and to ſequeſter ſuch as did not pay their Decimation. They were to enquire after all private Aſſemblies of ſuſpicious Perſons, and after ſuch as bought up Arms; after Vagabonds and idle Perſons; after ſuch as lived at an higher Rate than they could afford; after ſuch as frequented Taverns and Gaming Houſes, and after ſcandalous and unlearned Miniſters and School-Maſters; and there was no Appeal from them but to the Protector and his Council. They were ordered to liſt a Body of *Reſerves* both Horſe and Foot at Half-Pay, who were to be called together upon any ſudden Emergency, and to attend ſo many Days at their own Expence, but if they were detained longer to have full Pay; by which Means the Protector had a ſecond Army in view if any Diſaſter ſhould befal the firſt; but theſe Officers became ſo ſevere and arbitrary, that *his Highneſs* found it neceſſary after ſome Time to reduce their Power, and when Affairs were a little more ſettled to diſſolve them.

The Protector appoints Major Generals.

Having provided for the Security of his Government at home, the Protector concluded an Alliance with *France*, *Octob.* 23. in which it is remarkable, that *Lewis* XIV. is not allowed to ſtile himſelf King of *France*, but King of the *French*, his *Highneſs* claiming the Protectorſhip of that Kingdom among his other Titles; and which is more ſurprizing, the Name of OLIVER ſtands in the Treaty before that of the *French* King. At the ſame Time he ſent Admiral *Blake* with a Fleet into the *Mediterranean*, who ſpread

Enters into an Alliance with France.

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the Terror of the *Engliſh* Name over all *Italy*, even to *Rome* it ſelf; Proceſſions being made, and the Hoſt expoſed for Forty Hours, to avert the Judgments of Heaven, and preſerve the Patrimony of the Church.

And ſends Ad. Blake *into the* Mediterranean.

But *Blake*'s Commiſſion was only to demand ſixty Thouſand Pounds of the Duke of *Tuſcany*, for Damages ſuſtained by the *Engliſh* Merchants while he harboured Prince *Rupert*, which he paid immediately. The Admiral releaſed all the *Engliſh* Slaves on the Coaſt of *Barbary* to the Number of four Hundred, and obtained Satisfaction for the Ships taken by the Pirates of *Algiers*, *Tunis*, &c. Upon the Whole, he brought home ſixteen Ships laden with Booty, which ſailed up the River *Thames* to the Port of *London*, as a grateful Spectacle of Triumph to the People.

Jamaica *taken from the* Spaniards.

While *Blake* was in the *Mediterranean*, Admiral *Pen* and *Venables* with Thirty Men of War, and ſome Land Forces, ſailed to the *Weſt Indies*, with a Deſign to ſurprize the Town of *Hiſpaniola*; but miſcarrying in the Attempt they re-imbarked and took Poſſeſſion of the Iſland of *Jamaica*, which is in Poſſeſſion of the Crown of *Great Britain* to this Day.

The Protector did not commiſſion *Blake* to aſſault the *Spaniſh* Coaſts in the *Mediterranean*, becauſe there was no open Rupture between the two Nations in *Europe*; but the *Weſt Indies* not being included in the Treaty, he thought himſelf at liberty in thoſe Parts; which occaſioned a Declaration of War, on the Part of *Spain*, with all the *Engliſh* Dominions; upon which *Blake* was ordered to cruiſe upon the *Spaniſh* Coaſts, and to wait for the Return of the Plate Fleet, of which he gave a very good Account the next Summer.

To ſupport theſe additional Expences the Protector, by Advice of his Council, raiſed ſome extraordinary Taxes before the Parliament met, which he knew to be illegal, and did not pretend to juſtify on any other Foot than *the abſolute Neceſſity of the publick Safety; the diſtracted Condition of the Nation; that it was impracticable in the preſent Juncture to call a Parliament*

ment, or to proceed in the ordinary Courſe of Law; and that in extraordinary Caſes, wherein all was at ſtake, ſome extraordinary Methods were allowable. How far this Reaſoning will excuſe the Protector, or vindicate his Conduct, muſt be left with the Reader. But 'tis agreed on all Hands, that in Things that did not affect the very *Being* of his Government he never interpoſed, but let the Laws have their free Courſe. He had a Zeal for Trade and Commerce beyond all his Predeceſſors, and appointed a ſtanding Committee of Merchants for promoting it, which met, for the firſt Time, in the *Painted Chamber*, *Nov.* 27. 1655. and continued to his Death.

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The Provincial Aſſembly of *London* finding their Attempts to eſtabliſh *their Diſcipline* ineffectual, employed themſelves this Year in promoting the Religious Education of Youth; for which Purpoſe they publiſhed an *Exhortation to Catechiſing*; with the following Directions for the more orderly carrying it on.

Proceedings of the Provincial Aſſembly.

1. "That the Miniſters on ſome Lord's Day prove "in their Sermons, the Neceſſity and Uſefulneſs of "ſuch a Work, and exhort all Parents, and Maſters "of Families, to prepare their Children and Servants "for it, by catechiſing them at home, that they may "more readily make their Anſwers in publick.

2. "That the Catechiſm to be uſed be the *Leſſer "Catechiſm* of the Aſſembly of Divines. This Cate"chiſm excelling all others in this reſpect, that every "Anſwer is a perfect Propoſition without the Que"ſtion.

3. "That the Perſons to be catechiſed be Children "and Servants, that have not been admitted to the "Lord's Supper by the Elderſhip.

4. "That the Time of Catechiſing be on the "Lord's Day in the Afternoon, before the Sermon, "to the End that the whole Congregation may re"ceive Benefit thereby.

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5. "That the Catechiſm may be explained *briefly*, at the firſt going over, that the People may in "a ſhort Time have a Notion of the whole Body of "Divinity.

6. "That the Pariſh be deſired at the common "Charge, to provide Catechiſms for the poorer Sort, "who cannot well provide for themſelves, and that "the Diſtribution of them be referr'd to the reſpective "Miniſters.

7. "'Tis deſired, that an Account in Writing, "what Progreſs is made in the Premiſes may be re-"turned from the Claſſes to the Provincial Aſſembly "within Forty Days after the Receipt hereof.

"Signed in the Name, and by the Appointment of "the Aſſembly,

Edmund Calamy, Moderator.
William Harriſon, } Scribes.
William Blackmore, }

Theſe Inſtructions were ſent to the ſeveral Claſſes of *London*; and by their Example, the Aſſociated Miniſters in the ſeveral Counties of *England* publiſhed the like Exhortations to their Brethren.

Account of Mr. Biddle *the* Socinian.

The Occaſion of this Proceeding was the publiſhing two Catechiſms of Mr. *John Biddle* a *Socinian*, one called a *Scripture Catechiſm*; and the other, A *Brief Scripture Catechiſm, for the Uſe of Children*. Complaints of which being made to the laſt Parliament, they were ordered to be burnt by the Hands of the Common Hangman, and the Author to be impriſoned in the *Gate-Houſe*. Mr. *Biddle* had been in Cuſtody for his Opinions before the late King's Death. While he was there he had publiſhed twelve Queſtions or Arguments againſt the Deity of the Holy Spirit, in Quarto, 1647. which was anſwered by Mr. *Pool*, and the Book ordered to be burnt. Next Year, being ſtill in Priſon, he publiſhed Seven Articles againſt the Deity of Chriſt, with the Teſtimonies of ſeveral of the Fathers on this Head; upon which ſome Zealots in the Aſſembly

bly moved, that he might be put to Death as an Heretick; but he went on, and being ſet at Liberty in the Year 1651. he compoſed and publiſhed the Catechiſms above-mentioned, in which he maintains, "(1.) That God is confined to a certain "Place. (2.) That he has a bodily Shape. (3.) That "he has Paſſions. (4.) That he is neither Omnipotent nor Unchangeable. (5.) That we are not to "believe Three Perſons in the Godhead. (6.) That "Jeſus Chriſt has not the Nature of God, but only "a Divine Lordſhip. (7.) That he was not a Prieſt "while upon Earth, nor did reconcile Men to God. "And, (8.) That there is no Deity in the Holy "Ghoſt." Theſe Propoſitions were condemned by the Parliament, and the Author committed to the *Gate-Houſe*. But as ſoon as the Protector had diſſolved his Parliament he gave him his Liberty.

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After this, being of a reſtleſs Spirit, he challenged Mr. *Griffin*, a Baptiſt Preacher, to diſpute with him in St. *Paul's Cathedral*, on this Queſtion, *Whether Jeſus Chriſt be the moſt High, or Almighty God?* This occaſioning new Diſturbances, the Council committed him to *Newgate*; but the Protector thought it beſt to ſend him out of the Way, and accordingly tranſported him to *Scilly*, and allowed him one Hundred Crowns a Year for his Maintenance. Here he remained till the Year 1658. when the Noiſe being over, he was ſet at Liberty; his Catechiſms having been anſwered by Dr. *Owen*, in a learned and elaborate Treatiſe, entitled, *Vindiciæ Evangelicæ*, &c.

After the Protector's Death *Biddle* ſet up a private Conventicle in *London*, which continued till the Reſtoration, when the Church being reſtored to its coercive Power, he was apprehended while Preaching, and committed to Priſon, where he died, in *September*, 1662. and was buried in the Burying Ground in *Old Bedlam*. He had ſuch a prodigious Memory (ſays *Wood*) that he could repeat all St. *Paul's* Epiſtles in *Greek*, and was reckoned by thoſe of his Perſuaſion a

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sober Man, and so devout, that he seldom prayed without lying prostrate on the Ground.

A severe Ordinance against the old sequester'd Clergy. Hughes's *exact Abridgement of publick Acts and Ordinances,* 4^to^. p. 597.

Though it was well known by this, as well as other Examples, that the Protector was against all Acts of Severity on the Account of Religion, yet such was the turbulent Behaviour of the Loyalists, who threaten'd an Assassination, published the most daring Libels against the Government, and were actually in Arms, that he thought it necessary to crush them, and therefore an Order was published *November* 24. "That "no Persons after *Jan.* 1. 1655-6. shall keep in "their Houses or Families as Chaplains or School-"Masters, for the Education of their Children, any "sequester'd or ejected Minister, Fellow of a College, "or School-Master, nor permit their Children to be "taught by such. That no such Persons shall keep "School either publickly or privately, nor preach "in any publick Place, or private Meeting, of any "others than those of his own Family; nor shall ad-"minister Baptism, or the Lord's Supper, or mar-"ry any Persons, or use the Book of Common Pray-"er, or the Forms of Prayer therein contained, on "pain of being prosecuted, according to the Orders "lately published by his Highness and Council, for "securing the Peace of the Commonwealth. *Never-*"*theless his Highness declares, that towards such of* "*the said Persons as have since their Ejectment or Se-*"*questration, given, or hereafter shall give, a real* "*Testimony of their Godliness, and good Affection to the* "*present Government, so much Tenderness shall be used as* "*may consist with the Safety and Good of the Nation.*"

This was a severe and terrible Order upon the Episcopalians, and unjustifiable in it self; but the Title of the Act, which is *an Ordinance for securing the Peace of the Commonwealth,* as well as the last Clause, shews it was made *for the Safety of the Government* against a Number of Men that were undermining it, and was published chiefly *in Terrorem,* for no Person was prosecuted upon it; nor did the Parliament, that met next Year, confirm it, which made it absolutely void.

Dr

Dr. *Gauden* preſented a Petitionary Remonſtrance to the Protector againſt this Order; and Archbiſhop *Uſher* was deſired to uſe his Intereſt with his *Highneſs* in behalf of the Epiſcopal Clergy; upon which (ſays the Writer of the Archbiſhop's Life) the Protector promiſed either to recal his Declaration, or to prevent its being put in Execution, *provided the Clergy were inoffenſive in their Language and Sermons, and ſtood clear in meddling with Matters of State.* His HIGHNESS accordingly laid the Matter before his Council, who were of Opinion, that it was not ſafe for him to recal his Declaration, and give open Liberty to Men who were *declared Enemies to his Government*, but that he ſhould ſuſpend the Execution of it as far as their Behaviour ſhould deſerve; ſo that here was no great Reaſon of Complaint, for notwithſtanding this Ordinance the ſober Epiſcopal Clergy preached publickly in the Churches, at *London* and in the Country, as Dr. *Hall*, afterwards Biſhop of *Cheſter*, Dr. *Ball*, Dr. *Wild*, Dr. *Hardy*, Dr. *Griffith*, Dr. *Pearſon*, Biſhop of *Cheſter*, and others. Remarkable are the Words of Biſhop *Kennet* to this Purpoſe; "It "is certain, ſays his Lordſhip, that the Protector "was for Liberty, and the utmoſt Latitude to all "Parties, *ſo far as conſiſted with the Peace and Safety "of his Perſon and Government*, and therefore he "was never jealous of any Cauſe or Sect on the Ac- "count of Hereſy or Falſhood, but on his wiſer Ac- "counts of political Peace and Quiet; and even the "Prejudice he had againſt the Epiſcopal Party was "more for their being Royaliſts, than for being of "the good old Church. Dr. *Gunning*, afterwards "Biſhop of *Ely*, kept a Conventicle in *London*, in as "open a Manner as the Diſſenters did after the Tole- "ration; and ſo did ſeveral other Epiſcopal Di- "vines."

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Protector is willing to diſpenſe with the Ordinance.

Conf. Plea, Part IV. p. 410. Compl. Hiſt. p. 223.

For the ſame Reaſons his *Highneſs* girt the Laws cloſe upon the Papiſts, not upon account of their Religion, but becauſe they were Enemies to his Government;

Reaſons of his Severity againſt the Papiſts.

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ment; for in the Month of *May* a Proclamation was publiſhed for the better executing the Laws againſt Jeſuits and Prieſts, and for the Conviction of Popiſh Recuſants; the Reaſon of which the Protector gives in his Declaration of *Octob.* 31ſt. publiſhed with the Advice of his Council, in theſe Words; *Becauſe it was not only commonly obſerved, but there remains with us ſomewhat of Proof, that Jeſuits have been found among diſcontented Parties of this Nation, who are obſerved to quarrel, and fall out with every Form of Adminiſtration in Church and State.* The Protector gave Notice of the like kind to the *Republicans*, *Fifth Monarchy Men*, *Levellers*, and to the *Presbyterians*, that they ſhould ſtand upon the ſame Foot with the Royaliſts, in caſe of any future Delinquencies.

Compl. Hiſt. p. 255. in Marg.

He is for encouraging the Jews.

Such was the Protector's Latitude, that he was for indulging the *Jews*, who petitioned for Liberty of their Religion, and for carrying on a Trade in *London*. *Manaſſeh Ben Iſrael*, one of their chief Rabbi's, with ſome others, came from *Amſterdam* to *Whitehall* for this Purpoſe, whom the Protector treated with Reſpect, and ſummoned an Aſſembly of Divines, Lawyers, and Merchants, to conſult upon the Affair: The Divines were to conſider it as a Caſe of Conſcience; the Lawyers to report how far it was conſiſtent with the Laws of *England*; and the Merchants, whether it was for the Advantage of Trade and Commerce. Biſhop *Burnet* apprehends, that the Protector deſigned the *Jews* for Spies in the ſeveral Nations of *Europe*; however, he was of Opinion, that their Admiſſion under certain Limitations might be for the Advantage of Commerce; and told the Divines, that ſince there was a Promiſe in holy Scripture of the Converſion of the *Jews*, he did not know but the Preaching of the Chriſtian Religion, as it was then in *England*, without Idolatry or Superſtition, might conduce to it. But the Aſſembly not agreeing in their Opinions, the Affair was dropt, and the Petitioners return'd to *Holland*, where *Manaſſeh Ben Iſrael* writ a handſome Letter,

now

now before me, which he calls, *An Anſwer to certain Queſtions propounded by a noble and learned Gentleman, touching the Reproaches caſt upon the Nation of the* Jews, *wherein all Objections are candidly and fully ſtated.* The famous Mr. *Prynne* and Mr. *Dury* a Preſbyterian Miniſter, writ fiercely againſt the Admiſſion of the *Jews*; but other Divines whom the Protector conſulted, were for admitting them with ſome Limitations. I ſhall report their Reſolution on this Point in their own Language. Oliver *Protector.* 1655.

Queſtion, *Whether the* Jews, *at their Deſire, may be admitted into this Nation to traffick and dwell among us, as Providence ſhall give Occaſion?*

The Anſwer of thoſe that were againſt it, was, that they could not think it lawful, for the following Reaſons.

Arguments for and againſt it.

1. "Becauſe the Motives on which *Manaſſeh Ben Iſrael*, in his Book lately printed, deſires their Admiſſion into this Commonwealth, are ſuch, as we conceive, to be very ſinful.

2. "The Danger of ſeducing the People of this Nation, by their Admiſſion, is very great.

3. "Their having Synagogues, or any publick Meetings for the Exerciſe of their Religion, is not only evil in it ſelf, but likewiſe very ſcandalous to other Chriſtian Churches.

4. "Their Cuſtoms and Practices concerning Marriage and Divorce are unlawful, and will be of very evil Example amongſt us.

5. "The Principles of not making Conſcience of Oaths made, and Injuries done to Chriſtians in Life, Chaſtity, Goods, or good Name, have been very notoriouſly charg'd upon them by valuable Teſtimony.

6. "Great Prejudice is like to ariſe to the Natives of this Commonwealth in Matters of Trade, which, beſides other Dangers here mention'd, we find very commonly ſuggeſted by the Inhabitants of the City of *London*."

Other

Oliver *Protector.* 1655.

Other Divines were of Opinion, That the Civil Magiſtrate might tolerate them under the following Limitations.

1. " That they be not admitted to have any publick Judicatories Civil or Eccleſiaſtical.

2. " That they be not permitted to ſpeak, or do " any Thing to the Defamation, or Diſhonour of " the Name of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, or of the Chriſtian Religion.

3. " That they be not permitted to do any Work, " or any Thing to the open Prophanation of the Lord's " Day, or Chriſtian Sabbath.

4. " That they be not permitted to have any Chriſtians dwell with them as their Servants.

5. " That they have no publick Office nor Truſt " in this Commonwealth.

6. " That they be not allow'd to print any Thing " in our Language againſt the Chriſtian Religion.

7. " That ſo far as may be, they be not ſuffered to " diſcourage any of their own from uſing any proper " Means, or applying themſelves to any who may con- " vince them of their Error, and turn them to Chriſtiani- " ty. And that ſome ſevere Penalty be impos'd upon them " who ſhall apoſtatize from Chriſtianity to Judaiſm."

Remarks. p. 716.

Mr. Archdeacon *Eachard* ſays, *The* Jews *offered the Protector two Hundred Thouſand Pounds provided they might have St.* Paul's *Cathedral for a Settlement.* And he adds the following malicious Reflection, That " *the* " *Money made his Highneſs look upon it as the Cauſe of* " *God, but that both the Clergy and Laity ſo declaimed* " *againſt them, that the religious Juggle would not take* " *place.*" This the Archdeacon himſelf could not believe, as being quite out of Character, for he knew that the Protector did not inrich his Family, nor value Money, but for the publick Service. He concludes, That " *the* Jews " *could never be permitted to live long in a well ſettled* " *Monarchy.*" What then does he call the Monarchy of *England?* Where the *Jews* have been indulged the Exerciſe of their Religion, without doing any Damage to

to the Religion or Commerce of the Nation for above Sixty Years. Oliver *Protector.* 1655.

The Protector's Zeal for the Reformed Religion made him the Refuge of perſecuted Proteſtants in all Parts of the World. The Duke of *Savoy*, at the Inſtance of his Dutcheſs, Siſter to the Queen of *England*, determined to oblige his Reformed Subjects in the Valleys of *Piedmont* to embrace the *Roman Catholick* Religion or depart the Country. For this Purpoſe he quartered an Army upon them, which eat up their Subſtance. The Proteſtants making ſome little Reſiſtance to the Rudeneſs of the Soldiers, the Duke gave Orders, that all the Proteſtant Families in the Valley of *Lucern* ſhould go into Baniſhment, which ſome obeyed, whilſt the reſt ſent Deputies to the Court of *Turin*, to implore Mercy; but the *Pope*, and the Princes of *Italy*, adviſed the *Duke* to improve the preſent Opportunity for extirpating the Reformed, and making all his Subjects of one Religion. The *Duke* accordingly ſent expreſs Orders to his General to drive them all out of the Country, with their Wives and Children, and to put to Death ſuch as ſhould remain. This was executed with great Severity, *April* 20. 1655. Thoſe who eſcaped the Sword fled into the Mountains, from whence, being ready to periſh with Hunger and Cold, they ſent their Agents to the *Lord Protector* of *England*, and other Proteſtant Powers for Relief. It was the Beginning of *May* when his *Highneſs* was firſt made acquainted with their Diſtreſs, when he appointed a general Faſt, and charitable Contributions throughout all *England* for their preſent Aſſiſtance; and ſuch was the Compaſſion of the People, that the Collection amounted to *Thirty ſeven Thouſand and ninety ſeven Pounds, ſeven Shillings and three Pence.* About Thirty Thouſand Pounds was remitted to their Deputies at ſeveral Payments, in this and the next Year; but the Confuſions which followed upon the Protector's Death prevented the clearing the whole Account till the Convention Parliament at the Reſto-

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Oliver *Protector.* 1655.

ration, who ordered the remaining Seven Thouſand Pounds to be paid. The Protector applied to the Proteſtant Kings of *Sweden* and *Denmark*; to the States of *Holland*, the Cantons of *Switzerland*, and the Reformed Churches of *Germany* and *France*; and by his powerful Influence procured large Contributions from thoſe Parts. He writ to the King of *France*, and to Cardinal *Mazarine*; and being glad of an Opportunity to ſtrike Terror into the *Roman Catholick* Powers, he ſent *Samuel Moreland*, Eſq; with a Letter to the Duke of *Savoy*, in which, having repreſented the Cruelty and Injuſtice of his Behaviour towards the Proteſtants in the Valleys, he tells him, "That he "was pierced with Grief at the News of the Sufferings of the *Vaudois*, being united to them not only "by the common Ties of Humanity, but by the Profeſſion of the ſame Faith, which obliged him to regard them as his Brethren; and he ſhould think "himſelf wanting in his Duty to God, to Charity, "and to his Religion, if he ſhould be ſatisfied with "pitying them only (whoſe miſerable Condition was "enough to raiſe Compaſſion in the moſt barbarous "Minds;) unleſs he alſo exerted himſelf to the utmoſt "of his Ability to deliver them out of it." This awaken'd the Popiſh Powers, inſomuch that *Mazarine* writ in the moſt preſſing Language to the Court of *Turin*, to give the Protector immediate Satisfaction; with which the Dutcheſs reproached him, becauſe he had made no Terms for the *Engliſh* Papiſts; but his Eminence replied, "We muſt leave to God the Care "of defending the Catholicks, whoſe Cauſe is moſt "juſt; but that of the Hereticks needs for its Support "the Clemency of Princes." Upon this the Perſecution immediately ceaſed; the Duke recalled his Army out of the Valleys, and reſtored their Goods; the poor People returned to their Houſes, and recovered all their antient Rights and Privileges. But to ſtrike ſome further Terror into the Pope, and the little Princes of *Italy*, the Protector gave out, that for as much as he was ſatisfied

Burnet, p. 76.

ſatisfied they had been the Promoters of this Perſecution, that he would keep it in mind, and lay hold of the firſt Opportunity to ſend his Fleet into the *Mediterranean* to viſit *Civita Vecchia*, and other Parts of the Eccleſiaſtical Territories; and that the Sound of his Cannon ſhould be heard in *Rome* it ſelf. He declared publickly that he would not ſuffer the Proteſtant Faith to be inſulted in any Part of the World; and therefore procured Liberty to thoſe of *Bohemia* and *France*; nor was there any Potentate in *Europe* ſo hardy as to riſk his Diſpleaſure by denying his Requeſts. Oliver *Protector.* 1655.

Original of the Society for the Sons of the Clergy.

The Charitable Society for the Relief of the Widows and Children of Clergymen, ſince known by the Name of the *Corporation for the Sons of the Clergy*, had its Beginning this Year, the firſt Sermon being preached by the Reverend Mr. *George Hall*, Son of the Famous *Joſeph Hall*, Biſhop of *Exeter*, then Miniſter of *Alderſgate*, but afterwards Archdeacon of *Canterbury*, and Biſhop of *Cheſter*. The Sermon was entitled, *God's appearing for the Tribe of* Levi, *improved in a Sermon preached at St.* Paul's, Novemb. 8. 1655. *to the Sons of* MINISTERS *then ſolemnly aſſembled*, from *Numb.* xvii. 8. *The Rod of* Aaron *budded, and bloomed Bloſſoms, and yielded Almonds.* The Preacher's Deſign was to inforce the Neceſſity and Uſefulneſs of a ſettled Miniſtry; and though there were ſome Paſſages that diſcovered him to be a *Prelatiſt*, the main Part of the Sermon breaths Moderation; "Let thoſe ill-invented Terms (ſays he) whereby we have been diſtinguiſhed from each other, be ſwallowed up in that Name which will lead us Hand in Hand to Heaven, the Name of CHRISTIANS. If my Stomach, or any of yours, riſe againſt the Name of brotherly Communion, which may conſiſt with our ſeveral Principles retain'd, not differing in Subſtantials, God take down that Stomach, and make us ſee how much we are concerned to keep the Unity of the Spirit in the Bond of Peace —— Why ſhould ſome, in the

Oliver *Protector.* 1655.

" Height of their Zeal for Liturgy, ſuppoſe there " can be no Service of God but where that is us'd? " Why ſhould others, again, think their Piety con- " cern'd and treſpaſs'd upon, if I prefer, and think " fit to uſe a ſet Form? There muſt be Abatements " and Allowances of each other; a coming Down " from our Punctilio's, or we ſhall never give up a " good Account to God —" From this Time Sermons have been preached annually, and large Contributions made for the Widows and Children of Clergymen. In the Reign of King *Charles* II. they became a *Body Corporate*; and their preſent Grandeur is ſufficiently known to the whole Nation.

Death of Abp. Uſher.

On the 21ſt of *March*, this Year, died the moſt Reverend and Learned Archbiſhop *Uſher*, born in *Dublin*, 1580. and educated in *Trinity College*. He proceeded *M. A.* in the Year 1600. and next Year was ordain'd Deacon and Prieſt by his Uncle *Henry Uſher*, then Archbiſhop of *Armagh*. In the Year 1620. he was made Biſhop of *Meath*, and four Years after Archbiſhop of *Armagh*; in which Station he continued till the Diſſolution of the Hierarchy by the Civil Wars. In his younger Years he was a *Calviniſt*, but in his advanced Age he embraced the middle Way between *Calvin* and *Arminius*. He was one of the moſt moderate Prelates of his Age, and allowed of the Ordinations of foreign Proteſtants; which none but he and Biſhop *Davenant*, and one or two more among the Biſhops of thoſe Times, would admit. The Archbiſhop having loſt all his Revenues by the *Iriſh* Rebellion, the King conferr'd upon him the Biſhoprick of *Carliſle* in Commendam. In 1643. he was nominated one of the Aſſembly of Divines at *Weſtminſter*, but did not appear among them. As long as the King was at *Oxford* he continued with him, but when the War was over he returned to *London* and lived privately, without any Moleſtation. He aſſiſted at the Treaty of the *Iſle of Wight*, but could do no Service, the contending Parties being then at too great a Diſtance to be reconcil

conciled. A little before the King's Death the Archbiſhop was choſen Preacher to the Honourable Society of *Lincoln's Inn*, with whom he continued ſeven Years, preaching conſtantly, all Term Time, till his Eyes failing, he quitted the Place about a Year and half before his Death, and retired with the Counteſs of *Peterborough* to her Houſe at *Rygate*. The Protector had a high Eſteem for this excellent Prelate, and conſulted him about proper Meaſures for advancing the Proteſtant Intereſt at home and abroad: He allowed him a Penſion, and promiſed him a Leaſe of part of the Lands of his Archbiſhoprick in *Ireland* for Twenty one Years; but his Death prevented the Execution of the Deſign. About the Middle of *Feb.* the Archbiſhop went down to *Rygate*, and on the 20th of *March* was taken ill of a Pluriſy, of which he died the next Day, in the Seventy ſixth Year of his Age, having been Fifty five Years a Preacher, Four Years Biſhop of *Meath*, and Thirty one Years Archbiſhop of *Armagh*. The Archbiſhop was one of the moſt learned Men of his Age; he had a penetrating Judgment, a tenacious Memory; and withal was a moſt pious, humble, and modeſt Chriſtian. His Body was of the ſmaller Size, his Complexion ſanguine, but his Preſence always commanded Reverence. The Protector did him the Honour of a publick Funeral, and buried him at his own Expence, in King *Henry* VII's Chapel.

Oliver *Protector.* 1655.

Mr. *Stephen Marſhall*, B. D. was born at *God-Manchester* in *Huntingtonſhire*, and was educated in *Cambridge*, and afterwards beneficed at *Finchingfield* in *Eſſex*; where he gained ſuch Reputation by his Preaching, that he was often called to preach before the Long Parliament, who conſulted him in all Affairs relating to Religion. He was one of the Aſſembly of Divines, and employed in moſt, if not all the Treaties between the King and Parliament. Mr. *Eachard*, according to his uſual Candor, calls him, "A famous Incendi-" ary, and Aſſiſtant to the Parliamentarians, their

Of Mr. Marſhall.

Oliver *Protector.* 1655.

" Trumpet in their Faſts, their Confeſſor in their " Sickneſs, their Counſellor in their Aſſemblies, their " Chaplain in their Treaties, and their Champion in " their Diſputations;" and then adds, " This great " *Shimei* being taken with a deſperate Sickneſs depart- " ed the World mad and raving." A notorious Falſehood! for he was a Perſon of ſober and moderate Principles, inſomuch that Mr. *Baxter* uſed to ſay, That if all the Biſhops had been of the Spirit and Temper of Archbiſhop *Uſher*, the Preſbyterians of the Temper of Mr. *Marſhall*, and the Independants like Mr. *Jer. Burroughs*, the Diviſions of the Church would have been eaſily compromiſed. When he was taken ill, and obliged to retire into the Country for the Air, the *Oxford Mercury* ſaid he was diſtracted, and in his Rage conſtantly cried out, That he was damned for adhering to the Parliament in their War againſt the King. But he lived to confute the Calumny, and publiſhed a Treatiſe, to prove the Lawfulneſs of defenſive Arms in Caſes of Neceſſity. He was an admired Preacher, and far from running into the Extremes of the Times. In the Decline of his Life he retired from the City, and ſpent the two laſt Years of his Life in *Ipſwich*. The Reverend Mr. *G. Firmin*, in a Preface to one of Mr. *Marſhall*'s Poſthumous Sermons, writes, that he had left few ſuch Labourers as himſelf behind him; that he was a Chriſtian by Practice as well as Profeſſion; that he lived by Faith, and died by Faith, and was an Example to the Believers in Word, in Converſation, in Charity, in Faith, and Purity. That when he and others were talking with Mr. *Marſhall* about his Death, he replied, *I cannot ſay, as he, I have not ſo lived that I ſhould now be afraid to die; but this I can ſay, I have ſo learned Chriſt, that I am not afraid to die.* He enjoyed the full Uſe of his Underſtanding to the laſt; but loſt the Uſe of his Hands and Appetite, in ſo much that he could eat nothing for ſome Months before he died. Mr. *Fuller* ſays, That he performed his Exerciſe for Batchelor of Divinity with general

Fuller's Worthies, Book II. P. 53.

neral Applauſe; that he was a good Preacher, but ſo ſupple, that he break not a Joint in all the Alteration of the Times; and although ſome ſuſpected him of deſerting his Preſbyterian Principles, yet upon his Death-Bed he gave them full Satisfaction that he had not. His Remains were ſolemnly buried in *Weſtminſter Abbey*, but were dug up again at the Reſtoration. Oliver *Protector.* 1655.

The Protector having as yet no better than a Military Title to his high Dignity, reſolved to obtain a more legal One as ſoon as the Times would admit. He had now cut his Way through a great many Difficulties, and the Succeſs of his Arms this Summer having raiſed his Reputation to an uncommon Pitch of Greatneſs, he reſolved to ſummon a new Parliament to meet at *Weſtminſter*, *Sept.* 17. to confirm his Title to the Protectorſhip; and the *Republicans* being his moſt dangerous Enemies, the Protector ſent for Sir *H. Vane* and Major General *Ludlow*, to give Security not to act againſt the preſent Government. He aſked *Ludlow* what made him uneaſy? or, What he would have? *Ludlow* anſwer'd, He would have the Nation governed by its own Conſent. I am, ſaid the *Protector*, as much for a Government by Conſent as any Man; but where ſhall we find that Conſent? Among the Prelatical, Preſbyterian, Independant, Anabaptiſt, or Levelling Parties? The *Other* replied, among thoſe of all Sorts who have acted with Fidelity and Affection to the Publick. The *Protector* finding that he was for throwing all Things back into Confuſion, told him, That all Men now enjoyed as much Liberty and Protection as they could deſire, and that he was reſolved to keep the Nation from being embrued again in Blood. "I deſire "not, ſays he, to put any more Hardſhips upon you "than upon my ſelf; nor do I aim at any Thing by "this Proceeding but the publick Quiet and Security. "As to my own Circumſtances in the World, I have not "much improved them, as theſe Gentlemen (pointing 1656. *Protector calls a new Parliament.* *Life of* Cromwel, p. 340.

Oliver *Protector.* 1656.

"to his Council) well know." But *Ludlow*, Sir *Henry Vane*, and Colonel *Rich*, perſiſting in their Refuſal to give Security, were taken into Cuſtody. Biſhop *Burnet* ſays, That others ſollicited him to reſtore the young King, and that the Earl of *Orrery* told him, he might make his own Terms; but that *Cromwel* replied, *That the Son could never forgive his Father's Blood; and that he was ſo debauched he would undo every Thing.* It was therefore reſolved to ſet him aſide, and proceed upon the preſent Plan.

When the Parliament met according to Appointment the Reverend Dr. *Owen* preached before them, his Text was, *Iſa.* xiv. 32. *What ſhall one then anſwer the Meſſengers of the Nation? That the Lord hath founded* Zion, *and the Poor of his People ſhall truſt in it.* From the *Abbey* the Protector went with the Members to the *Painted Chamber*, where he made a Speech, and then diſmiſſed them to their Houſe; but to prevent their entring into Debates about his Title, a Guard was placed at the Door, with a Paper of RECOGNITION for each Member to ſubſcribe, wherein they promiſe, *Not to act any Thing prejudicial to the Government as it was eſtabliſhed under a* PROTECTOR. Upon their ſubſcribing this, if they were under no other Diſqualification they had a Certificate of their Return, and *of their being approved by his* HIGHNESS *and* COUNCIL. This laſt was certainly inconſiſtent with the Freedom of Parliaments; for if the Crown has a Negative upon the Return of the Members, they are Tools of the Crown, and not Repreſentatives of the People; becauſe, though they are legally choſen, and returned by the proper Officer, a ſuperior Tribunal may ſet them aſide. Beſides, if the Parliament was to give a Sanction to the new Government, the *Recognition* was abſurd, becauſe it obliged them to conſent to that which they had no liberty to debate. It muſt therefore be allowed, that CROMWEL'S *Protectorſhip* was built only upon the Authority of the *Council of Officers:* This being one of thoſe *Fundamentals* which

They are obliged to recognize the Government. Whitl. p. 640.

his

his Highneſs would not ſuffer any of his Parliaments to debate. But 'tis highly probable that theſe Stretches of Power might be abſolutely neceſſary at this Time, to hold the Government together, and that without them the ſeveral Parties would have fallen to Pieces, and involved the Nation in Confuſion and a new War. The Parliament in their *humble Petition and Advice* guarded againſt the Excluſion of their Members for the future, except by a Vote of the Houſe, which the Protector freely conſented to, ſo that this was only a temporary Expedient, and not to be made a Precedent of; but at preſent almoſt *one Hundred Members* refuſed to ſubſcribe, and were therefore excluded. Theſe preſented a Petition to the ſitting Members for Redreſs, but were anſwer'd, That the *Protector* had promiſed to relieve them, if they could ſhew Cauſe of Complaint. But inſtead of this, they appealed to the People in a ſevere Remonſtrance, charging *his Highneſs* with invading their fundamental Rights and Liberties, and preventing the free Meeting of the Repreſentatives of the People in Parliament. To which it was anſwered, That if they would not ſo much as own the *Protector*, they had no Colour or Pretence to call themſelves Members of Parliament. Oliver, 1656.

The ſitting Members having choſen Sir *Thomas Widdrington* their Speaker, approved of the War with *Spain*, and raiſed Taxes to ſupport his *Highneſs* in the Proſecution of it. They renounced and diſanulled the Title of CHARLES STUART; and paſs'd an Act, making it High Treaſon to compaſs or imagine the Death of the LORD PROTECTOR. They reviewed the Orders and Ordinances of the Protector, and his Council, in the Intervals of Parliament, and confirmed moſt of them. They abrogated the Authority and Power of the *Major Generals*, conceiving it inconſiſtent with the Laws of *England*, and Liberties of the People. Theſe, and ſome other Acts hereafter mentioned, were preſented to his Highneſs, *Nov.* 27. for Confirmation; and as he was pleaſed to confirm them all, *Their Acts.*

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all, he told them, *That as it had been the Cuſtom of the chief Governors to acknowledge the Care and Kindneſs of the Commons upon ſuch Occaſions, ſo he did very heartily and thankfully acknowledge their Kindneſs therein.* But the Parliament continued ſitting till next Year, when we ſhall meet with more important Tranſactions.

Syndercomb's *Plot.*

The Act for Security of the Protector's Perſon was no ſooner paſſed but a Plot was diſcovered againſt his Life. *Miles Syndercomb*, a Leveller, a bold reſolute Man, having been diſbanded in *Scotland*, combined with one *Cecil*, and another of the Protector's Life-Guard, to aſſaſſinate him as he was going to *Hampton-Court*; but being diſappointed once and again by ſome unexpected Accidents, the other Conſpirators diſcovered the Plot. *Syndercomb* put himſelf on his Trial, and was condemned on the Statute 25th of *Edward* III. the Chief Juſtice *Glynne* declaring, that by the Word *King* in the Statute any chief Magiſtrate was underſtood. But *Syndercomb* prevented the Execution, for the very Morning he was to ſuffer he was found dead in his Bed; whereupon his Body was tied to a Horſe's Tail, and dragged naked to the Scaffold on *Tower Hill*, and then buried with a Stake driven through it. However, a Day of publick Thankſgiving was appointed for the Protector's Deliverance, *Feb.* 20. when *his Highneſs* gave the Speaker, and Members of Parliament, a ſplendid Entertainment at the *Banqueting Houſe*.

Spaniſh *Plate Fleet taken.*

The War with *Spain* this Summer was attended with vaſt Succeſs, for no ſooner had the King of *Spain* ſeized the Effects of the *Engliſh* Merchants in his Country, but the *Protector* ordered his Admirals, *Blake* and *Montague*, to block up the Harbour of *Cadiz*, and look out for the Plate Fleet, which Captain *Stayner*, who was left with ſeven Men of War upon the Coaſt, while the Admirals were gone to *Portugal* for freſh Water, diſcovered, conſiſting of eight Men of War making directly for *Cadiz*;

Cadiz; *Stayner* bore up to them with all the Sail he could make, and engaged them within four Leagues of their Port; the *Spaniſh* Admiral run his Ship aſhore with ſix hundred Thouſand Pieces of Eight; but the Vice-Admiral, with twelve hundred Thouſand Pieces of Eight; and another Galleon were fired and ſunk; the Rear-Admiral, with two Millions of Plate in her, was taken; and upon the Whole, ſix of the eight Ships were deſtroyed; the Plate, to the Value of two Millions, was brought to *Portſmouth*, and conveyed in Carts to *London*, and carried through the City to the *Tower* to be coined. Admiral *Blake*, with the reſt of the Fleet, rode out all the Winter upon the Coaſt of *Spain*, and deſtroyed another Fleet of much greater Value the next Summer. Oliver *Protector*. 1656.

After the Diſcovery of *Syndercomb*'s Plot, the *Prelatiſts*, *Presbyterians*, and *Levellers*, were pretty quiet, but the Quakers began to be very troubleſome. The Reader has been informed under the Year 1650. that *George Fox* travell'd the Countries, declaiming in the Market Places, and in Churches, againſt all ordained Miniſters, and placing the Whole of Religion *in an inward Light, and an extraordinary Impulſe of the Holy Spirit*. In the Year 1652 the Quakers ſet up ſeparate Aſſemblies in *Lancaſhire*, and the adjacent Parts. In 1654. they ſet up the firſt ſeparate Meeting of the People called *Quakers* in the Houſe of *Robert Dring*, in *Watlin Street*, *London*. Theſe unwary People, by their interrupting publick Worſhip, and refuſing to pay any Reſpect to the Magiſtrate, expoſed themſelves very often to Sufferings. One of them, in a Letter to the Protector, ſays, "That though there are no penal "Laws in force obliging Men to comply with the "eſtabliſhed Religion, yet the Quakers are expoſed "upon other Accounts; they are fined and impriſon-"ed for refuſing to take an Oath; for not paying "their Tithes; for diſturbing the publick Aſſem-"blies, and meeting in the Streets, and Places of "publick Reſort; ſome of them have been whip'd "for *History of the Quakers continued.*

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"for Vagabonds, and for their plain Speeches to the "Magiſtrate." But the *Quakers* were ſo far from being diſcouraged, that they opened a publick Meeting under favour of the Toleration, at the *Bull and Mouth Inn*, in *Alderſgate Street*, where Women as well as Men ſpake as they were moved; and when none were moved there was no ſpeaking at all. The Novelty of this Aſſembly drew great Numbers of People thither out of Curioſity; nor did any one give them Diſturbance, as long as they continued quiet within themſelves; but in ſeveral Places, where they had no Buſineſs, the Extravagance of their Speakers was inſufferable; one of them interrupted the Miniſter in *Whitechapel* Church, and diſturbed the whole Aſſembly. A Female, contrary to the Modeſty of her Sex, came into *Whitehall Chapel ſtark Naked*, in the midſt of publick Worſhip, the Lord Protector himſelf being preſent. Another came into the Parliament Houſe with a Trenchard in her Hand, which ſhe broke in pieces, ſaying, *Thus ſhall ye be broke in Pieces. Thomas Adams* having complained to the Protector of the Impriſonment of ſome Friends in the Country, and not finding Redreſs, he took off his Cap and tore it in pieces, ſaying, *So ſhall thy Government be torn from thee and thy Houſe.* Several pretending an extraordinary Meſſage from Heaven, went about the Streets of *London* denouncing the Judgments of God againſt the Protector and his Council. One came to the Door of the Parliament Houſe with a *drawn Sword*, and ſlaſhed divers, ſaying, *He was inſpired by the Holy Spirit to kill every Man that ſat in the Houſe.* Others in their prophetick Raptures denounced Judgments on the whole Nation, and frequently diſturbed the publick Aſſemblies where the *chief Magiſtrate himſelf* was preſent. Many opened their Shops on the Lord's Day, in defiance of the Laws, and were ſo very obſtinate and intractable, that it was impoſſible to keep the Peace without ſome Marks of Severity.

Their Extravagancies. Sewel's Hiſt. p. 401.

Whitl. p. 592.

Of James Naylor.

But the moſt extravagant Quaker that appeared at this Time was *James Naylor*, formerly an Officer in Major

Major General *Lambert*'s Troop in *Scotland*, a Man of good natural Parts, and an admired Speaker among theſe People; ſome of whom had ſuch a Veneration for him, that they ſtiled him in blaſphemous Language, the *everlaſting Son of Righteouſneſs*; *the Prince of Peace*; *the only begotten Son of God*; *the Faireſt among ten Thouſand.* Some of the *Friends* kiſſed his Feet in the Priſon at *Exeter*, and after his Releaſe went before him into the City of *Briſtol* after the Manner of our Saviour's Entrance into *Jeruſalem:* One walked bareheaded; another of the Women led his Horſe; others ſpread their Scarves and Handkerchiefs before him in the Way, crying continually as they went on, *Holy, Holy, Holy, is the Lord God of Hoſts*; *Hoſanna in the Higheſt*; *Holy, Holy, is the Lord God of Iſrael.* Upon this the Magiſtrates of *Briſtol* cauſed him to be apprehended, and ſent up to the Parliament, who appointed a Committee to examine Witneſſes againſt him, upon a Charge of Blaſphemy; (1.) For admitting Religious Worſhip to be paid to him. And, (2.) For aſſuming the Names and incommunicable Titles and Attributes of our bleſſed Saviour, as the Name JESUS, *the Faireſt amongſt ten Thouſand, the only begotten Son of God, the Prophet of the moſt High, the King of Iſrael, the everlaſting Son of Righteouſneſs, the Prince of Peace.* All which he confeſſed, but alledged in his own Defence, that theſe Honours were not paid to him, but to *Chriſt who dwelt in him.*

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The Committee aſked him, Why he came in ſo extraordinary a Manner into *Briſtol?* To which he replied, That *he might not refuſe any Honours which others who were moved by the Lord gave him.* Being further aſked, Whether he had reproved the Perſons who gave him thoſe Titles and Attributes? He anſwered, *If they had it from the Lord, what had I to do to reprove them? If the Father has moved them to give theſe Honours to Chriſt, I may not deny them; if they have given them to any other but to Chriſt I diſown them.* He concluded his Defence thus; *I do abhor that any Honours*

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nours due to God ſhould be given to me as I am a Creature; but it pleaſed the Lord to ſet me up as a Sign of the Coming of the righteous One, and what has been done to me paſſing through the Town, I was commanded by the Power of the Lord to ſuffer to be done to the outward Man, as a Sign; but I abhor any Honour as a Creature.

From the Committee he was brought to the Bar of the Houſe, where the Report being read, he confeſſed it; upon which the Houſe voted him guilty of *Blaſphemy*, and ordered him to be ſet in the Pillory two Hours at *Weſtminſter*, and two Hours at the *Old Exchange*; that he ſhould be whip'd through the Streets from *Weſtminſter* to the *Old Exchange*; that his Tongue ſhould be bored through with an hot Iron, and his Forehead ſtigmatized with the Letter *B*; he was afterwards to be ſent to *Briſtol*, and to ride through the City with his Face to the Horſe's Tail, and to be whip'd the next Market Day after he came thither. Laſt of all, he was to be committed to *Bridewell* in *London*, to be reſtrained from Company, and to be put to hard Labour till he ſhould be releaſed by Parliament; during which Time he was to be debarr'd from Pen, Ink, and Paper, and to have no Suſtenance but what he got by his daily Labour. A Sentence much too ſevere for ſuch a ſimple obſtinate Creature.

His Sufferings.

December 18. *James Naylor* ſtood in the Pillory in the *Palace Yard*, *Weſtminſter*, and was whip'd to the *Old Exchange*; the Remainder of his Sentence being reſpited for a Week, in which Time the Reverend Mr. *Caryl*, *Manton*, *Nye*, *Griffith*, and *Reynolds*, went to him, in order to bring him to ſome Acknowledgment of his Crime, but not being able to reclaim him, the Remainder of his Sentence was executed *December* 27. when ſome of his Followers licked his Wounds, and paid him other Honours both ridiculous and ſuperſtitious. He was afterwards ſent to *Briſtol*, and whip'd from the Middle of *Thomas Street*, over the Bridge to the Middle of *Broadſtreet*. From *Briſtol* he was brought

brought back to *Bridewell*, *London*, where he continued ſullen for three Days, and would not work, but then begg'd for Victuals, and was content to labour. Oliver *Protector*. 1656.

At length, after two Years Impriſonment, he recanted his Errors ſo far as to acknowledge, That the Honours he received at his Entrance into *Briſtol* were wrong; "and all thoſe ranting, wild "Spirits which gathered about me (ſays he) at that "Time of Darkneſs, with all their wild Acts, and "wicked Works againſt the Honour of God, and his "pure Spirit, and People, I renounce. And where-"as I gave Advantage, through want of Judgment, "to that evil Spirit, I take ſhame to my ſelf." After the Protector's Death *James Naylor* was releaſed out of Priſon, and writ ſeveral Things in defence of the *Quakers*, who owned him as a *Friend*, notwithſtanding his extravagant Behaviour; but he did not long ſurvive his Enlargement, for retiring into *Huntingtonſhire*, he died there towards the latter End of the Year 1660. about the Forty fourth Year of his Age. Mr. *Whitlock* obſerves very juſtly, That many thought he was too furiouſly proſecuted by ſome rigid Men.

Other Extravagancies of this People are recorded by our Hiſtorians about this Time. The Protector was continually teazed with their Importunities; they waited for him on the Road, and watched about his Palace, till they got an Opportunity to ſpeak to him. *George Fox*, and others, writ Letters filled with Denunciations of Divine Judgments, unleſs he would pull down the Remains of Antichriſt, by which they underſtood *Church Miniſters*, and *Church Maintenance*. But the Protector paid them no regard.

As new Inroads were made upon the Ordinances for Obſervation of the Sabbath, the Parliament took care to amend them. This Year they ordained, that "the "Sabbath ſhould be deemed to extend from Twelve "of the Clock on *Saturday* Night to Twelve of the "Clock on *Lord's Day* Night; and within that com-"paſs of Time they prohibited all Kinds of Buſineſs *Ordinance for better Obſervation of the Sabbath.* Scobel, p. 438.

"and

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" and Diverſions, except Works of Neceſſity and " Mercy. No Election of Magiſtrates is to be on the " Lord's Day; no holding of Courts, or return of " Writs, but if, according to their Charters, they fall " upon the Lord's Day, they are to be deferr'd to " *Monday*. It is further enacted, That all Perſons " not having a reaſonable Excuſe, to be allowed by a " Juſtice of Peace, ſhall reſort to ſome Church or " Chapel, where the true Worſhip of God is per- " formed, or to ſome Meeting-Place of Chriſtians not " differing in Matters of Faith from the publick Pro- " feſſion of the Nation, on Penalty of Two Shillings " Six Pence for every Offence. It is further ordain- " ed, That no Miniſter ſhall be moleſted, or diſturb- " ed in the Diſcharge of his Office on the Lord's " Day, or on any other Day, when he is performing " his Duty, or in going, or coming from the Place " of publick Worſhip. Nor ſhall any wilful Diſtur- " bance be given to the Congregation, on Penalty of " Five Pounds, or being ſent to the Workhouſe for " ſix Months, provided the Information be within " one Month after the Offence is committed." This Ordinance to be read in every Church or Chapel of this Nation annually, the firſt Lord's Day in every *March*.

Againſt Papiſts.

The Oath of Abjuration, for diſcovering Popiſh Recuſants, not being effectual, it was now further ordained, " That all Juſtices of Peace at the Quarter " Seſſions ſhould charge the Grand Juries to preſent " all Perſons whom they ſuſpected to be popiſhly af- " fected; and that every ſuch Perſon ſhould appear at " the next Quarter Seſſions, and take and ſubſcribe " the following Oath of Abjuration, on Penalty of " being adjudged Popiſh Recuſants convict to all In- " tents and Purpoſes whatſoever."

Their Oath. Scobel, p. 444.

" I *A. B.* do abjure and renounce the Pope's Supre- " macy and Authority over the Catholick Church " in general, and over my ſelf in particular. And I " do

" do believe the Church of *Rome* is not the true " Church; and that there is not any Tranſubſtantia- " tion in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, or in " the Elements of Bread and Wine after Conſecration " thereof, by any Perſon whatſoever. And I do alſo " believe, that there is not any Purgatory; and that " the conſecrated Hoſts, Crucifixes, or Images, ought " not to be worſhipped; neither that any Worſhip " is due unto them. And I alſo believe, that Salva- " tion cannot be merited by Works. And I do ſin- " cerely teſtify and declare, That the Pope, neither " of himſelf, nor by any Authority of the Church, or " See of *Rome*, or by any other Means with any other, " hath any Power or Authority to depoſe the *chief* " *Magiſtrate* of theſe Nations; or to diſpoſe of any " of the Countries or Territories thereunto belonging; " or to authorize any foreign Prince or State to in- " vade or annoy him, or them; or to diſcharge any " of the People of theſe Nations from their Obedience " to the *chief Magiſtrate*; or to give Licenſe or Leave " to any of the ſaid People to bear Arms, raiſe Tu- " mults, or to offer any Violence or Hurt to the Per- " ſon of the ſaid *chief Magiſtrate*, or to the State or " Government of theſe Nations, or to any of the Peo- " ple thereof. And I do further ſwear, That I do " from my Heart abhor, deteſt and abjure, this " damnable Doctrine and Poſition, that Princes, Ru- " lers or Governors, which be excommunicated, or " deprived by the Pope, may, by virtue of ſuch Ex- " communication or Deprivation, be killed, murder- " ed, or depoſed from their Rule or Government; or " any Outrage or Violence done to them by the Peo- " ple that are under them; or by any other whatſoever " upon ſuch pretence. And I do further ſwear, That I do " believe that the Pope, or Biſhop of *Rome*, hath no " Authority, Power, or Juriſdiction whatſoever, within " *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*, or any, or either of " them, or the Dominions or Territories thereunto be- " longing, or any, or either of them. And all Doctrines in

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" Affir-

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" Affirmation of the ſame Points I do abjure and re-
" nounce, without any Equivocation, mental Reſer-
" vation, or ſecret Evaſion whatſoever, taking the
" Words by me ſpoken according to the common and
" uſual Meaning of them. And I do believe no
" Power derived from the Pope or Church of *Rome*,
" or any other Perſon, can abſolve me from this mine
" Oath. And I do renounce all Pardons and Diſpen-
" ſations to the contrary. So help me God."

Upon refuſal of this Oath the Protector and his Succeſſors might by Proceſs in the *Exchequer* ſeize upon two Thirds of their Eſtates both Real and Perſonal, for the Uſe of the Publick, during the Time of their Recuſancy; but after their Deceaſe it was to return to the right Heir, provided they took the above-mentioned Oath. It was further ordained, " That no
" Subject of this Commonwealth ſhall at any Time be
" preſent at Maſs, in the Houſe of any foreign Am-
" baſſador, or Agent; or at any other Place, on Pe-
" nalty of one Hundred Pounds, and Impriſonment
" for ſix Months, half to the Protector, and half to the
" Informer." How far theſe Severities were neceſſary or juſtifiable I leave with the Judgment of the Reader.

Protector aſſiſts the Proteſtants of Niſmes.

The Protector had an Opportunity this Year of appearing for the Proteſtants of *France*, as he had done laſt Year for thoſe of the *Valleys*; there happen'd a Quarrel between the Burghers of *Niſmes*, who were moſtly *Hugonots*, and the Magiſtrates and Biſhop of the City; the *Intendant* of the Province being inform'd of it repaired thither to prevent an Inſurrection; but the *Burghers* ſtanding in their own Defence raiſed a Tumult, of which the Intendant ſent an Account to Court. The Burghers being quickly ſenſible of their Folly ſubmitted, and begged Pardon; but the *Court* laying hold of the Opportunity, reſolved to ruin them. Upon which they diſpatch'd a Meſſenger privately to CROMWEL, and begg'd his Interpoſition.

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The *Protector* having heard the whole Account, bid the Meſſenger ſtay and refreſh himſelf, and before he could return to *Paris* his Buſineſs ſhould be done. Accordingly an Expreſs was immediately diſpatched with a Letter to the King of *France*, under Cover of the following to Cardinal *Mazarine*.

To his Eminence the LORD CARDINAL MAZARINE.

" HAVING thought neceſſary to diſpatch this " Gentleman to the King with the encloſed Let- " ter, I commanded him to ſalute your *Eminence* on " my Part; and have charged him to communicate " to you certain Affairs which I have entruſted him " with: I therefore pray your Highneſs to give Cre- " dit to what he ſhall ſay, having an entire Con- " fidence in him.

Your Eminence's moſt Affectionate,

Whitehall, O. CROMWEL, *Protector of the*
Dec. 28th. 1656. *Commonwealth of* England, *&c.*

The Protector added the following Poſtſcript with his own Hand; " I have been informed of the Tu- " mult at *Niſmes*, I recommend to your Highneſs the " Intereſt of the *Reformed*." And in his Inſtructions to his Ambaſſador *Lockhart* he commanded him to inſiſt peremptorily, *That the Tumult of* Niſmes *be forgiven*, or elſe to leave the Court immediately. *Mazarine* complain'd of this Uſage, as too high and imperious; but his Eminence ſtood in too much Awe of the Protector to quarrel with him, and therefore ſent Orders to the *Intendant* to make up the Matter as well as he could. Mr. *Welwood* ſays, the Cardinal would change Countenance whenever he heard the Name of the PROTECTOR, inſomuch that it became a Proverb in *France*, That *Mazarine* was not ſo much afraid of the Devil as of O. CROMWEL. Such was the Terror of this great Man's Name not only in *France*, but in all the Courts of *Europe!*

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The Death of Dr. Hall, *Bp. of* Norwich.

This Year died the Right Reverend, and Pious Dr. *Joſeph Hall*, Biſhop of *Norwich*, whoſe Practical Works have been in great Eſteem among the Diſſenters. He was born at *Aſhby de la Zouch* in *Leiceſterſhire*, and educated in *Emanuel College*, *Cambridge*. When he left the Univerſity he travell'd with Sir *Edmund Bacon* to the *Spaw* in *Germany*. Upon his Return he was taken into the Service of Prince *Henry*, and preferr'd to the Rectory of *Waltham* in *Eſſex*, where he continued Twenty two Years. King *James* ſent him to the Synod of *Dort* with other *Engliſh* Divines, where he preach'd a *Latin* Sermon; but was forc'd to retire to *England* before the Synod broke up, on the account of his Health. Some Time after his Return he was preferr'd to the Biſhoprick of *Exeter*, and from thence tranſlated to *Norwich*. At the Beginning of the Troubles between the King and Parliament the Biſhop publiſhed ſeveral Treatiſes in favour of Dioceſan Epiſcopacy, which were anſwered by *Smectymnus*, as has been relalated. He was afterwards impriſoned in the *Tower* with the reſt of the *proteſting* Biſhops; upon his Releaſe he retired to *Norwich*, but the Revenues of his Biſhoprick were ſoon ſequeſter'd, together with his own perſonal and real Eſtate, and he was forc'd to be content with the Fifths. The Soldiers uſed him ſeverely, turning him out of his Palace, and threatning to ſell his Books, if a Friend had not given Bond for the Money, at which they were apprais'd. The Biſhop complain'd very juſtly of this Uſage, in a Pamphlet entitled *Hard Meaſure*. At length the Parliament, to make him ſome Amends, voted him 40 *l. per Annum* and when the War was over, in the Year 1647. they took off the Sequeſtration from his Eſtate, and the Biſhop liv'd peaceably upon it afterwards, ſpending his Time in Acts of Charity, Meditation, and Solitude. He was a learned and pious Man, and of great Humility and Goodneſs in Converſation; but his being the Tool of Archbiſhop *Laud* in ſupporting the Divine Right of Dioceſan Epiſcopacy, did him no Service

with the Parliament. Mr. *Fuller* ſays, He was frequently called our *Engliſh Seneca*, for the Pureneſs, Plainneſs, and Fulneſs of his Stile. He was more happy in his Practical than Polemical Writings. There is one remarkable Paſſage in his Will, which is this, After having deſired a private Funeral, he adds, *I do not hold God's Houſe a meet Repoſitory for the dead Bodies of the greateſt Saints.* In his laſt Sickneſs he was afflicted with violent Pains of the Stone and Strangury, which he bore with wonderful Patience, till Death put an End to all his Troubles, *Sept.* 8. 1656. in the Eighty ſecond Year of his Age.

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Fuller's Worthies, Book II. p. 130.

Towards the latter End of the Year died the Reverend Mr. *Richard Capel*, born at *Glouceſter* 1584. and educated in *Magdalen College*, *Oxon.* where he proceeded *M. A.* His Eminency in the Univerſity (ſays the *Oxford* Hiſtorian) was great; he had divers learned Men for his Pupils, who were afterwards famous in the Church, as *Accepted Frewen*, Archbiſhop of *York*, *William Pemble*, and others. He left the Univerſity for the Rectory of *Eaſtington* in his own Country, where he became famous for his painful and practical Preaching, as well as for his exemplary Life. When the Book of Sports came out, 1633. he refuſed to read it, but reſigned his Rectory, and turn'd Phyſician. In 1641. he clos'd with the Parliament, and was choſen one of the Aſſembly of Divines, but declined ſitting among them, chuſing to reſide at his Living at *Pitchcomb*, near *Stroud*, where he was in great Reputation as a Phyſician and Divine, preaching Gratis to his Congregation. He publiſh'd ſeveral valuable Treatiſes, and among others a celebrated one, *Of Temptations, their Nature, Danger, and Cure.* He was a good old *Puritan*, of the Stamp of Mr. *Dod*, *Cleaver*, and *Hilderſham*; and died at *Pitchcomb* in *Glouceſterſhire*, *Sept.* 21. 1656. aged Seventy two Years.

Of Mr. Capel. Fuller's Worthies, p. 260.

1657. *Debates about the Title of King.* Whitl. p. 646.

The Parliament, which met *Sept.* 17. continued ſitting to the next Year, having before them an Affair of

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of the greateſt Conſequence, which was confirming the Government under CROMWEL as LORD PROTECTOR, or changing it for the Title of KING. Colonel *Jephſon*, one of the Members for *Ireland*, moved, That the Protector might have the Crown with the Title of KING, and was ſeconded by Alderman *Pack*, Member for the City of *London*; but the Republicans in the Houſe oppoſed it with great Vehemence; however, upon putting the Queſtion, it was carried for a *King*; moſt of the Lawyers, as Serjeant *Glyn*, *Maynard*, *Fountain*, St. *John*, and others, being on that Side. *April* 4. a Petition was preſented to the *Protector*, recommending the Title and Office of a KING, as beſt fitted to the Laws and Temper of the People of *England*; and upon his deſiring Time to conſider of it, a Committee was appointed to give him Satisfaction in any Difficulties that might ariſe, who urged, that "the Name of *Protector* was unknown to our *Engliſh* "Conſtitution —— That his Highneſs had already "the Office and Power of a King, and therefore the "Diſpute was only about a Name —— That his Perſon would never be ſecure till he aſſumed it, becauſe the Laws did not take Notice of him as *chief* "*Magiſtrate*, and Juries were backward to find Perſons guilty of Treaſon where there was no *King* —— "They urged the Advantages of a mixed Monarchy, "and inſiſted on the Safety and Security of himſelf and "his Friends —— That by the Laws of *Edw.* IV. and "*Henry* VII. whatever was done by a King in Poſſeſſion, with the Conſent of a Houſe of Lords and "Commons, was valid, and all that ſerved under him "were exempt from Puniſhment —— That without "this Title all the Grants and Sales that had been made "were null and void; and all that had collected the "publick Moneys were accountable —— In ſhort, that "the Inclinations of the Nation were for a *King* —— "That his not accepting the Office would occaſion "the changing many ancient Laws, Cuſtoms, and "Formalities —— That there would be no laſting

"Settle-

" Settlement till Things reverted to this Channel —
" To all which they added, That it was the Advice
" and Opinion of the Repreſentatives of the three Na-
" tions; and ſince the Parliament of *England*, *Scot-*
" *land*, and *Ireland*, adviſed and deſired him to ac-
" cept the Title, he ought not in Reaſon or Equity
" to decline it."

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The Protector attended to theſe Arguments, and would no doubt have complied, if he could have relied upon the Army, but the chief Officers remonſtrated ſtrongly againſt it, and many of his old Friends, among whom was his own Son-in-law *Fleetwood*, threaten'd to lay down their Commiſſions. All the Republicans declaimed loudly againſt his accepting the Crown, and preſented a Petition to the Houſe againſt it, drawn up by Dr. *Owen*, and preſented by Lieutenant General *Maſon:* They ſaid, " they had pull'd
" down Monarchy with the Monarch, and ſhould
" they now build it up? —— They had appealed to
" God in the late War, who had anſwered in their
" Favour, and ſhould they now diſtruſt him? ——
" They had voted to be true to the Commonwealth
" without King or Kingſhip, and ſhould they break
" their Vows, and go back to *Egypt* for Security? —
" They thought it rather their Happineſs to be under a
" *legal Danger*, which might make them more Cautious
" and Diligent — Some ſaid, if they muſt have a
" King, why not the legal One —" Upon theſe Grounds they ſtood out, and rejected with Scorn all Limitations of the Prerogative under a kingly Government. So that whatever might be the Protector's Inclination, he judged it moſt prudent to decline the Crown for the preſent; and accordingly, *May* 8. he ſent for the Houſe, and acquainted them, that *as the Circumſtances of Affairs then ſtood, he could not undertake the Government with the Title of* KING.

The Protector's Reaſons for declining it. Burnet, p. 68, 70.

Some have been of Opinion, that the Protector's *great Genius* forſook him in this Affair; but it is impoſſible, at this Diſtance of Time, to judge of the

Remarks. Whitl. p. 646.

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Strength of the Reaſons that determined him the other Way. Had he aſſumed the Title of KING the *Army* would have revolted; the *Cavaliers* would have joined the Republicans to have pulled him down from the Throne, the whole Nation would in all probability have been thrown into Confuſion, and himſelf have been the Sacrifice. The Protector had made large Advances in Power already, and he might apprehend it not worth while at preſent to riſk *the Whole* for the ſake of a *Name*; though I make no queſtion, but if he had lived to ſee his Government eſtabliſhed, and the Spirits of the People calmed, he would in a proper Time have accepted of the Stile and Title of KING, as well as the *Office*. Nay, Mr. *Welwood* ſays, That a Crown was actually made, and brought to *Whitehall* for that Purpoſe. p. 111.

Parliament's Petition and Advice. Whitl. Memoirs. p. 678.

Upon *Cromwel*'s declining the Title of *King* the Parliament concluded upon an humble *Petition and Advice*, which was preſented to the Protector *May* 25. containing, among others, the following Articles. —— "That his *Highneſs* would exerciſe the Office of "chief Magiſtrate of this Nation under the Title of "LORD PROTECTOR; and that during Life he "would declare his Succeſſor —— That for the Future "he would be pleaſed to call Parliaments, conſiſting "of two Houſes, to meet once in three Years, and "oftner, if there be occaſion —— That the antient "Liberties of Parliament may be preſerved; and "that none who are choſen may be excluded but by "the Judgment and Conſent of the Houſe of which "they are Members —— That no Papiſt, no Perſon that has borne Arms againſt the Parliament, unleſs he has ſince given Proof of his good Affection "to the Commonwealth; no Clergyman, no Atheiſt, "or openly prophane Perſon, be qualified to be choſen Member of Parliament —— That the other "Houſe of Parliament be not more than Seventy, nor "leſs than Forty, of which Twenty one to make a "Houſe —— That they may not vote by Proxy —

"That

" That as any of them die no new ones be admitted " but by Conſent of the Houſe it ſelf, but the Nomi- " nation to be in the Protector; and that they may " not proceed in any criminal Cauſes but by Im- " peachment of the Commons —— That no Laws be " abrogated, ſuſpended, or repealed, but by Act of " Parliament; and that no Perſon be compell'd to " contribute to any Gift, Loans, Benevolences, or " Taxes, without Conſent of Parliament —— That " the Number of his *Highneſs*'s Council be not more " than Twenty one, of which ſeven to be a *Quorum*; " and that no Privy Counſellor be removed but by " conſent of Parliament; though in the Intervals of " Parliament they may be ſuſpended —— That the " Chancellor, or Keeper of the Great Seal, the Com- " miſſioners of the Treaſury, and other chief Officers " of State, may be approved by both Houſes of Par- " liament ——— Oliver *Protector.* 1657.

The Article relating to Religion was in theſe Words; *Article relating to Religion.*

" That the Proteſtant Chriſtian Religion contained in " the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Teſtament, " and no other, be aſſerted and held forth, as the " publick Profeſſion of this Nation; and that a Con- " feſſion of Faith, to be agreed upon by your *High-* " *neſs* and this preſent Parliament, be aſſerted, and " recommended to the People of the Nation; and " that none ſhall be permitted by opprobious Words " or Writing to revile or reproach the ſaid Confeſſion. " That ſuch who profeſs Faith in God the Father, and " in Jeſus Chriſt his eternal Son, the true God; and " in the Holy Ghoſt, God co-equal and co-eternal with " the Father and the Son, One God, bleſſed for ever, " and do acknowledge the Holy Scriptures of the Old " and New Teſtament to be the revealed Will and " Word of God, tho' in other Things they may differ " in Word and Doctrine, or Diſcipline, from the " publick Profeſſion held forth, ſhall not be compell'd " by Penalties, or Reſtraints, from their Profeſſion, " but ſhall be protected from all Injuries and Moleſta- " tions

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" tions in the Profeſſion of their Faith, and Exerciſe " of their Religion, while they abuſe not this Liberty " to the civil Injury of others, or the Diſturbance of " the publick Peace; provided this Liberty do not " extend to Popery or Prelacy, or to the Countenance " of ſuch who publiſh horrid Blaſphemies; or who " practiſe or hold forth Licentiouſneſs, or Prophane- " neſs, under the Profeſſion of Chriſt; and thoſe " Miniſters, or publick Preachers, who agree with " the publick Profeſſion aforeſaid in Matters of Faith, " tho' they differ in Matters of Worſhip or Diſci- " pline, ſhall not only have Protection in the Way of " their Churches or Worſhip, but ſhall be deem'd " equally fit and capable (being otherwiſe qualified) " of any Truſt, Promotion, or Employment in this " Nation, with thoſe who agree with the publick " Profeſſion of Faith, only they ſhall not be capable " of receiving the publick Maintenance appointed for " the Miniſtry. And all Miniſters ſhall remain diſ- " qualified from holding any civil Employment, ac- " cording to the Act for diſabling all Perſons in holy " Orders to exerciſe any temporal Juriſdiction and " Authority, which is hereby confirm'd."

The Protector's new Title.

The Protector having conſented to theſe, and ſome other Articles, to the Number of Eighteen, an Oath was appointed to be taken by all Privy Counſellors, and Members of Parliament for the future, *To maintain the Proteſtant Religion*; *to be faithful to the Lord Protector*; *and to preſerve the Rights and Liberties of the People*; and a few Days after O. CROMWEL was proclaimed a ſecond Time LORD PROTECTOR in the Cities of *London* and *Weſtminſter*; this being eſteemed a new, and more Parliamentary Title; and if the Houſe had been full and free it might have been ſo, but the *Council*'s aſſuming a Power to approve or diſapprove of the Members after they were returned; their forbidding them to debate the Fundamentals of the new Government, and obliging them to ſign a *Recognition* of it before they enter'd the Houſe,

Houſe, looks like a Force, or taking the Election out of their Hands. But as lame and imperfect as the Protector's Title may ſeem to be, it was as good as that of the *Roman* Emperors, or the original Claims of many of the Royal Houſes of *Europe*; and in the preſent diſjointed State of the *Engliſh* Nation, not only neceſſary, but it may be the beſt Thing that could be done; for if the Protectorſhip had been ſet aſide, there was hardly a Man in the Houſe who would have ventur'd to vote in the King; an abſolute Commonwealth could not have been ſupported, and therefore the Government muſt have been diſſolved. Oliver *Protector.* 1657.

This being the laſt Settlement of Government in the Protector's Time, the Reader will obſerve, that the four fundamental Articles already mentioned, (*viz.*) (1.) That the Government be in a ſingle Perſon and a Parliament. (2.) That Parliaments be not perpetual. (3.) The Militia. And, (4.) Liberty of Conſcience in Matters of Religion, were not ſuffer'd to be examined or altered, but were ſuppoſed as the Baſis upon which the new Government was to be built — That tho' OLIVER's Title to the Government had the Sanction and Confirmation of the preſent Parliament, it was derived originally from the Choice of the *Council of Officers*, and was never ſuffered to be debated in the Houſe afterwards — That the *Humble Petition and Advice* approaches nearer the old legal Conſtitution, by appointing two Houſes of Parliament, and would, no doubt, in Time, have been converted into it — That the Regulations it makes in the Conſtitution are for the moſt part reaſonable — That the Preſbyterians were ſtill left in Poſſeſſion of all the Eccleſiaſtical Revenues of the Kingdom, tho' an open and free Liberty was granted to all Chriſtians, but Papiſts and Prelatiſts, who were excepted for Reaſons of State; and the penal Laws made againſt the latter were dropt by the Parliament's not confirming them. Remarkable are the Words of the Lord Commiſſioner *Fiennes*, at the Opening of the Second Seſſion of this Parliament, in *Remarks.* p. 93.

which

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which he "warns the Houſes of the Rock on which "many had ſplit, which was a Spirit of impoſing upon Men's Conſciences in Things wherein God leaves "them a Latitude, and would have them free. The "Prelates and their Adherents; nay, and their Maſter and Supporter, with all his Poſterity, have "ſplit upon it. The bloody Rebels in *Ireland*, who "would endure no Religion but their own, have ſplit "upon it; and we doubt not but the Prince of thoſe "ſatanical Spirits will in due Time ſplit upon it, and "be brought to the Ground with his bloody Inquiſition. But as God is no Reſpecter of Perſons, ſo he "is no Reſpecter of Forms, but in what Form ſoever "the *Spirit of Impoſition* appears, he will teſtify "againſt it. If Men, tho' otherwiſe good, will turn "Ceremony into Subſtance, and make the Kingdom "of Chriſt conſiſt in Circumſtances, in Diſcipline and "in Forms; and if they carry their Animoſities to "ſuch an Height, that if one ſays *Sibboleth* inſtead of "*Shibboleth*, it ſhall be accounted Ground enough to "cut his Throat: If they ſhall account ſuch Devils, "or the Seed of the Serpent, that are not within ſuch "a Circle, or of ſuch an Opinion, in vain do they "proteſt againſt the Perſecution of God's People, "when they make the Definition of *God's People* ſo "narrow, that their Perſecution is as broad as any "other, and uſually more fierce, becauſe edged with "a ſharp Temper of Spirit. Bleſſed therefore be "God, who in Mercy to us and them, has placed "the Power in ſuch Hands as make it their Buſineſs "to preſerve Peace, and hinder Men from biting and "devouring one another — It is good to hold forth a publick Profeſſion of the Truth, but not ſo as to exclude "thoſe that can't come up to it in all Points from the "Privilege that belongs to them as Chriſtians, much leſs "from the Privilege that belongs to them as Men."

Protector's ſecond Inſtalment. His Highneſs having now a more Parliamentary Title, it was thought proper that he ſhould have a more ſolemn Inauguration, which was accordingly appointed

pointed to be on *June* 26. in *Weſtminſter Hall*, which was adorned and beautified for this Purpoſe as for a Coronation. At the upper End there was an Aſcent of two Degrees covered with Carpets, in the Midſt of which there was a rich Canopy, and under it a Chair of State. Before the Canopy there was a Table and Chair for the *Speaker*, and on each Side Seats for the Members of Parliament, for the Judges, for the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of *London*. The Protector was conducted from the Houſe of Lords with all the State and Grandeur of a King, and being ſeated under the Canopy of State, the Speaker of the Parliament, the Earl of *Warwick*, and Commiſſioner *Whitlock*, veſted him with a purple Velvet Robe lined with Ermin: They delivered into one of his Hands a Bible richly gilt, and emboſſed with Gold; and into the other a Scepter of maſſy Gold; and, Laſtly, they girt him with a rich Sword; after this they adminiſter'd an Oath to the Protector, to govern according to Law. The Solemnity concluded with a ſhort Prayer pronounced by Dr. *Manton*; and then the Herald having proclaimed his *Highneſs*'s Titles, the People ſhouted with loud Acclamations, *Long live the Lord Protector*, &c. and the Day concluded with Feaſtings, and all other Kinds of Rejoicing.

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The Protector having waded through all theſe Difficulties to the *Supreme Government* of theſe Nations, appeared on a ſudden like a *Comet* or *blazing Star*, raiſed up by Providence to exalt this Nation to a diſtinguiſh'd Pitch of Glory, and to ſtrike Terror into the reſt of *Europe*. His Management, for the little Time he ſurvived, was the Admiration of all Mankind; for tho' he would never ſuffer his Title to the ſupreme Government to be diſputed, yet his greateſt Enemies have confeſſed, that in all other Caſes diſtributive Juſtice was reſtored to its antient Splendor. The Judges did their Duty according to Equity, without Covetouſneſs or Bribery; the Laws had their full and free Courſe without Impediment or Delay; Men's Manners were wonderfully reformed,

His Grandeur and wiſe Adminiſtration.

Eachard, p. 719. Compl. Hiſt. p. 223.

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formed, and the Protector's Court was under an exact Diſcipline. Trade flouriſhed, and the Arts of Peace were cultivated throughout the whole Nation; the publick Money was managed with Frugality, and to the beſt Advantage; the Army and Navy were well paid, and ſerved accordingly. As the Protector proceeded with great Steadineſs and Reſolution againſt the Enemies of his Government, he was no leſs generous and bountiful to thoſe of all Parties who ſubmitted to it; for as he would not declare himſelf of any particular Sect, he gave out, that *it was his only Wiſh, that all would gather into one Sheepfold, under one Shepherd, Jeſus Chriſt, and love one another.* He reſpected the Clergy in their Places, but confined them to their ſpiritual Function. Nor was he jealous of any that did not meddle in Politicks, and endeavour to raiſe Diſturbances in the State: Even the Prejudice he had againſt the Epiſcopal Party (ſays Biſhop *Kennet*) was more for their being Royaliſts than being of the Church of *England.* But when one Party of the Clergy began to lift up their Heads above their Brethren, or to act out of their Sphere, he always found Means to take them down. He had a watchful Eye over the Royaliſts and Republicans, who were always plotting againſt his Perſon and Government; but his erecting *a Houſe of Lords, or Upper Houſe,* ſo quickly after his Inſtalment, rouſed the Malecontents, and had like to have ſubverted his Government in the Infancy of it.

Protector's Treaty with France. Burnet, p. 73.

The Protector was in high Reputation abroad, and carried Victory with his Armies and Navies where-ever they appeared. There had been a Negotiation with *France* concerning an Alliance againſt *Spain,* begun at *London* 1655. but not concluded till *March* 13. 1657. by which the Protector obliged himſelf to join ſix Thouſand Men with the *French* Army, and to furniſh fifty Men of War to conquer the maritime Towns belonging to *Spain* in the *Low Countries,* on this Condition, that *Dunkirk* and *Mardyke* ſhould be put into his Hands, and the Family of the *Stuarts* depart the

the Territories of *France*. That which determined him to join with *France* rather than *Spain*, was the numerous Parties that were againſt him at home; for if the young King, aſſiſted by *France*, ſhould have made a Deſcent upon *England* with an Army of *French Proteſtants*, it might have been of fatal Conſequence to his infant Government; whereas the *Spaniards* were at a Diſtance, and having no Proteſtant Subjects, were leſs to be feared. Upon the Concluſion of this Treaty King *Charles* enter'd into an Alliance with the *Spaniard*, who allowed him a ſmall Penſion, and promiſed him the Command of ſix Thouſand Men as ſoon as he was poſſeſſed of any Sea-port in *England*. In Conſequence of this Treaty moſt of the Royaliſts went into the *Spaniſh* Service. But the Protector's ſix Thouſand Men in *Flanders* behaved with undaunted Bravery, and took St. *Venant*, *Mardyke*, and ſome other Places, from the *Spaniards* this Summer. Oliver *Protector.* 1657.

Admiral *Blake* was no leſs ſucceſsful at Sea, for having received Advice of the Return of the *Spaniſh West India* Fleet he ſailed to the *Canaries* with Twenty five Men of War, and on the 20th of *April* arrived at the *Bay* of *Sancta Cruz*, in the Iſland of *Tenariff*, where the Galleons, to the Number of ſixteen, richly laden, lay cloſe under a ſtrong Caſtle, defended by ſeven Forts mounted with Cannon; the Admiral finding it impoſſible to make them Prize, had the good Fortune to burn and deſtroy them all, only with the Loſs of one Ship, and one Hundred and ſixty Men. When the News of this Succeſs arrived in *England* a Day of Thankſgiving was appointed, and a rich Preſent ordered the Admiral upon his Return; but this great Sea-Officer having been three Years out at Sea, died as he was entering *Plimouth Sound*, *Aug.* 17. in the Sixty ſeventh Year of his Age. He was of the antient Family of the *Blakes* of *Planchfield*, *Somerſetſhire*, and was educated in *Wadham College*, *Oxford*. He was ſmall of Stature, but the braveſt and boldeſt Sailor that *England* ever bred, and conſulted the Honour *Admiral Blake deſtroys the Spaniſh Galleons.*

His Death and Character. Eachard, p. 725.

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nour of his Country beyond all his Predeceſſors. When ſome of his Men being aſhore at *Malaga* refuſed to do Honour to the *Hoſt* as it paſſed by, one of the Prieſts raiſed the Mob upon them. Upon which *Blake* ſent a Trumpet to the Viceroy to demand the Prieſt, who ſaying he had no Authority to deliver him up, the Admiral anſwered, that if he did not ſend him aboard in three Hours he would burn the Town about their Ears; upon which he came, and begg'd Pardon; the Admiral, after a ſevere Reprimand, told him, that if he had complained to him of his Sailors he would have puniſhed them, but he *would have all the World know, that an* Engliſhman *was only to be puniſhed by an* Engliſhman, and ſo diſmiſſed him, being ſatisfied that he had ſtruck Terror into the Prieſt, and had him at his Mercy. When OLIVER read this Paſſage of *Blake*'s Letter in Council, he ſaid, *He hoped to make the Name of an* Engliſh Man *as great as ever that of a* Roman *had been.* The Admiral kept an exact Diſcipline in the Fleet, and taught his Men to deſpiſe Caſtles on Shore, as well as Ships at Sea. Valour ſeldom miſſed its Reward with him, nor Cowardice its Puniſhment. He had a noble publick Spirit, for after all his Services for the Honour of his Country, and Opportunities of getting immenſe Riches from the *Spaniards*, he died not five Hundred Pounds richer than his Father left him. His Body was brought by Water to *Greenwich*, and buried in a moſt magnificent Manner, in a Vault made on purpoſe in King *Henry* Seventh's Chapel, at the publick Expence; but at the Reſtoration, his Body was taken out of the Grave, and flung with others into a common Pit; and his Brother, being a Diſſenter, ſuffered ſo many Hardſhips for Religion in King *Charles* the Second's Reign, that he was obliged to ſell the little Eſtate the Admiral left him, and tranſport himſelf and Children to *Carolina*.

Burnet, p. 81.

Protector conſtitutes an upper Houſe of Parliament.

By the Second Article of the *Humble Advice*, which appoints all future Parliaments to conſiſt of two Houſes, the Form of the preſent Government began to change

change in favour of the antient Conſtitution. The *Protector*, purſuant to the Powers given him, made ſeveral Promotions of Knights and Lords, and in the Month of *December* iſſued out Writs, by Advice of his Council, to divers Lords and Gentlemen, to ſit as Members of the *Other Houſe*, at the next Seſſion of Parliament, *Jan.* 20. His Intention was to have this Houſe conſidered as a Houſe of Peers, tho' he declin'd giving it that Name till a more favourable Conjuncture. Some declined the Honour, and choſe to ſit in the Lower Houſe, but between Fifty and Sixty appeared, among whom were Seven or Eight of the antient Peers, divers Knights and Gentlemen of good Families, and ſome few chief Officers of the Army. They met in the Houſe of Lords, whither *his Highneſs* came at the Time of their Meeting, and according to antient Cuſtom, ſent the *Uſher of the Black Rod* to bring up the Commons, to whom he made a ſhort Speech from the Throne, beginning with the uſual Form, *My Lords, and you the Knights, Citizens, and Burgeſſes*, &c. and then as our *Kings* uſed to do, he referr'd them to the Lord Commiſſioner *Fiennes*, who tir'd them with a long and perplexed Harangue before they enter'd upon Buſineſs.

Oliver *Protector.* 1657.

This haſty Reſolution of the Protector and his Council had like to have ſubverted the infant Government, for many of the Protector's beſt Friends being called out of the Lower Houſe to the Upper, the Balance of Power among the Commons was changed; whereas, if he had deferr'd the Settling of the Upper Houſe till the preſent Parliament had been diſſolved, they would have gone through their Buſineſs without Interruption; but the Lower Houſe was now in a Flame, ſome being diſappointed of their Expectations, and others envied for their Advancement, inſomuch that as ſoon as they returned to their Houſe, they call'd for the third Article of the *Humble Advice*, which ſays, that no *Members legally choſen ſhall be excluded from performing their Duty but by conſent of the Houſe of which they are Members*;

Bad Conſequences of it.

Oliver *Protector.* 1657.

Members; and then to ſtrengthen their Party, they ordered all thoſe who had been excluded laſt Seſſions, becauſe they would not recognize the new Government, to return to their Places; which was no ſooner done but they began to call in queſtion the Authority and Juriſdiction of the *other Houſe*, tho' themſelves had adviſed it, and tho' there was almoſt the ſame Reaſon for their being an *Upper*, as for the others being a *Lower Houſe*; but theſe Gentlemen were determined to erect an abſolute Commonwealth on the Ruins of the preſent Family. Many degrading Speeches were made in the Lower Houſe againſt the Perſons that ſat in the Upper, who were no leſs reſolute in defending their Honours and Characters; ſo that there was no Proſpect of an Agreement till the Protector himſelf appeared, and having ſent for them to *Whitehall*, ſpoke with ſuch an Accent in favour of the *Other Houſe*, that they returned and acknowledged it; but then they went on to re-examine the Validity of the whole *Inſtrument of Government*, as being made when many Members were excluded. Upon which the *Protector* being out of all Patience, went to the Houſe and diſſolved them after they had ſat but about fifteen Days.

Protector's Speech at the Diſſolution of the Parliament. Rapin, P. 137.

The Protector's Speech upon this Occaſion will give the Reader the beſt Idea of the State of the Nation, which was to this Purpoſe; "I had comfortable "Expectations that God would make the Meeting of "this Parliament a Bleſſing, for the Improvement "of Mercy, Truth, Righteouſneſs and Peace. I was "drawn into this Office of PROTECTOR by your "*Petition and Advice*, there is not a Man living that "can ſay I ſought it, but after I was petitioned and "adviſed to take the Government upon me, I ex-"pected that the ſame Men that made the Frame "ſhould make it good to me —— I told you at a "Conference, that I would not accept the Govern-"ment unleſs there might be ſome Perſons to inter-"poſe between me and the Houſe of Commons, and "it

Oliver *Protector.* 1657.

" it was granted I ſhould name *another Houſe*, which " I did, of Men of your own Rank and Quality, " who will ſhake Hands with you while you love the " Intereſt of *England* and Religion —— Again, I " would not have accepted the Government unleſs " mutual Oaths were taken to make good what was " agreed upon in the *Petition and Advice*; and God " knows, I took the Oath upon the Condition expreſ- " ſed, and thought we had now been upon a Founda- " tion and Bottom, otherwiſe we muſt neceſſarily have " been in Confuſion. I do not ſay what the Meaning " of the Oath was to you; that were to go againſt " my own Principles, but God will judge between us; " but if there had been any Intention in you of a " Settlement, you would have ſettled on this Baſis.

" But there have been Contrivances in the Army " againſt this Settlement by your Conſent. I ſpeak " not this to the Gentlemen, or Lords (pointing to " his right Hand) whatſoever you will call them, of " the *other Houſe*, but to you; *You* adviſed me to " accept of this Office, and now you diſpute the " Thing that was taken for granted, and are in dan- " ger of running the Nation back into more Confu- " ſion within theſe fifteen Days you have ſat, than it " has been ſince the Riſing of the laſt Seſſion, from " an immoderate Deſign of reſtoring a Commonwealth, " that ſome People might be the Men that might rule " all, and they are endeavouring to engage the Army " in the Deſign; which is hardly conſiſtent with the " Oath you have taken to the preſent Government. " Has that Man been true to the Nation, whoſoever " he is, that has taken an Oath, thus to prevaricate? " Theſe Things are not according to Truth, pretend " what you will, but tend to play the *King of Scots* " Game, which I think my ſelf bound before God to " do what I can to prevent. There are Preparations " of Force to invade us; the King of *Scots* has an " Army at the Water-ſide ready to be ſhipped for " *England*. I have it from thoſe who have been Eye-

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" Witneſſes of it; and while this is doing there are " Endeavours of ſome not far from this Place, to ſtir " up the People of this Town into Tumulting, what " if I had ſaid Rebellion, and I hope to make it ap- " pear to be no better, if God aſſiſt me. You have " not only endeavoured to pervert the Army while " you have been ſitting, but ſome of you have been " liſting Perſons by Commiſſion from *Charles Stuart* " to join with any Inſurrection that may be made, and " what is like to be the End of this but Blood and " Confuſion! Now if this be the Caſe, I think it " high Time to put an end to your Sitting, and I do " accordingly diſſolve this Parliament; and let God " judge between me and you."

He purges the Army.

The *Protector* being now convinced, that the Diſturbances in Parliament aroſe from the chief Officers of the Army, who clog'd his Affairs in order to introduce a Commonwealth Government, reſolved to clear his Hands of them at once; *Harriſon* and *Ludlow* were laid aſide; *Fleetwood* was recalled from his Government in *Ireland*; Major General *Lambert* was ordered to ſurrender his Commiſſion; and the Reſt were obliged to take an Oath not to oppoſe the preſent Government. By ſuch Methods he went on purging the Army and Navy; and if he had lived a little longer would have had none in Power but ſuch as were thoroughly attached to his Perſon and Government. It was obſerved after this, that all Things ſucceeded at home and abroad according to his wiſh; and that his Power and Greatneſs were better eſtabliſhed than ever, tho' there were a few Malecontents that were ſo hardy as to attempt ſome little Diſturbances; but the Diſaſters that befel the Protector's Family ſoon after broke the Firmneſs of his Conſtitution, and haſten'd his End.

And projects an Union of the whole reformed Intereſt.

It was *his Highneſs*'s Ambition, not only to make himſelf at the Head of the Proteſtant Intereſt, but to ſtrengthen the whole Body, and unite the ſeveral Members, ſo as that it might rival in Greatneſs and Power the Church of *Rome* it ſelf. Biſhop *Burnet* ſays

Burn. P. 77.

forms us, That he had projected a Sort of General Council, to be ſet up in Oppoſition to the Congregation *De Propaganda Fide* at *Rome*; it was to conſiſt of ſeven Counſellors, and four Secretaries for different Provinces; the firſt was for *France*, *Switzerland*, and the *Valleys*; the ſecond for the *Palatinate*, and other *Calviniſts*; the third for *Germany*, for the *North*, and for *Turkey*; the fourth for the *Eaſt* and *Weſt Indies*. The Secretaries were to have five Hundred Pounds a Year each, and to hold a Correſpondence every where, to acquaint themſelves with the State of Religion all over the World, that ſo all good Deſigns for the Welfare of the Whole, and of the ſeveral Parts, might by their Means be protected and aſſiſted. They were to have a Fund of ten Thouſand Pounds a Year, and to be further ſupplied as Occaſion ſhould require. *Chelſea College* was to be fitted up for them. This was a noble Project (ſays the Biſhop) and muſt have been attended with extraordinary Effects under the Protection of a *Power* which was formidable and terrible to all Nations to whom it was known. Oliver *Protector.* 1657.

About the Beginning of this Year Dr. *Bryan Walton*, afterwards Biſhop of *Cheſter*, publiſhed the *Biblia Polyglotta*, in ſix Volumes in Folio, wherein the ſacred Text is printed in the *vulgar Latin*, *Hebrew*, *Greek*, *Syriack*, *Chaldee*, *Samaritan*, *Arabick*, *Æthiopick*, and *Perſick Languages*, each having its peculiar *Latin* Tranſlation, with an *Apparatus* for the better underſtanding thoſe Tongues. This laborious Performance, by the Aſſiſtance of ſeveral that engaged in it, was compleated in about four Years, and was reckon'd the moſt abſolute Edition of the Bible that the World had ever ſeen. Several learned Perſons, both Puritans and others, aſſiſted in correcting the Preſs, and in collating the Copies. Many Noblemen, and Gentlemen of Quality, contributed to the Expence of printing this Work, without which it could not have ſeen the Light. After the Reſtoration the Doctor preſented King *Charles* II. with the ſix Volumes, which his Biblia Polyglotta.

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Majeſty received very graciouſly, and rewarded the Author with the Biſhoprick of *Cheſter*.

The Learned Dr. *Owen* made ſome Remarks on the *Prolegomena* of this Work; but after an high Commendation of the Performance in general, complains that the Author had weakened the Certainty of the ſacred Text, (1.) By maintaining that the *Points* or *Vowels* of the *Hebrew* Language were of novel Invention. (2.) By producing a great Number of *various Readings* from antient Copies of little Moment. (3.) By his own critical Remarks and Amendments not ſupported by antient Authorities. The Doctor maintains on the other Hand, the Antiquity of the *Hebrew* Points, and their abſolute Neceſſity to fix the determinate Senſe of Scripture; that the various Readings are of little Conſequence, and that conjectural Amendments ought not to be admitted without the Authority of ancient Copies. The Doctor writes with great Modeſty, but the Validity of his Arguments muſt be left with the learned Reader.

Protector reſigns his Chancellorſhip.

On the Third of *July* the Protector reſign'd his Chancellorſhip of *Oxford*, and upon the Eighteenth Day of the ſame Month his eldeſt Son RICHARD was choſen his Succeſſor, and inſtalled at *Whitehall* on the Twenty ninth. About ſix Weeks after, the new Chancellor diſmiſſed Dr. *Owen*, who had been Vice-Chancellor of the Univerſity about five Years, and appointed Dr. *John Conant*, Rector of *Exeter College* to ſucceed him. This Gentleman, ſays the *Oxford* Hiſtorian, was a good *Latiniſt*, and *Grecian*, a profound *Theologiſt*, a learned, pious, and meek *Divine*, and an excellent *Preacher*. He had been one of the Aſſembly of Divines, and was elected Rector of the College upon the Death of Dr. *Hakewell*, in *July* 1649. In the latter End of the Year 1654. he became King's Profeſſor of Divinity in the Room of Dr. *Hoyle*. He continued in the Vice-Chancellorſhip two Years with due Commendation, keeping a ſevere Diſcipline in his College, as did all the Heads of Colleges

the

theſe Times. He was ejected out of every Thing in 1662. for Non-Conformity; but ſome Time after being perſuaded to comply with the Eſtabliſhment, he became Vicar of *All Saints* in *Northampton*, Archdeacon of *Norwich*, and Prebendary of *Worceſter*; which Places he held till his Death, which did not happen till 1693. Oliver *Protector.* 1657.

Nov. 24. *His Highneſs* ſign'd a Commiſſion, appointing his younger Son *Henry* to be Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, with a Power of conferring the Honour of Knighthood. *Henry* was a wiſe and diſcreet Governor, and by his prudent Behaviour kept the *Iriſh* in Awe, and brought the Nation into a flouriſhing Condition. Upon the Acceſſion of *Richard* to the Protectorſhip he adviſed him to abide by the Parliament, and have a watchful Eye over the Army, whom he ſuſpected to be deſigning Miſchief (as appears by his Letters now before me.) Nay, he offered to come over to his Aſſiſtance, but was forbid till it was too late. When *Richard* was depoſed his Brother *Henry* laid down his Charge, and came over to *England*, and lived privately upon a little Eſtate of his own in *Northamptonſhire* till his Death. While he was in *Ireland* he behaved with ſuch a generous Impartiality as gained him the Eſteem even of the Royaliſts themſelves; and after his Retirement King *Charles* II. did him once the Honour of a Viſit: He had a Son who was bred to Arms, and died in the Service of the Crown about the Year 1711. and left behind him ſeveral Sons, who are yet living in the City of *London*, and are the only Deſcendants of the *Protector Cromwel*, the Poſterity of *Richard* being extinct. *And appoints his Son* Henry *Lieut. of* Ireland.

The ROYAL SOCIETY, which has been the Ornament of the *Engliſh* Nation, by the vaſt Improvements it has made in natural and experimental Philoſophy, was formed at *Oxford* in theſe Times, which ſome have repreſented as covered with Ignorance, Barbariſm, and Pedantry: The Words of Biſhop *Sprat*, their Hiſtorian, are theſe, "It was ſome Space after *Original of the* Royal Society. P. 53. 57.

Oliver *Protector.* 1657.

" the End of the Civil Wars at *Oxford*, in Dr. *Wilkins*'s Lodgings, in *Wadham College*, which was then the Place of Reſort for virtuous and learned Men, *That the firſt Meetings were made which laid the Foundation of all that followed.* The Univerſity had, at that Time, many Members of its own, who had begun a free Way of Reaſoning, and was alſo frequented by ſome Gentlemen of Philoſophical Minds, whom the Misfortunes of the Kingdom, and the Security and Eaſe of a Retirement among Gownſmen had drawn thither —— The Principal, and moſt conſtant of them were, Dr. *Seth Ward*, Mr. *Boyle*, Dr. *Wilkins*, Sir *William Petty*, Mr. *Matthew Wren*, Dr. *Wallis*, Dr. *Goddard*, Dr. *Willis*, Dr. *Bathurſt*, Dr. *Chriſtopher Wren*, and Mr. *Rook*; beſides ſeveral others who joined them on Occaſions. —— Their Meetings were as frequent as their Occaſions would permit; their Proceedings were upon ſome particular Trials in *Chymiſtry* or *Mechanicks*, which they communicated to each other. They continued without any great Interruption till the Death of the Protector, when their Meetings were transferr'd to *London*." Here they began to enlarge their Deſign, and formed the Platform of a Philoſophical College, to enquire into the Works of Nature: They ſet up a Correſpondence with learned Foreigners, and admitted ſuch into their Numbers without diſtinction of Names or Parties in Religion; and were at length incorporated by Royal Patent, or Charter, in the Year 1663.

Death of Mr. Langley.

This Year died Mr. *John Langley*, the noted Maſter of St. *Paul*'s School, *London*; he was born at *Banbury* in *Oxfordſhire*, about the Year 1612. he commenc'd *M. A.* and was Prebendary of *Glouceſter*, where he kept a School for twenty Years. In the Year 1640. he ſucceeded Dr. *Gill*, chief Maſter of St. *Paul*'s School, where he educated many who were afterwards ſerviceable in Church and State. He was an univerſal Scholar, an excellent Linguiſt, Grammarian

marian, Hiſtorian, Coſmographer, a moſt judicious Divine, and ſo great an Antiquarian (ſays the *Oxford* Hiſtorian) that his Delight and Acquaintance in Antiquity deſerves greater Commendation than can be given in a few Lines. He was eſteemed by learned Men, and particularly by Mr. *Selden*; but was not regarded by the Clergy becauſe he was a *Puritan*, and a Witneſs againſt Archbiſhop *Laud* at his Trial. He was a Member of the Aſſembly of Divines, and died at his Houſe next adjoining to St. *Paul*'s School, *Sept.* 13. 1657. Dr. *Reynolds* preached his Funeral Sermon, and gave him a very high Encomium. Oliver *Protector.* 1657.

Mr. *Obadiah Sedgwick* was born at *Marlborough* in the Year 1600. and educated in *Magdalen College*, *Oxford*, where he took the Degrees in Arts, and was afterwards Chaplain to Sir *Horatio Vere*, with whom he travell'd into the *Low Countries*. After his Return he became Reader of the Sentences 1629. and was afterwards choſen Preacher to the Inhabitants of St. *Mildred Breadſtreet*, *London*; but being driven from thence by the Severity of the Governors of the Church he retired to *Coggeſhall* in *Eſſex*, where he continued till the Breaking out of the Civil Wars. In 1643. he was choſen a Member of the Aſſembly of Divines. In 1646. he became Preacher at St. *Paul*'s *Covent Garden*: He often preached before the Parliament, and was eſteemed an Orthodox, as well as an admired Preacher. In the Year 1653. he was appointed one of the *Triers*, and the Year after one of the Commiſſioners for ejecting ſcandalous Miniſters; but finding his Health declining he reſigned his Preferments, and retir'd to his native Town of *Marlborough*, where he died the Beginning of *January*, 1657. *Of Mr.* Sedgwick

Mr. *Edward Corbet* was born in *Shropſhire*, and educated in *Merton College*, *Oxford*, where he took the Degrees in Arts, and was made Probationer Fellow of his College. In 1638. he was one of the Proctors of the Univerſity; but being a Puritan Divine was denied the Rectory of *Chatham* by Archbiſhop *Laud*, *Of Mr.* Corbet. Wood's Faſti.

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Laud, then in the Tower; upon which an Ordinance of Parliament came out, *May* 17. 1643. appointing him Rector of *Chatham*. He was a Member of the Aſſembly of Divines, a Witneſs againſt the Archbiſhop at his Trial; one of the Preachers appointed to reconcile the *Oxford* Scholars to the Parliament; and afterwards one of the Viſitors, Orator, and Canon of *Chriſt Church*, in the Room of Dr. *Hammond*, which he ſoon after quitted, and became Rector of *Great Haſeley* in *Oxfordſhire*, where he continued to his Death. He was a very conſiderable Divine, a valuable Preacher, and a Perſon of great Conſcience and Honeſty.

Of Mr. Cranford. Wood's Ath. Ox. p. 211.

Mr. *James Cranford* was born in *Coventry*, and ſome Time Maſter of the Free School there: He was educated in *Baliol College*, *Oxford*, where he took the Degrees in Arts, and was at length Rector of St. *Chriſtopher's le Stocks*, near the *Old Exchange*, *London*. He was an exact Linguiſt, well acquainted with the Fathers and Schoolmen, as well as with the modern Divines; a zealous Preſbyterian, and a laborious Preacher. Mr. *Fuller* adds, That he was a ſubtle Diſputant, orthodox in Judgment, and a Perſon of great Humility, Charity, and Moderation towards all Men. In the Beginning of the Civil Wars he was appointed Licenſer of the Preſs in *London*, which gave him an Occaſion to write ſeveral Epiſtles before Books, beſides ſome Treatiſes that he publiſhed of his own. He died *April* 27. 1657. aged about Fifty five Years.

Fuller's Worthies, Book III. p. 128.

1658. Dunkirk *delivered to the* Engliſh.

The Protector's Arms were no leſs ſucceſsful this Summer, than laſt, for in the Month of *June*, Marſhal *Turenne* in conjunction with the *Engliſh* Forces, laid ſiege to *Dunkirk*, then in Poſſeſſion of the *Spaniards*, which brought on a Battle between the two Armies: The *Spaniſh* Forces conſiſted of 30000 Men, but Major General *Morgan*, who covered the Siege, attacked the right Wing of the *Spaniſh* Army which came to relieve it with 6000 *Engliſh*, who routed the whole Army, which was followed with the Surrender

of

of the Town, *June* 25. The *French* look'd on, and said, They never saw a more glorious Action in their Lives. Cardinal *Mazarine* intended to keep this important Place in *French* Hands, contrary to the late Treaty; of which his Highneſs being informed, acquainted the Ambaſſador; but his Excellency denying any ſuch intended Breach of Contract, the Protector pulled out of his Pocket a Copy of the Cardinal's private Order, and deſired him to let his *Eminence* know, that if the Keys of *Dunkirk* were not delivered to *Lockhart* within an Hour after it was taken, he would come in Perſon, and demand them at the Gates of *Paris*; and the Cardinal had too great a Dread of the Name of *Cromwel* to deny any Thing he required. By this Conqueſt the Protector gained immortal Glory, becauſe it gave the *Engliſh* a Settlement on the Continent, and made them Maſters of both Sides of the Channel. How baſely it was ſold by Lord *Clarendon* to the *French* will be ſeen hereafter.

Oliver *Protector.* 1658.

The enthuſiaſtick Republicans, or Fifth Monarchy Men, having failed of their Deſign in Parliament, agreed, to the Number of three Hundred, to attempt a Revolution of Government by Force, and having killed the Protector, to proclaim KING JESUS; but Secretary *Thurloe*, who never ſpared coſt to gain Intelligence, had a Spy among them, who diſcovered their Intrigues, and ſeized their Arms and Ammunition in *Shoreditch*, with their Standard, containing a *Lion Couchant*, alluding to the Lion of the Tribe of *Judah*, with this Motto, WHO WILL ROUSE HIM UP. The chief of the Conſpirators, as *Venner*, *Gray*, *Hopkins*, &c. were impriſoned in the *Gate-Houſe* till the Protector's Death, with their Accomplices, Major General *Harriſon*, Colonel *Rich*, Colonel *Danvers*, and others; after which they created new Diſturbances, which haſtned their own Deſtruction, ſoon after the King's Reſtoration.

Plot of Fifth Monarchy Men. Compl. Hiſt. p. 223. Eachard, p. 730.

But the moſt formidable Conſpiracy againſt the Government was a new one of the *Cavaliers*, with which the Protector acquainted the Lord Mayor and Common-

And of the Cavaliers.

Coun-

Oliver *Protector.* 1658.

Council of the City in a Speech, wherein he informed them that the Marquis of *Ormond* had been privately in *London* three Weeks to promote the King's Affairs, who lay ready on the Coaſt with an Army of eight Thouſand Men, and Twenty two Ships; that there was a Deſign to ſeize the *Tower*; and that ſeveral ill affected Perſons were endeavouring to put themſelves in Arms for that purpoſe; he therefore deſired them to put the City into a Poſture of Defence, profeſſing a more paſſionate Regard for their Safety than his own. The Citizens returned *his Highneſs* Thanks, and in an Addreſs promiſed to defend his Perſon and Government with their Lives and Fortunes. The like Addreſſes came from ſeveral of the Regiments at home, and from the *Engliſh* Army in *Flanders*. This was the Plot the Protector mentioned in his Speech to the Parliament, and was diſcovered by one *Stapley*, whoſe Father had been one of the King's Judges. Immediately after the Diſſolution of the Parliament three of the Conſpirators were apprehended, and tried before an *High Court of Juſtice*, according to the late Act *for the Security of his Highneſs's Perſon*. Mr. *Mordaunt*, younger Son and Brother of the Earl of *Peterborough*, was acquitted by one Vote; but the other two, Sir *Henry Slingsby* and Dr. *Hewet* were condemned. The Doctor was indicted for holding Correſpondence with CHARLES STUART, for publiſhing him to be King of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*; and for ſending him Money. He behaved with great Boldneſs towards his Judges, and kept his Hat upon his Head while the Charge was reading; but an Officer being ſent to take it off, he ſaved him the Trouble. The Doctor then refuſed to plead three Times, diſowning the Juriſdiction of the Court; but tho' they read the Clauſe in the late Act, by which they were empowered to be his Judges, he continued mute; upon which one of the Judges ſummed up the Charge, and was going to pronounce Sentence, when he offered to put himſelf upon his Trial, but he was told

Dr. Hewet's Trial. Eachard.

Life of Barwick, p. 175.

told it was then too late, ſo Judgment was given againſt him as a *Mute*. The Doctor had prepared a Plea and Demurer to the Juriſdiction and Proceedings of the Court, and Exceptions to their Judgment, drawn up in Form by Counſel, and ready to be engroſſed, but was not ſuffered to have them argued. However, he had the Favour of being beheaded on *Tower-Hill*, *June* 8. 1658. being attended by Doctor *Wild*, Dr. *Warmeſtry*, and Dr. *Barwick*. His Funeral Sermon was preached the *Sunday* after by Mr. *Nath. Hardy* at St. *Dionis Back Church*, in *Lime-ſtreet*; and ſoon after, both the Sermon, and the Doctor's intended Defence were publiſhed, entitled, *Beheaded Dr.* John Hewet's *Ghoſt crying for Juſtice*; containing his legal Plea, Demurer, and Exceptions to the Juriſdiction of the Court, *&c.* drawn up by his Counſel Mr. *William Prynne*. The Doctor was a *Cambridge* Divine, but lived at *Oxford*, and in the Army, till the End of the War, when he came to *London*, and was permitted to preach in the Church of St. *Gregory's*, *London*, tho' he was known to be a Malignant. After his Conviction the Lady *Claypole*, and Lady *Falconbridge*, the Protector's Daughters, interceded with their Father for his Life; but becauſe he diſputed the Authority of the Court, which ſtruck at the very Life of his Government, the Protector would not pardon him. But he told Dr. *Manton*, one of his Chaplains, that if Dr. *Hewet* had ſhewn himſelf an ingenious Perſon, and would have owned what he knew was his Share in the Deſign againſt him, he would have ſpared his Life; but he ſaid he would not be trifled with, and the Dr. was of ſo obſtinate a Temper that he was reſolved he ſhould die; and the Protector convinced Dr. *Manton* before he parted, that he knew without his Confeſſion how far he was engaged in the Plot. Three more of the Conſpirators were executed in other Parts of the City, but the reſt were pardoned.

Oliver *Protector.* 1658.

A little before the Protector's Death the Independants petitioned *his Highneſs* for Liberty to hold a Synod,

Confeſſion of Faith by the Independants.

Oliver *Protector.* 1658.

Synod, in order to publiſh to the World an uniform Confeſſion of their Faith. They were now become a conſiderable Body, their Churches being encreaſed both in City and Country, by the Addition of great Numbers of rich and ſubſtantial Perſons; but they were not agreed upon any Standard of Faith or Diſcipline. The Preſbyterians in the Aſſembly of Divines had urged them to this; and their Brethren in *New England* had done it ten Years ago; nor were the *Engliſh* Independants inſenſible of the Defect; for hitherto (ſay they) there have "been no Aſſociation of "our Churches, no Meetings of our Miniſters to pro- "mote the common Intereſt; our Churches are like "ſo many Ships launched ſingly, and ſailing apart "and alone in the vaſt Ocean of theſe tumultuous "Times, expoſed to every Wind of Doctrine; un- "der no other Conduct than the *Word* and *Spirit*, "and their particular Elders, and principal Brethren, "without Aſſociations among themſelves, or ſo much "as holding out a common Light to others, whereby "to know where they were." To remedy this ſome of their Divines, and principal Brethren in *London* met together, and propoſed, that there might be a Correſpondence among their Churches in City and Country for Counſel and mutual Edification; and for as much as all Sects and Parties of Chriſtians had publiſhed a *Confeſſion of their Faith*, they apprehended the World might reaſonably expect it from them; for theſe Reaſons they petitioned the *Protector* for Liberty to aſſemble for this Purpoſe. This was oppoſed by ſome of the Court, as tending to eſtabliſh a Separation between them and the Preſbyterians; nor was the Protector himſelf fond of it; however, he gave way to their Importunity, and, as Mr. *Eachard* repreſents that Matter, when he was moved upon his Death-bed to diſcountenance their Petition, he replied, *They muſt be ſatisfied, they muſt be ſatisfied, or we ſhall all run back into Blood again.*

Confeſſ. Pref. p. 6.

But

But the Protector did not live to see the Fruits of this Assembly, which was appointed to be at the *Savoy*, *October* 12. 1658. where Ministers and Messengers from above one Hundred Congregational Churches met together, of which the Majority were Laymen; the rest Pastors of Churches, and some younger Divines about the Court, as the Reverend and Learned Mr. *John Howe*, at that Time Chaplain to the young Protector and others. They opened their Synod with a Day of Fasting and Prayer, and after some Debate, whether they should adopt the doctrinal Articles of the *Westminster* Assembly for their own, with some Amendments and Additions, it was thought more advisable to draw up a *new Confession*, but to keep as near as possible to the Method and Order of the other. A Committee of the most eminent Divines was chosen for this Work (*viz.*) Dr. *Tho. Goodwin*, Dr. *Owen*; Mr. *Phil. Nye*, Mr. *William Bridge* of *Yarmouth*, Mr. *Jos. Caryl*, and Mr. *William Greenhill*. While these were employed in preparing, and putting together the Articles of their Confession, the Synod heard Complaints, and gave Advice in several Cases which were brought before them, relating to Disputes or Differences in their Churches. The particular Heads of Doctrine agreed to by the Committee were presented to the Synod every Morning, and read by the Reverend Mr. *George Griffith* their Scribe. There were some Speeches and Debates upon Words and Phrases, but at length all acquiesced, and the Whole was soon after published in Quarto, under the Title of *A Declaration of the Faith and Order owned and practised in the Congregational Churches in* England, *agreed upon, and consented unto by their Elders and Messengers in their Meeting at the* Savoy, Octob. 12. 1658. Next Year it was translated into *Latin* by Professor *Hornbeek*, and published at the End of his *Epistola ad Duræum de Independentissimo*. Some imputed their Unanimity to the Authority and Influence of Dr. *Owen*, Mr. *Nye*, and the rest of the elder Divines over the Younger; but they

Oliver *Protector.* 1658. *Their Assembly.* Calamy's Abridg. Vol. II. p. 444.

Oliver *Protector.* 1658.

they themſelves in their Preface, "look upon it as a "great and ſpecial Work of the Holy Ghoſt, that ſo "numerous a Company of Miniſters, and other prin- "cipal Brethren, ſhould ſo readily, ſpeedily, and "jointly give up themſelves to ſuch an whole Body of "Truths as is there collected." They add further, "That this Agreement of theirs fell out without their "having held any Correſpondence together, or pre- "pared Conſultation, by which they might be advi- "ſed of one another's Minds." Which I confeſs is very extraordinary, conſidering the Confeſſion conſiſts of Thirty three Chapters, in which are almoſt two Hundred diſtinct Articles of Faith and Diſcipline; and that the whole Time of the Synod's Seſſions, or Continuance, was not above eleven or twelve Days.

Abſtract of their Confeſſion.

The *Savoy Confeſſion* proceeds upon the Plan of the *Weſtminſter* Aſſembly, which made the Work very eaſy; and in moſt Places retains their very Words. They tell the World in their Preface, that they fully conſent to the *Weſtminſter Confeſſion* for the Subſtance of it, but have taken Liberty to add a few Things, in order to obviate ſome erroneous Opinions that have been more boldly maintained of late than in former Times. They have likewiſe varied the Method in ſome Places, and have here and there expreſſed themſelves more clearly, as they found Occaſion. They have omitted all thoſe Chapters in the Aſſembly's Confeſſion which relate to Diſcipline, as the 30th and 31ſt, with part of the 20th and 24th, relating to *the Power of Synods, Counſels, Church Cenſures, Marriage and Divorce, and the Power of the Civil Magiſtrate in Matters of Religion.* Theſe (ſay they) were ſuch doubtful Aſſertions, and ſo unſuited to a Confeſſion of Faith, that the *Engliſh* Parliament would never ratify them, there being nothing that tends more to heighten Diſſentions among Brethren, than to place theſe doubtful Speculations under ſo high a Title as *a Confeſſion of Faith.* After the 19th Chapter of the Aſſembly's Confeſſion, *Of the Law,* the *Savoy* Divines have added an entire Chap-

Chapter, *Of the Goſpel*, in which what is diſperſed up and down in the Aſſembly's Confeſſion is collected, and put together. But upon the Whole, the Difference between theſe two Confeſſions, in points of Doctrine is ſo very ſmall, that the modern Independants have in a manner laid aſide the Uſe of it in their Families, and agreed with the Preſbyterians in the Uſe of the Aſſembly's Catechiſm. Oliver *Protector.* 1658.

At the End of the *Savoy* Confeſſion there is a Chapter of Diſcipline, entitled, *Of the Inſtitution of Churches, and the Order appointed in them by Jeſus Chriſt*; in which they aſſert,

" That every particular Society of viſible Profeſ- *Of their Diſcipline.*
" ſors, agreeing to walk together in the Faith, and Or- *Independency of Churches.*
" der of the Goſpel is a compleat Church, and has
" full Power within it ſelf to elect and ordain all
" Church Officers, to exclude all Offenders, and to
" do all other Acts relating to the Edification and
" Well-being of the Church.

" That the Way of ordaining Officers, that is, *Pa-* *Ordination of Paſtors, &c.*
" *ſtors, Teachers, or Elders*, is after their Election,
" by the Suffrage of the Church, to ſet them Apart
" with Faſting and Prayer, and Impoſition of the
" Hands of the Elderſhip of the Church, tho', if
" there be no Impoſition of Hands, they are never-
" theleſs rightly conſtituted Miniſters of Chriſt; but
" they do not allow that Ordination to the Work of
" the Miniſtry, tho' it be by Perſons rightly ordain-
" ed, does convey any Office-Power, without a pre-
" vious Election of the Church.

" That no Perſons may adminiſter the Sacrament *Their limited Juriſdiction.*
" but ſuch as are ordained and appointed thereunto.
" Nor are the Paſtors of one Church obliged to ad-
" miniſter the Sacraments to any other, than to the
" Members of that Church to whom they ſtand rela-
" ted in that Capacity. Nor may any Perſon be
" added to the Church, as a private Member, but by
" the Conſent of the Church, after a Confeſſion of his
" Faith, declared by himſelf, or otherwiſe manifeſted.

" They

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Of Synods and Councils.

"They disallow the Power of all stated Synods, Presbyteries, Convocations, and Assemblies of Divines over particular Churches, but admit, that in Cases of Difficulty, or Difference relating to Doctrine or Order, Churches may meet together by their Messengers in Synods or Councils, to consider and give Advice, but without exercising any Jurisdiction.

And of Occasional Communion.

"And Lastly, They agree, that Churches consisting of Persons found in the Faith, and of good Conversation, ought not to refuse Communion with each other, tho' they walk not in all Things according to the same Rule of Church Order; and if they judge other Churches to be true Churches, tho' less pure, they may receive to Occasional Communion such Members of those Churches as are credibly testified to be godly, and to live without Offence.

"These Opinions (say they) may appear new to a great many People, because they have not been openly and publickly professed in the *English* Nation, but we are able to trace the Footsteps of an Independant Congregational Way, in the antientest Practice of the Church, and in the Writings of the

Their Sentiments of Liberty.

soundest Protestant Divines." They add, "That their Principles do not in the least interfere with the Authority of the Civil Magistrate, nor do they concern themselves upon any Occasions with him, any further than to implore his Protection, for the Preservation of the Peace and Liberty of their Churches." They glory in this, that ever since they appeared in the World, they have distinguished themselves in the Cause of Christian Liberty. "We have always, say they, maintained this Principle, *That among all Christian States and Churches there ought to be a Forbearance, and mutual Indulgence to Christians of all Persuasions, that keep to, and hold fast the necessary Foundations of Faith and Holiness.* This Principle we have maintained for the sake of others, *when we our selves had no need of it.*" They conclude

clude with Thankfulneſs to their preſent Governors, for permitting thoſe who could not comply with the Preſbyterian Eſtabliſhment to enjoy the Liberty of their Conſciences, and equal Encouragement, and Protection with others; and that this Liberty is eſtabliſhed by a Law, as long as they diſturb not the publick Peace. This ſhould engage us (ſay they) to promote the Honour and Proſperity of ſuch a Government; to be peaceably diſpoſed one towards another, and to love as Brethren, foraſmuch as the Differences between Preſbyterians and Independants are Differences between Fellow-Servants, and that neither of them have Authority from God or Man, to impoſe their Opinions upon one another. Oliver *Protector.* 1658.

Mr. *Baxter*, otherwiſe a very peaceable and candid Divine, loſes all Temper when he ſpeaks of this Aſſembly: He finds fault with their Definition of *Juſtification*, and makes theſe Remarks; "They thought "it not enough expreſly to contradict St. *James*, and "to ſay unlimitedly, that *we are juſtified by the Righ-* "*teouſneſs of Chriſt only, and not by any Works*, but "they contradicted St. *Paul* alſo, who ſays, that "*Faith is imputed for Righteouſneſs*; and not only "ſo, but they aſſerted, that *we have no other Righte-* "*ouſneſs but that of Chriſt.* A Doctrine abhorred by "all the Reformed and Chriſtian Churches, and which "(ſays he) would be an utter Shame of the Proteſtant "Name, if what ſuch Men held and did, were imputable to ſober Proteſtants." But is it poſſible that Mr. *Baxter* could believe, that the *Savoy* Divines denied the Neceſſity of Sanctification, or perſonal Holineſs? when they have a whole Chapter in their Confeſſion upon *Sanctification*, another upon Repentance and good Works, and a Third upon the Moral Law, which they declare does for ever bind all Men to Obedience, both juſtified and unjuſtified. When Mr. *Baxter* aſked ſome honeſt Men who joined them, whether they ſubſcribed the Confeſſion? They ſaid no; he then enquired, why they did not contradict this? To *Remarks. Life*, P. 104.

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which they anſwer'd, becauſe the Meaning was, that they had no other Righteouſneſs but that of Chriſt *to be juſtified by*; which is certainly the Doctrine of the *Weſtminſter* Aſſembly. What does Mr. *Baxter* reply to this? Why nothing, but adds very uncharitably, "That the Independant Confeſſions are like ſuch "Oaths as ſpeak one Thing and mean another; ſo "much could two Men, [Dr. *Owen* and *Goodwin*] do "with many honeſt tractable young Men, who had "more Zeal for ſeparating Strictneſs than Judgment "to underſtand the Word of God, the Intereſt of the "Churches and of themſelves." And yet there were in that Aſſembly many Divines of as great Age and Learning as himſelf; their Deſign was not to under-value the *Weſtminſter* Confeſſion, but rather to anſwer the Deſires of that Aſſembly, by publiſhing to the World ſuch a Declaration of their Faith and Diſcipline as they had demanded. And the *Confeſſion* was ſo far from raiſing any new Diviſions, that Mr. *Philip Henry* obſerves upon the Death of *Cromwel*, that there was a great Change in the Tempers of good People throughout the Nation, and a mighty Tendency to Peace and Unity, as if they were by Conſent weary of their long Claſhings. However, the *Independants* loſt their beſt Friend in the *Protector*, who was not only their Patron upon the Principle of Liberty, but a Balance to the Preſbyterian Pretences to Church Power.

Danger of the Hierarchy.

The Hierarchy of the Church of *England* was now at a very low Ebb, and in danger of being loſt beyond Recovery; for if the Biſhops, who were now very antient, had all died off, before others were conſecrated, the Line of Succeſſion muſt have failed; ſo the Church of *Rome* was ſo far from ſupporting it that they publiſhed a Treatiſe this Year, *Of the Nature of the Catholick Faith, and of Hereſy*; in which they endeavour to invalidate the *Engliſh* Ordination, and revived the Story of the *Nags-Head Club*; for the Truth of which they appealed to Dr. *Moreton*, the antient Biſhop of *Durham*, who in a ſolemn Speech made

made in full Parliament (ſay they) declared in expreſs Words, that our firſt Biſhops after the Reformation had been conſecrated in a Tavern; and that this was ſo far from being doubted, that it was a Fact moſt notorious to all the World; adding, that the reſt of the Biſhops preſent rather approved, than in the leaſt oppoſed what he had ſaid. The Biſhop, then in the Ninety fourth Year of his Age, being adviſed of this Calumny, ſent for a publick Notary from *London*, and in the Preſence of proper Witneſſes, made a ſolemn Proteſtation of the Falſhood of this Story, and ſigned it in due Form, *July* 17. 1658. He then ſent his Chaplain, Dr. *Barwick*, to all the Lords Spiritual and Temporal then alive, who had ſat in that Parliament, deſiring, that if they believed him undeſervedly aſperſed, they would atteſt it by ſubſcribing their Names; which was done by ſix Biſhops, and fourteen temporal Lords, and by the ſeveral Clerks and Regiſters of the Houſe. The Biſhop died ſoon after, but his Proteſtation, with the Proofs, was afterwards publiſhed by Dr. *Bramhal*, Biſhop of *Derry*, in a Treatiſe entitled, *The Conſecration and Succeſſion of Proteſtant Biſhops juſtified; the Biſhop of* Dureſme *vindicated; and the Fable of the Ordination of the* Nags-Head *Club clearly confuted.* This awakened the Clergy to enter upon Meaſures for the Continuance of a Succeſſion of Biſhops, tho' they could not be regularly choſen, leſt the Validity of the Epiſcopal Miniſtry ſhould ceaſe; of which we ſhall hear more under the next Year.

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Lord *Clarendon* mentions an Addreſs of the *Anabaptiſts* to the King, who being diſappointed in their Expectations of a Commonwealth, threw themſelves at his Majeſty's Feet, offering their Aſſiſtance to pull down the preſent Government. In their Addreſs they ſay, "they took up Arms in the late War for Liberty and "Reformation, but aſſure his Majeſty that they were "ſo far from entertaining any Thoughts of caſting off "their Allegiance, or extirpating the Royal Family, "that they had not the leaſt Intent to abridge him of

Addreſs of the Anabaptiſts.

Oliver *Protector.* 1658.

" his juſt Prerogatives, but only the Reſtraining thoſe " Exceſſes of Government, which were nothing but " the Excreſcencies of a wanton Power, and were ra- " ther a Burden, than an Ornament to the Royal Dia- " dem." They then go on to declaim againſt the *Protector*, calling him, that *grand Impoſtor*, that *loathſome Hypocrite*, that *deteſtable Traitor*, the *Prodigy of Nature*, the *Opprobrium of Mankind*, a *Landskip of Iniquity*, a *Sink of Sin*, a *Compendium of Baſeneſs*. And then begging Pardon for their former Offences, they promiſe to ſacrifice their Lives and Fortunes for his Majeſty's Reſtoration, provided his Majeſty would be ſo gracious, as to reſtore the Remains of the Long Parliament; to ratify the Treaty of the *Iſle of Wight*; to eſtabliſh Liberty of Conſcience; to take away Tithes, and provide ſome other Maintenance for the National Clergy; and to paſs an Act of Oblivion, for all who had been in Arms againſt his Father and himſelf, except thoſe who ſhould adhere to that ungodly Tyrant who calls himſelf *Protector*. His Lordſhip adds, that the Meſſenger that brought theſe Propoſitions aſking the Sum of two Thouſand Pounds to carry on the Project, his Majeſty diſmiſſed him with civil Expreſſions, telling him, he had no Deſigns to trouble any Man for his Opinion. However, if there had been ſuch an Addreſs from the Body of the Anabaptiſts, 'tis a little ſtrange that after the Reſtoration it was not remember'd to their Advantage. But his Lordſhip ſeems to have had no great Acquaintance with theſe Men, when he ſays, they always pretended a juſt Eſteem and Value for all Men who faithfully adhered to the King, whereas they were of all the Sects moſt zealous for a Commonwealth, and were Enemies to the *Protector* for no other Reaſon, but becauſe he was for Government by a ſingle Perſon. In truth, this whole Affair ſeems no more than an Artifice to get a little Money out of the poor King's Purſe.

The

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The Protector's Health was now declining, through his advanced Age, and exceſſive Toils and Fatigues. The reſtleſs Spirits of the Royaliſts and Republicans put him upon his Guard, inſomuch that he uſually wore under his Cloths a Piece of Armour, or a Coat of Mail. The Loſs of his beloved Daughter *Claypole*, who died this Summer, had alſo a very ſenſible Influence on his Health. About the Middle of *Auguſt* he was ſeized with a ſlow Fever, which turned to a tertian Ague; but the Diſtemper appeared ſo favourable for a Time, that he walked Abroad in the Gardens at *Hampton Court*. *Ludlow* ſays, the Protector had a Humour in his Leg, which he deſired the Phyſicians to diſperſe, by which means it was thrown into his Blood: At length his Pulſe began to intermit, and he was adviſed to keep his Bed; but his Ague Fits growing ſtronger, it was thought proper to remove him to *Whitehall*, where he began to be light-headed; upon which his Phyſicians declared his Life in danger, and the Council being ſummoned to deſire him to nominate his Succeſſor, he appointed his eldeſt Son *Richard*. In the Intervals of his Fits he behaved with great Devotion and Piety, but manifeſted no Remorſe for his publick Actions; he declared in general, that he deſigned the Good of the Nation, and to preſerve it from Anarchy and a new War. He once aſked Dr. *Goodwin*, who attended at his Bed-ſide, and is ſaid to have expreſſed an unbecoming Aſſurance to Almighty God in Prayer of his Recovery, *Whether a Man could fall from Grace?* Which the Doctor anſwering in the Negative, the Protector replied, *Then I am ſafe, for I am ſure I was once in a State of Grace.* About twelve Hours before he died he lay very quiet, when Major *Butler*, being in his Chamber, ſays he heard him make his laſt Prayer to this Purpoſe: "Lord, I am a poor "fooliſh Creature; this People would fain have me "live; they think it beſt for them, and that it will "redound much to thy Glory, and all the Stir is "about this. Others would fain have me die; Lord

The Protector's Sickneſs and Death.

Baxter's Life, p. 98.

Oliver *Protector.* 1658.

"pardon them, and pardon thy fooliſh People, forgive "their Sins, and do not forſake them, but love and bleſs, "and give them Reſt, and bring them to a Conſiſtency, "and give me Reſt, for Jeſus Chriſt's ſake, to whom "with Thee, and thy Holy Spirit, be all Honour and "Glory, now and for ever. *Amen.*" The Protector died, *Sept.* 3. 1658. about Three in the Afternoon, the Day on which he had triumphed in the Battles of *Marſton-Moor*, *Dunbar*, and *Worceſter*, when he had lived Fifty nine Years, four Months, and eight Days; four Years and eight Months after he had been declared Protector by the *Inſtrument of Government*; and one Year and three Months after his Confirmation by the *Humble Petition and Advice*. As he had lived moſt Part of his Life in a Storm, his Death was attended with one of the greateſt Hurricanes that had been known for many Years. Some have ſaid, that next Night after his Death his Body was wrapped up in Lead and buried in *Naſeby Field*, according to his Deſire. Others, more probably, that it was interr'd privately in a Vault in King *Henry* the Seventh's Chapel, ſometime before the publick Funeral, which was performed *Nov.* 23. with all imaginable Grandeur and military Pomp, from *Somerſet Houſe*, where he had lain in State, to the *Abbey Church* in *Weſtminſter*, where a fine Mauſoleum was erected for him, on which his Effigies was placed, and exhibited to the View of all Spectators for a Time; but after the King's Reſtoration his Coffin was taken out of the Vault, and drawn upon a Sledge to *Tyburn*, where it was hanged up till Sun-ſet, and then buried under the Gallows.

His Character. Thus died the Mighty OLIVER CROMWEL, the greateſt Soldier and Stateſman of his Age, after he had undergone exceſſive Fatigues and Labours in a long Courſe of warlike Actions, and eſcaped innumerable Dangers from the Plots and Conſpiracies of domeſtick Enemies. Few Hiſtorians have ſpoken of him with Temper, tho' no other Genius, it may be, could have held the Reins, or ſteer'd the Commonwealth, through ſo

ſo many tempeſtuous Storms and Hurricanes, as the Factions of theſe Times had raiſed in the Nation. He was born in *Huntingtonſhire*, *April* 25. 1599. and deſcended of the Family of *Williams*, of *Glamorgan* in *Wales*, which aſſumed the Name of *Cromwel* by marrying with a Daughter of *Cromwel*, Earl of *Eſſex*, in the Reign of King *Henry* VIII. He was educated in *Cambridge*, and from thence became a Student of *Lincoln*'s *Inn*, being a wild and extravagant Youth till about the Thirty fifth Year of his Age, when he quitted his irregular Life, and became remarkably ſober. In the Year 1640. he was choſen Member of Parliament for the Town of *Cambridge*, and ſat two Years undiſtinguiſhed in the Houſe, as a meer Country Gentleman, appearing (ſays Sir *Philip Warwick*) in a plain Cloth Suit of Clothes made by a Country Taylor, his Linen not very clean, his Band unfaſhionable, his Hat without an Hatband, and his Sword cloſe by his Side; his Countenance was ſwoln and reddiſh, his Voice hoarſe and untunable, but his Elocution was full of Fervor and Warmth, and he was well heard in the Houſe. His Perſon ſomewhat exceeded the middle Stature, but was well proportion'd, and of a becoming Fatneſs. He had a maſculine Countenance, a ſparkling Eye, a manly ſtern Look, a ſtrong Conſtitution, and was an Enemy to Eaſe and Exceſs; the Motto upon his Coat of Arms was, *Pax quæritur Bello*.

Oliver *Protector.* 1658.

Upon the Breaking out of the Civil War he took Arms for the Parliament, and tho' he was Forty three Years of Age before he drew a Sword, he ſoon became Colonel of a Regiment of choſen Men, who declared they fought not for Gain, but for the *Cauſe of Religion and Liberty*. He always went to Prayer before Battle, and returned ſolemn Thanks for his Succeſs afterwards. He took great Care to promote an exact Diſcipline in the Army, and would not have pardoned his own Brother (ſays my Author) if he had found him plundering the Country People. The Army had not an Officer that faced Danger with greater

As a Soldier. Carrington's *Life of* Cromw. p. 243. Welw. Memoirs. p. 104.

Oliver *Protector.* 1658.

Intrepidity, nor that more eagerly ſought Occaſions to diſtinguiſh his perſonal Valour. He had a great Preſence of Mind in the Heat of Action, and taught his Soldiers to fight in a more deſperate Manner than uſual, not allowing them to diſcharge their Muſquets till they were ſo near the Enemy as to be ſure of doing Execution. His Reputation roſe ſo faſt that he quickly became Major General, then Lieutenant General under *Fairfax*, and at laſt his Succeſſor. His Troops believed themſelves invincible under his Conduct; he never loſt a Battle where he had the chief Command. The Victory at *Marſton Moor* was chiefly aſcribed to his Valour. The Reduction of *Ireland* in leſs than a Year made him the Terror of his Enemies; and the Battles of *Dunbar* and *Worceſter* compleated his martial Glory.

As a States Man.

How far his uſurping the *Protectorſhip* of the three Nations, without the previous Conſent of Parliament, was neceſſary, or criminal, has been conſider'd already; but if we view him as a *States-Man*, he was an able Politician, a bold and reſolute Governor; and tho' he had more numerous and powerful Enemies than any Man of the Age, he was never intimidated, but had a peculiar Art of keeping Men quiet, and giving them by turns hopes of his Favour. He had a wonderful Knowledge of Mankind, and an inimitable Art of diving into their very Hearts. If there was a Man in *England* that excell'd in any Faculty or Science, he would find him out, and reward him according to his Merit. In nothing was his good Underſtanding better diſcovered (ſays Biſhop *Burnet*) than in ſeeking out able and worthy Men for all Employments, which gave a general Satisfaction. By theſe Methods, in the Space of four or five Years, he carried the Reputation and Glory of the *Engliſh* Nation as high as it was capable of being raiſed. He was equally dreaded by *France*, *Spain*, and the *United Provinces*, who condeſcended to ſervile Compliances to obtain his Friendſhip; *Charles Guſtavus*, King of *Sweden*,

den, thought himſelf honoured by his Alliance; and Cardinal *Mazarine* ſaid, that nothing but the King of *France*'s having the Small Pox could have hinder'd him from coming over to *England*, that he might have the Honour of waiting on one of the greateſt Men that ever was. Oliver *Protector.* 1658.

The Protector had an abſolute Command of his Paſſions, and knew how to behave in Character upon all Occaſions; tho' in private Life he would be jocoſe and merry with his Inferiors; yet no Prince kept greater State upon publick Occaſions. His Ambaſſadors in foreign Courts had all the Reſpects paid them that our Kings ever had. All *Europe* trembled at his very Name! And tho' he could converſe with no Foreigners but in broken *Latin*, yet no Man had better Intelligence in all foreign Courts, nor underſtood the Intereſts of the ſeveral Princes better than himſelf. He had Spies in the Courts of *Spain* and *France*, and was ſo happy as to fix upon Perſons who never failed him. Mr. *Algernoon Sydney*, who was not inclined to think or ſpeak well of Kings, commended him to Biſhop *Burnet*, as one that had juſt Notions of publick Liberty; and tho' he made ſome ſevere and cruel Laws againſt the Epiſcopal Clergy, it was not for their Religion, but becauſe they were open and declared Enemies to his Perſon and Government. *His publick Character.*

The Protector was a Proteſtant, but affected to go under no Denomination or Party: He had Chaplains of all Perſuaſions; and tho' he was by Principle an *Independant*, he looked upon all Reformed Churches as part of the Catholick Church; and without aiming to eſtabliſh any Thing by Force or Violence, he witneſſed, on all Occaſions, an extreme Zeal for the Proteſtant Religion, and a juſt Regard for Liberty of Conſcience. *His Religion.*

As to his moral Character, his greateſt Enemies have not charged him with any publick Vices. Dr. *Welwood* admits, that he was not addicted to Swearing, Gluttony, Drunkenneſs, Gaming, Avarice, or the *And moral Character* Carrington, p. 248.

Oliver *Protector.* 1658.

the Love of Women, but kept close to his Marriage Bed. Nor is he chargeable with Covetousness, for it has been computed (says the Writer of his Life) that he distributed forty Thousand Pounds a Year out of his Privy Purse to charitable Uses. He promoted virtuous Men, and was inflexible in his Punishment of ill Actions. His Court was regulated according to a most strict Discipline (says Mr. *Eachard*) where every Vice was banished or severely punished. He maintained a constant Appearance of Piety, and was regular in his private and publick Devotions: He retired constantly every Day to read the Scriptures and Prayer; and some who watched him narrowly have reported, that after he had read and expounded a Chapter he prostrated himself with his Face on the Ground, and with Tears poured out his Soul to God for a Quarter of an Hour. He was a strict Observer of the Sabbath, and an Encourager of Goodness and Austerity of Life. Mr. *Baxter* admits, that "he kept as much Honesty and Godliness "as his Cause and Interest would allow; that he had "a Zeal for Religion, meant honestly in the main, "and was Pious in the main Course of his Life, till "Prosperity corrupted him."

His Enthusiasm.

But with all these good Qualities 'tis certain, the Protector was a strong Enthusiast, and did not take up his Religion upon rational or solid Principles, which led him into sundry Mistakes, not justifiable by Reason or Scripture. One of his Principles was called a *particular Faith*; that is, if any Thing was strongly impressed upon his Mind in Prayer he apprehended it came immediately from God, and was a *Rule of Action*; but if there were no Impressions, but a Flatness in his Devotions, it was a *Denial*. Upon this Maxim he is said to suffer the late King to be put to Death in an arbitrary and illegal Manner.—— Another Maxim was, that *in extraordinary Cases something extraordinary, or beyond the common Rules of Justice, may be done; that the moral Laws, which are binding in ordinary Cases, may then be dispensed with; and that*

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PRIVATE JUSTICE *muſt give way to* PUBLICK NECESSITY. Which was the Protector's governing Principle in all his unwarrantable Stretches of Power. A third Principle by which the Protector was miſled, was, *his determining the Goodneſs of a Cauſe by the Succeſs.* An Appeal to the Sword was with him *an Appeal to God*; and as Victory inclined, God owned or diſcountenanced the Cauſe —— 'Tis impoſſible that a Man's Conduct could be uniform or rational that was directed by ſuch imaginary Principles. Oliver *Protector.* 1658.

It has been further objected to the Protector's Character, that he was notoriouſly guilty of *Hypocriſy and Diſſimulation both to God and Man*; *that he mocked God by the Pretence of Piety and Devotion, and by long Prayers full of hypocritical Zeal.* But who can penetrate into the Heart, to ſee whether the outward Actions flow from an inward Principle? With regard to Men 'tis certain the Protector knew how to addreſs their Paſſions, and talk to them in their own Way; and if in his Devotions he utter'd with his Mouth what his Heart never meant, no one can vindicate him: But Men are not ſlightly to be arraign'd (ſays *Rapin*) for the inward Motions of their Heart, which paſs all human Knowledge —— Beſides, 'tis not eaſy to conceive the watchful Eyes that were upon him, and the vaſt Difficulties he had to contend with. Queen *Elizabeth*'s Diſſimulation has been extolled for the very ſame Reaſon that the Protector's is condemned: If therefore ſuch a Conduct was neceſſary to govern the ſeveral Parties, there is nothing greatly Blame-worthy in it (ſays the ſame Author) unleſs it was a Crime in him not to put it into the Power of his Enemies to deſtroy him with the greater Eaſe. *Objections againſt him conſidered.* *Diſſimulation.*

Ambition, and Thirſt of Glory, might ſometimes lead the Protector aſide, for he imagined himſelf to be a ſecond *Phineas*, raiſed up by Providence to be the Scourge of Idolatry and Superſtition, and in climbing up to the Pinnacle of ſupreme Power did not always keep within the Bounds of Law and Equity: To this *Ambition.*

ſome

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ſome have aſcribed his aſſuming the Protectorſhip, and putting himſelf at the Head of three Kingdoms; tho' others are of Opinion, it was owing to *hard Neceſſity* and *Self Preſervation*. I will not venture to decide in this Caſe; for poſſibly there might be a Mixture of both. When he was in Poſſeſſion of the ſovereign Power, no Man ever uſed it to greater publick Advantage, for he had a due Veneration for the Laws of his Country in all Things wherein the Life of his Juriſdiction was not concerned: And tho' he kept a Standing Army, they were under an exact Diſcipline, and very little Burden to the People.

Cruelty. The Charge of *Cruelty*, which is brought againſt him, for having put ſome Men to Death for conſpiring againſt his Perſon and Government, deſerves no Confutation, unleſs they would have had him ſit ſtill till ſome Conſpiracy or other had ſucceeded. Cruelty was not in his Nature; he was not for unneceſſary Effuſion of Blood. Lord *Clarendon* aſſures us, that when a general Maſſacre of the Royaliſts was propoſed by the Officers in Council, he warmly oppoſed and prevented it.

p. 102. Dr. *Welwood* compares the Protector to an unuſual Meteor, which with its ſurprizing Influences overawed not only three Kingdoms, but the moſt powerful Princes and States about us. A great Man he was (ſays he) and Poſterity might have paid a juſt Homage to his Memory, if he had not embrued his Hands in the Blood of his Prince, and trampled upon the Liberties of his Country.

Sum of his Character. Upon the Whole, it is not to be wonder'd, that the Character of this Great Man has been tranſmitted down to Poſterity with ſome Diſadvantage, by the ſeveral Factions of *Royaliſts*, *Presbyterians*, and *Republicans*, becauſe each were diſappointed, and enraged to ſee the ſupreme Power wreſted from them; but his Management is a convincing Proof of his great Abilities: He was at the Helm in the moſt ſtormy and tempeſtuous Seaſon that *England* ever ſaw; but by his conſummate Wiſ-

Wiſdom and Valour he diſconcerted the Meaſures and Deſigns of his Enemies, and preſerved both himſelf and the Commonwealth from Shipwreck. I ſhall only obſerve further, with *Rapin*, that the Confuſions that prevailed in *England* after the Death of *Cromwel*, clearly evidenced the Neceſſity of this Uſurpation, at leaſt till the Conſtitution could be reſtored. After his Death his great Atchievements were celebrated in Verſe by the greateſt Wits of the Age, as Dr. *Sprat* afterwards Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, *Waller*, *Dryden*, and others, who in their Panegyricks out-did every Thing which till that Time had been ſeen in the *Engliſh* Language. Oliver *Protector.* 1658.

Four Divines of the Aſſembly died this Year: Dr. *John Harris*, Son of *Richard Harris* of *Buckingham-ſhire*, born in the Parſonage Houſe of *Hardwick* in the ſame County, educated in *Wickham School*, near *Wincheſter*, and in the Year 1606. admitted perpetual Fellow of *New College*. He was ſo admirable a *Grecian*, and eloquent a Preacher, that Sir *Henry Saville* called him a ſecond St. *Chryſoſtom*. In 1619. he was choſen *Greek* Profeſſor of the Univerſity. He was afterwards Prebendary of *Wincheſter*, Rector of *Meonſtoke* in *Hampſhire*, and in the Year 1630. Warden of *Wickham College*, near *Wincheſter*; in all which Places he behaved with great Reputation. In the Beginning of the Civil Wars he took part with the Parliament, was choſen one of the Aſſembly of Divines, took the Covenant, and other Oaths, and kept his Wardenſhip to his Death; he publiſhed ſeveral learned Works, and died at *Wincheſter*, *Auguſt* 11. 1658. aged Seventy Years. *Death of Dr.* John Harris.

Mr. *Sydrach Sympſon*, a meek and quiet Divine, of the *Independant* Perſuaſion, was educated in *Cambridge*, but forced to fly his Country for Non-Conformity in the Times of Archbiſhop *Laud*. He was one of the Diſſenting Brethren in the Aſſembly, and behaved with great Temper and Moderation. Biſhop *Kennet* ſays, he was ſilenced for ſome Time from Preaching, becauſe he differed in Judgment from the Aſſembly in Points of Church Diſcipline, but was reſtored to his Liber- *Of Mr.* Sydrach Sympſon.

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Liberty *October* 28. 1646. He afterwards gathered a Congregation in *London*, after the Manner of the *Independants*, which met in *Ab-Church*, near *Cannon Street*. Upon the Reſignation of Mr. *Vines* in the Year 1650. for refuſing the *Engagement*, he was by the Viſitors made Maſter of *Pembroke Hall*, *Cambridge*. He was a Divine of conſiderable Learning, and of great Piety and Devotion. In his laſt Sickneſs he was under ſome Darkneſs, and melancholy Apprehenſions; upon which Account ſome of his Friends and Brethren aſſembled in his own Houſe to aſſiſt him with their Prayers; and in the Evening, when they took their Leave, he thanked them, and ſaid, He was now ſatisfied in his Soul; and lifting up his Hands towards Heaven, ſaid, *He is come, he is come.* And that Night he died.

Of Dr. Rob. Harris.

Dr. *Robert Harris* was born at *Broad Campden* in *Glouceſterſhire*, 1578. and educated in *Magdalen College Oxon*. He preached for ſome Time about *Oxford*, and ſettled afterwards at *Hanwel*, in the Place of famous Mr. *Dod*, then ſuſpended for Non-Conformity; here he continued till the Breaking out of the Civil Wars, when by the King's Soldiers he was driven to *London*. He was appointed one of the Aſſembly of Divines, and Miniſter of St. *Botolph*, *Biſhopſgate*. In the Year 1646. he was one of the ſix Preachers to the Univerſity of *Oxford*, and next Year one of their Viſitors, when he was created *D. D.* and made Preſident of *Trinity College*, and Rector of *Garlington* near *Oxford*, which is always annexed to it. Here he continued till his Death, governing his College with a paternal Affection, being reverenced by the Students as a Father. The Inſcription over his Grave gives him a great Character; but the Royaliſts charge him, and I believe juſtly, with being a notorious Pluraliſt. He died *December* 11. 1658. in the Eightieth Year of his Age.

Of Mr. William Carter.

Mr. *William Carter* was educated in *Cambridge* and afterwards a very popular Preacher in *London*

He was a good Scholar, of great Seriousneſs, and tho' but a young Man, appointed one of the Aſſembly of Divines. After ſome Time he joined the *Independants*, and became one of the Diſſenting Brethren in the Aſſembly. He had Offers of many Livings but refuſed them, being diſſatisfied with the Parochial Diſcipline of thoſe Times; nevertheleſs, he was indefatigable in his Miniſtry, preaching twice every Lord's Day to two large Congregations in the City, beſides Lectures on the Week Days: This waſted his Strength, and put an End to his Life about *Midſummer*, 1658. in the Fifty third Year of his Age. His Family were afterwards great Sufferers by the Purchaſe of Biſhops Lands.

Oliver *Protector.* 1658.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

The Inter-Regnum from the Death of OLIVER CROMWEL *to the Reſtoration of King* CHARLES II. *and the Re-Eſtabliſhment of the Church of* England.

Inter-Regnum. 1659.

UPON the Death of the *Protector* all the diſcontented Spirits that had been ſubdued by his Adminiſtration reſumed their Courage, and within the Compaſs of one Year reviv'd all the Confuſions of the laſt Ten. RICHARD CROMWEL being proclaimed Protector upon his Father's Deceaſe, received numberleſs Addreſſes from all Parts, congratulating his Acceſſion to the Dignity of Protector, with Aſſurances of Lives and Fortunes chearfully devoted to ſupport his Title. He was a young Gentleman of a calm and peaceable Temper, but had by no means the Capacity or Courage of his Father, and was therefore unfit to be at the Helm in ſuch boiſterous Times. He was highly careſs'd by the Preſbyterians, tho' he ſet out upon the Principles of a general Toleration, as appears by his Declaration of *Nov.* 25. entitled. *A Proclamation for the better Encouraging of godly Miniſters, and others*; and for their enjoying their Dues and Liberties according to Law, without being moleſted with Indictments for not uſing the Common-Prayer Book.

Richard Protector.

Summonſes a Parliament.

The young Protector ſummoned a Parliament to meet on the 27th of *Jan.* 1658-9. The Elections were not according to the Method practiſed by his Father, but according to the old Conſtitution, becauſe it was apprehended that the ſmaller Boroughs might be more eaſily influenced, than Cities and Counties; but it was ill judged to break in upon the Inſtrument of Government, by which he held his Protectorſhip. The Parliament met according to Appointment, but did little Buſineſs, the Lower Houſe not

not being willing to own the Upper. The Army was divided into two grand Factions; the *Wallingford Houſe* Party, which was for a Commonwealth; and the Preſbyterian, which with the Majority of the Parliament, was for the Protector. The *Wallingford Houſe* Party, of which *Fleetwood* and *Desborough* were the Head, invited Dr. *Owen* and Dr. *Manton* to their Conſultations. Dr. *Owen* went to Prayer before they enter'd on Buſineſs, but Dr. *Manton* being late before he came, heard a loud Voice from within, ſaying, *He muſt down, and he ſhall down.* *Manton* knew the Voice to be Dr. *Owen*'s, and underſtood him to mean the Depoſing of *Richard*, and therefore would not go in. But the Writer of Dr. *Owen*'s Life diſcredits this Story; tho', in my Opinion, 'tis very probable, for the Doctor inclined to a Commonwealth Government; He ſided with the Army, and drew up their Addreſs againſt *Oliver*'s being King; upon which he declined in the Protector's Favour, and as ſoon as *Richard* became Chancellor of *Oxford* he turn'd him out of the Vice-Chancellorſhip. The Cabinet Council at *Wallingford Houſe* having gain'd over ſeveral to their Party, prevailed with *Richard* to conſent to their erecting a *General Council* of Officers, though he could not but know they deſigned his Ruin, being all Republicans; and therefore, inſtead of ſupporting the Protector, they preſented a Remonſtrance, complaining of the Advancement of diſaffected Perſons, and that the *good old Cauſe* was ridicul'd. *Richard* ſenſible of his fatal Miſtake, by the Advice of Lord *Broghil*, diſſolved the Council, and then the Parliament voted that they ſhould meet no more; but the Officers bid him Defiance, and like a Company of ſovereign Dictators armed with Power, ſent the Protector a peremptory Meſſage to diſſolve the Parliament, telling him that it was impoſſible for him to keep both the Parliament and Army at his Devotion, but that he might chooſe which he would prefer;

Inter-Regnum. 1659.

Walling-ford Houſe *Party.*

Inter-Regnum. 1659.

fer; if he diſſolved the Parliament he might depend upon the Army, but if he refuſed, they would quickly pull him out of *Whitehall*. Upon this the timorous Gentleman being in Diſtreſs, and deſtitute of his Father's Courage, ſubmitted to part with the only Men who could ſupport him.

Richard *depoſed by the Army.*

After the Diſſolution of the Parliament *Richard* became a Cypher in the Government; Lord *Broghil*, afterwards Earl of *Orrery*, adviſed him to the laſt to ſupport the Parliament and declare againſt the Council of Officers; and if he had allowed the Captain of his Guard at the ſame Time to have ſecured *Fleetwood* and *Desborough*, as he undertook to do, with the Hazard of his Life, he might have been eſtabliſh'd; but the poor-ſpirited Protector told him, that *he was afraid of Blood*; upon which the Captain, Lord *Howard*, made his Peace with the King. The Officers at *Wallingford Houſe* having gained this Point, publiſhed a Declaration about twelve Days after, without ſo much as aſking the Protector's Leave, inviting the Remains of the Long Parliament to reſume the Government, who immediately declared their Reſolutions for a Commonwealth without a ſingle Perſon, or Houſe of Peers.

Rump Parliament reſtored.

Thus was the Grandeur of *Cromwel*'s Family deſtroy'd by the Pride and Reſentment of ſome of its own Branches: *Fleetwood* had married the Widow of *Ireton*, one of *Oliver*'s Daughters, and being diſappointed of the Protectorſhip by his laſt Will, was determined that no ſingle Perſon ſhould be his Superior. *Desborough*, who had married *Oliver*'s Siſter, joined in the fatal Conſpiracy. *Lambert*, whom *Oliver* had diſmiſſed the Army, was called from his Retirement to take his Place among the Council of Officers. Theſe, with Sir *H. Vane*, and one or two more behind the Curtain, ſubverted the Government, and were the Springs of all the Confuſions of this Year, as is evident by the Letters of Mr. *Henry Cromwel*, Lord Lie-

Lieutenant of *Ireland*, now before me, who ſaw farther into their Intrigues at that diſtance, than the Protector who was upon the Spot. I ſhall take the Liberty to tranſcribe ſome Paſſages out of them. Inter-Regnum. 1659.

Upon the ſurprizing News of *Oliver*'s Death he writes to his Brother, *Sept.* 18. 1658. —— "I am "ſo aſtoniſhed at the News of my dear Father's Sick- "neſs and Death, that I know not what to ſay or "write on ſo ſad and grievous an Occaſion; but the "happy News of leaving your Highneſs his Succeſ- "ſor gives ſome Relief, not only on Account of the "Publick, but of our poor Family, which the Good- "neſs of God has preſerved from the Contempt of "our Enemies. I may ſay without Vanity, that your "Highneſs has been proclaimed here with as great "Joy, and general Satisfaction (I believe) as in the "beſt affected Places of *England*; and I make no "doubt of the dutiful Compliance of the Army. "Now, that the God of your late Father and mine, "and your Highneſs's Predeceſſor, would ſupport you, "and pour down a double Portion of the ſame Spirit "that was ſo eminently in him, and would enable you "to walk in his Steps, and do worthily for his Name- "ſake and People, and continually preſerve you in "ſo doing, is the Prayer of" H. Cromwel's *Letters from* Ireland. MS. penes me.

Yours, &c.
H. C.

In another Letter of the ſame Date, ſent by an expreſs Meſſenger, he writes, that "he had cauſed a very "dutiful Addreſs to be ſent to the Army, which had "been already ſigned by ſeveral of the Field Officers, "and when perfected, ſhould be ſent to him as a Wit- "neſs againſt any ſingle Officer that ſhould hereafter "warp from his Obedience; ſo that I may and do aſ- "ſure your Highneſs of the active Subjection of this "Army to your Government, and will anſwer for it "with my Life ——"

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In his Letter of *October* 20. 1658. he ſays, "If "the Account be true which I have received of the "State of Affairs in *England*, I confeſs 'tis no more "than I look'd for, only I had ſome hopes it might "have been prevented by keeping all Officers at their "reſpective Charges, but as Things now ſtand, I "doubt the Flood is ſo ſtrong you can neither ſtem "it, nor come to an Anchor, but muſt be content to "go adrift and expect the Ebb. I thought thoſe "whom my Father had raiſed from nothing would "not ſo ſoon have forgot him, and endeavour to deſtroy "his Family before he is in his Grave. Why do I "ſay I thought, when I know Ambition, and Affec-"tation of Empire never had any Bounds. I cannot "think theſe Men will ever reſt till they are in the "Saddle; and we have of late Years been ſo uſed to "Changes, that it will be but a nine Day's Wonder; "and yet I fear there is no Remedy, but what muſt "be uſed gradually and *pedetentim*. Sometimes I "think of a Parliament, but am doubtful whether ſo-"ber Men will venture to embark themſelves when "Things are in ſo high a Diſtraction; or if they "would, whether the Army can be reſtrained from "forceing Elections. —— I am almoſt afraid to come "over to your Highneſs, leſt I ſhould be kept there, "and ſo your Highneſs loſe this Army, which, for "ought I know, is the only Stay you have, tho' I "cannot but earneſtly deſire it. I alſo think it dan-"gerous to write freely to you, for I make no Que-"ſtion but all the Letters will be opened that paſs "between us, unleſs they come by a truſty Meſ-"ſenger. I pray God help you, and bleſs your "Councils."

I remain, yours, &c.

H. C.

In a Letter of the ſame Date to his Brother-in-law *Fleetwood*, he writes:

Dear

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Letter to L. G. Fleetwood.

Dear BROTHER,

" I Received your Account of the Petition of the " Officers; but pray give me leave to expoſtulate " with you; how came theſe two or three Hundred " Officers together? If they came of their own Heads, " their being abſent from their Charge without Li- " cenſe would have flown in their Face when they pe- " titioned for a due Obſervance of martial Diſcipline. " If they were called together, were they not alſo " taught what to ſay and do? If they were called, was " it with his Highneſs's Privity? If they met without " Leave in ſo great a Number, were they told their " Error? I ſhall not meddle with the Matter of their " Petition; but, *Dear Brother*, I muſt tell you, I " hear that Dirt was thrown upon his late Highneſs at " that great Meeting: That they were exhorted to " ſtand up for that good old Cauſe which had long " lain aſleep —— I thought my Father had purſued it " to the laſt. He died, praying for thoſe that deſi- " red to trample on his Duſt. Let us then not render " Evil for Good, and make his Memory ſtink before " he is under Ground. Let us remember his laſt Le- " gacy, and for his ſake render his Succeſſor conſider- " able, and not make him vile, a Thing of nought, " and a By-word. Whither do theſe Things tend? " What a Hurly-Burly is there? One Hundred Inde- " pendant Miniſters called together; a Council, as " you call it, of two or three Hundred Officers of a " Judgment. Remember what has always befallen " impoſing Spirits. Will not the Loins of an impo- " ſing Independant, or Anabaptiſt, be as heavy as " the Loins of an impoſing Prelate, or Preſbyter? " And is it a dangerous Opinion, that *Dominion is* " *founded in Grace*, when it is held by the Church of " *Rome*, and a ſound Principle when it is held by the " Fifth Monarchy Men, *Dear Brother*, Let us not " fall into the Sins of other Men leſt we partake of " their Plagues. Let it be ſo carried, that all the

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" People of God, tho' under different Forms; yea, " even thoſe whom you count *without*, may enjoy " their Birthright and Civil Liberty; and that no one " Party may tread upon the Neck of another. It " does not become the Magiſtrate to deſcend into Par- " ties; but can the Things you do tend to this End? " Can theſe Things be done, and the World not think " his Highneſs a Knave or a Fool, or oppreſſed with " mutinous Spirits? *Dear Brother*, my Spirit is ſore- " ly oppreſſed with the Conſideration of the miſerable " State of the innocent People of theſe Nations: What " have theſe Sheep done that their Blood ſhould be the " Price of our Luſt and Ambition? Let me beg you " to remember, how his late Highneſs loved you; " how he honoured you with the higheſt Truſt, by " leaving the Sword in your Hand, which muſt de- " fend or deſtroy us. And his declaring your *Highneſs* " his Succeſſor, ſhews, that he left it there to preſerve " him and his Reputation. *O Brother!* Uſe it to " curb extravagant Spirits, and Buſy-bodies, but let " not the Nations be governed by it. Let us take " heed of arbitrary Power; let us be governed by the " known Laws of the Land; and let all Things be " kept in their proper Channels; and let the Army " be ſo governed, that the World may never hear of " them unleſs there be Occaſion to fight. And truly, " *Brother*, you muſt pardon me, if I ſay God and " Man may require this Duty at your Hand, and lay " all Miſcarriages of the Army, in point of Diſcipline, " at your Doors. You ſee I deal freely and plainly " with you, as becomes your Friend, and a good " Subject. And the great God, in whoſe Preſence I " ſpeak, knows that I do it not to reproach you, but " out of my tender Affection and Faithfulneſs to you. " And you may reſt aſſured, that you ſhall always " find me,

Your true Friend, and loving Brother,

H. C.

In

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In other Letters to Lord *Broghil*, afterwards Earl of *Orrery*, with whom he maintained an intimate Correſpondence, " He complains of his being forbid to " come over into *England*; and that the Clauſe in his " new Commiſſion was left out; namely, the Power " of appointing a Deputy, or Juries, in order to pre- " vent his coming over to *England*, which he hopes " his Highneſs will permit, there being much more " Cauſe to preſs it now than ever." " I find (ſays he in " a Letter to the Protector) that my Enemies have " ſentenced me to an honourable Baniſhment; I am " not conſcious of any Crime which might deſerve it; " but if they can denounce Judgment upon my Inno- " cence they will eaſily be able to make me Criminal. " They have already begot a Doubt among my " Friends, whether all be right; but I will rather ſub- " mit to any Sufferings with a good Name, than be " the greateſt Man upon Earth without it" —— In a Letter to Secretary *Thurloe* he writes, " that ſince he " was not allowed to leave *Ireland* he could do no " more than ſit ſtill and look on. The Elections for " Parliament are like to be good here (ſays he) " tho' I could wiſh the Writs had come ſo time- " ly that the Members might have been there before " they had been excluded by a Vote, which, 'tis ſaid, " will be the firſt Thing brought upon the Stage —" From theſe, and ſome other of his Letters, 'tis natural to conclude, that Lieutenant General *Fleetwood* was at the Head of the Councils that depoſed *Richard*, which might be owing either to his Commonwealth Principles, or to his Diſappointment of the Protectorſhip. However, when he found he could not keep the Army within Bounds, who were for new Changes, he retired from publick Buſineſs, and ſpent the Remainder of his Life privately among his Friends at *Stoke-Newington*, where he died ſoon after the Revolution, being more remarkable for Piety and Devotion than for Courage or deep Penetration in Politicks.

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To return; after the Rump Parliament had ſat about a Week, the Officers petitioned, "1. That the "Laws might have their free Courſe. 2. That all "publick Debts unſatisfied might be paid. 3. That "all who profeſs Faith in the Holy Trinity, and ac- "knowledge the Holy Scriptures to be the revealed "Will of God, may have Protection and Encourage- "ment in the Profeſſion of their Religion, while they "give no Diſturbance to the State, except Papiſts, "Prelatiſts, and Perſons who teach licentious Do- "ctrines. 4. That the two Univerſities, and all "Schools of Learning, may be countenanced. 5. That "thoſe who took part with the King in the late Wars, "or are notoriouſly diſaffected to the Parliament's "Cauſe, may be removed from all Places of Truſt. "6. That the Protector's Debts be paid, and an Al- "lowance of ten Thouſand Pounds *per Ann.* be allow- "ed to *Richard* and his Heirs for ever. 7. That "there may be a Repreſentative of the People, con- "ſiſting of one Houſe, ſucceſſively choſen by the "People; and that the Government of the Nation "may be placed in ſuch a Repreſentative Body, with "a ſelect Senate co-ordinate in Power; and that the "Adminiſtration of all executive Power of Govern- "ment may be in a Council of State, conſiſting of a "convenient Number of Perſons eminent for God- "lineſs, and who are in Principle for the preſent "Cauſe."

Petition of the Army.

Richard *reſigns the Protectorſhip.*

The Parliament thanked the Officers for their Petition, but poſtponed the Affair relating to *Richard* till he ſhould acquieſce in the Change of Government. The Protector having parted with the Parliament who were his chief Support, had not the Courage and Reſolution to ſtrike a bold Stroke for three Kingdoms, but tamely ſubmitted to reſign his *high Dignity*, by a Writing under his Hand, after he had enjoyed it but eight Months. How little the Soul of OLIVER was in his Son *Richard* may be

be ſeen by this Conduct! His Brother *Henry*, who was at the Head of an Army in *Ireland*, offered to come immediately to his Aſſiſtance, but was forbid, and the timorous young Gentleman returned to a private Life with more ſeeming Satisfaction than when he was advanced to the Sovereignty. Upon his quitting *Whitehall*, and the other Royal Palaces, the Parliament voted him a Maintenance, but refuſed to concern themſelves with his Father's Debts, the Payment of which ſwept away the greateſt Part of his Eſtate, which was far from being large, conſidering the high Preferments his Father had enjoy'd for ſeveral Years. This was a further Contempt thrown upon the Protector's Memory; former Obligations were forgotten, and a new Council of State being choſen, the Nation ſeemed to return peaceably to a Commonwealth Government. Inter-Regnum. 1659.

The Preſbyterians would have been content with *Richard*'s Government; but ſeeing no Likelihood of Reſtoring the Covenant, or coming into Power, by the Rump Parliament, which was chiefly made up of Enthuſiaſts, and declared Enemies to Monarchy, They entered into a Kind of Confederacy with the Royaliſts to reſtore the King and the Old Conſtitution. The Particulars of this Union (ſays *Rapin*) are not known, becauſe the Hiſtorians who write of it being all Royaliſts, have not thought fit to do ſo much Honour to the Preſbyterians. But it is generally agreed, that from this Time the Preſbyterians appeared no longer among the King's Enemies, but very much promoted his Reſtoration. Upon the Foundation of this Union an Inſurrection was formed in ſeveral Parts of the Country, but was diſcovered by Sir *Richard Willis*, a Correſpondent of Secretary *Thurloe*'s, ſo that only Sir *George Booth*, a Preſbyterian, had an Opportunity of appearing about *Cheſter*, at the Head of five or ſix Hundred Men, declaring for a free Parliament, without mentioning the King; but he and Sir *Thomas Middleton*, who joined him, were defeated by *Lambert*, Preſbyterians *for reſtoring the King*. *Inſurrection of Sir G. Booth.*

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bert, and taken Priſoners. The King and Duke of *York* came to *Calais* to be in Readineſs, but upon the Miſcarriage they retired, and his Majeſty in deſpair determin'd to rely upon the *Roman* Catholick Powers for the future. Several of the Preſbyterian Miniſters appeared in this Inſurrection, as the Reverend Mr. *Newcomb* of *Mancheſter*, Mr. *Eaton* of *Walton*, and Mr. *Finch*, Chaplain to Sir *George Booth*, all ejected by the Act of Uniformity.

Parliament attempt to reduce the Army.

The Parliament to ſecure their Commonwealth Government, firſt appointed an Oath of Abjuration, whereby they renounced Allegiance to *Charles Stuart*, and the whole Race of King *James*, and promiſed Fidelity to the Commonwealth without a ſingle Perſon or Houſe of Peers. They then attempted the Reduction of the Army, which had ſet them up, depending upon the Aſſurances General *Monk* had given them from *Scotland*, of his Army's entire Submiſſion to their Orders; but the *Engliſh* Officers, inſtead of ſubmitting, ſtood in their own Defence, and preſented another Petition to the Houſe, deſiring their former Addreſs from *Wallingford Houſe* might not lie aſleep, but that *Fleetwood*, whom they had choſen for their General, might be confirmed in his high Station. The Houſe demurred upon the Petition, and ſeeing there was like to be a new Conteſt for Dominion, endeavoured to divide the Officers, by caſhiering ſome, and paying others their Arrears. Upon this the Officers preſented a third Petition to the ſame Purpoſe; but the Parliament being out of all Patience, told them their Complaints were without juſt Grounds, and caſhiered Nine of the Chiefs, among whom were Lieutenant General *Fleetwood*, *Lambert*, *Desborough*, *Berry*, *Kelſey*, *Cobbet*, and others of the firſt Rank; by which Things were brought to this Criſis, that the Army muſt ſubmit to the Parliament, or boldly diſſolve them. The diſcarded Officers reſolved on the latter, for which Purpoſe, *October* 13. *Lambert* with his Forces ſecured all the Avenues to the Parliament Houſe,

And are turned out.

and as the *Speaker* paſſed by *Whitehall* he rid up to his Coach, and having told him there was nothing to be done at *Weſtminſter*, commanded Major *Creed* to conduct him back to his Houſe. At the ſame Time all the Members were ſtop'd in their Paſſage, and prevented from taking their Seats in Parliament; *Fleetwood* having placed a ſtrong Guard at the Door of the Parliament Houſe for that purpoſe. Thus the Remains of the Long Parliament, after they had ſat five Months and ſix Days, having no Army to ſtand by them, were turned out of their Houſe a ſecond Time, by a Company of head-ſtrong Officers, who knew how to pull down, but could not agree upon any Form of Government to ſet up in its place. Inter-Regnum. 1659.

There being now a perfect Anarchy, the Officers, who were Maſters of the Nation, firſt appointed a Council of Ten of their own Body to take care of the Publick, and having reſtored their General Officers, they concluded upon a ſelect Number of Men to aſſume the Adminiſtration, under the Title of a *Committee of Safety*, which conſiſted of Twenty three Perſons, who had the ſame Authority and Power that the late *Council of State* had, to manage all publick Affairs, till they could agree upon a new Settlement. The People of *England* were highly diſguſted with theſe Changes, but there was no Parliament nor King to fly to; many of the Gentry therefore from ſeveral Parts ſent Letters to General *Monk* in *Scotland*, inviting him to march his Army into *England* to obtain a free Parliament, and promiſing him all neceſſary Aſſiſtance. *Committee of Safety.*

The *Committee of Safety* being aware of this, attempted an Accommodation with *Monk* by *Clarges*, his Brother-in-law, but without Succeſs, for they had not ſat above a Fortnight before they received Letters from *Scotland*, full of Reproaches for their late Violation of Faith to the Parliament, and of the General's Reſolution to march his Army into *England* to reſtore them. Upon this *Lambert* was ſent immediately to the Frontiers, who quartering his Soldiers about *New-caſtle*, *G. Monk marches into England for a free Parliament.*

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caſtle, put a Stop to *Monk*'s March for about a Month. In the mean Time the General, in order to gain Time, ſent Commiſſioners to *London*, to come to Terms with the *Committee of Safety*, who were ſo ſupple, that a Treaty was concluded *November* 15. but when it was brought to *Monk* he pretended his Commiſſioners had exceeded their Inſtructions, and refuſed to ratify it. The *Council of State* therefore, which ſat before the Rump Parliament was interrupted, taking Advantage of this, reſolved to gain over *Monk* to their Party, and being aſſembled privately, ſent him a Commiſſion, conſtituting him *General of the Armies of* England, Scotland, *and* Ireland, which was the very Thing he deſired.

The Army reſtores the Parliament.

The *General* having ſecured *Scotland*, and put Garriſons into the fortified Places, marched to the Borders with no more than five Thouſand Men; but while *Lambert* was encamped about *Newcaſtle* to oppoſe his Progreſs, it appeared that the Nation was ſick of the Frenzies of the Officers, and willing to prefer any Government to the preſent Anarchy; *Portſmouth*, and part of the Fleet revolted, and declared for a *free Parliament*, as did ſeveral Detachments of the Army; upon which *Lambert* retired towards *London*, and made way for *Monk*'s entring *England*. The *Committee of Safety* ſeeing all Things in Confuſion, and not knowing whom to truſt, reſigned their Authority, and reſtored the Parliament, which met again *Dec.* 26. and would now have been glad to have had *Monk* back again in *Scotland*; for this Purpoſe they ſent Letters to acquaint him with their Reſtoration, and that now he might return to his Government in *Scotland*; but the General having enter'd *England*, *Jan.* 2. continued his March towards *London*, deſigning a new as well as a free Parliament. When he came to *York* Lord *Fairfax* received him into that City, and declared for a new and free Parliament; as did the *London* Apprentices, and great Numbers of all Ranks and Orders of Men both in City and Country. The Rump being ſuſpicious that *Monk* had ſome further Deſign, either

But Monk *continues his March.*

either of eſtabliſhing himſelf after the Example of *Cromwel*, or of Reſtoring the King, obliged him to take the Oath of Abjuration of *Charles Stuart*, already mentioned, and to ſwear, that by the Grace and Aſſiſtance of Almighty God he would be true, faithful, and conſtant to the Parliament and Commonwealth; and that he would oppoſe the bringing in, or ſetting up any ſingle Perſon or Houſe of Lords in this Commonwealth. They alſo ſent Mr. *Scot* and *Robinſon* to be Spies upon his Conduct, who came to him at *Leiceſter*, where he received Addreſſes from divers Parts to reſtore the ſecluded Preſbyterian Members of 1648. which was the firſt Step towards the King's Reſtoration. Thus a few giddy Politicians at the Head of an Army, through Ambition, Envy, Luſt of Power; or becauſe they knew not what to carve out for themſelves, threw the whole Kingdom back into Confuſion, and made way for that Reſtoration they were moſt afraid of, and which, without their own Quarrels, and inſulting every Form of Government that had been ſet up, could not have been accompliſhed. Inter-Regnum. 1659.

When the General came to St. *Albans* he ſent a Meſſage, to deſire the Parliament to remove the Regiments quarter'd in the City to ſome diſtance, which they weakly complied with, and made way for *Monk*'s Entrance with his Forces in a Sort of Triumph, *February* 3. 1659-60. Being conducted to the Parliament Houſe, the Speaker gave him Thanks for his great and many Services; and the General having returned the Compliment, acquainted the Houſe, "That ſeveral Applications had been made to him in "his March from *Scotland*, for a full and free Parlia-"ment; for the Admiſſion of the ſecluded Members "in 1648. without any previous Oath or Engage-"ment, and that the preſent Parliament would deter-"mine their ſitting. To all which he had replied, "That they were now a *free* Parliament, and had "voted to fill up their Houſe in order to their being a *And enters the City.*

"*full*

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" *full* Parliament; but to reſtore the ſecluded Mem-
" bers without a previous Oath to the preſent Govern-
" ment, is what had never been done in *England*;
" but he took the Liberty to add, that he was of Opi-
" nion, that the fewer Oaths the better, provided they
" took care that neither the *Cavaliers* nor *Fanaticks*
" ſhould have any ſhare in the Adminiſtration."

Controverſy between the City and Parliament.

The Citizens of *London* being Preſbyterian fell in with *Monk*, in hopes of a better Eſtabliſhment, and came to a bold Reſolution in Common-Council, *Feb.* 17. to pay no more Taxes till the Parliament was filled up. Upon this the Houſe, to ſhew their Reſentments, ordered the General to march into the City; to ſeize Eleven of the moſt active Common-Council-Men, and to pull down their Gates, Chains, and Portcullises. This was bidding them Defiance at a Time when they ought to have courted their Friendſhip. *Monk* having arreſted the Common-Council-Men prayed the Parliament to ſuſpend the Execution of the remaining Part, but they inſiſting upon his Compliance, he obeyed. The Citizens were enraged at this Act of Violence; and *Monk*'s Friends told him, that his embroiling himſelf with the City in this Manner would inevitably be his Ruin, for without their Aſſiſtance he could neither ſupport himſelf, nor obtain another Parliament; People being now generally of Opinion with *O. Cromwel*, that *the Rump Parliament was deſigned to be perpetual, and their Government as arbitrary as the moſt deſpotick King*. *Monk* therefore convinced of his Miſtake, reſolved to reconcile himſelf to the Magiſtracy of the City, in order to which, he ſent his Brother *Clarges* to aſſure them of his Concern for what he had done; and having ſummoned a Council of Officers in the Night, he ſent a Letter to the Parliament, inſiſting upon their iſſuing out Writs to fill up their Houſe, and when filled, to riſe at an appointed Time, and give way to a full and free Parliament. Upon reading this Letter the Houſe voted him Thanks, and ſent to acquaint him, that they were taking Meaſures to ſatisfy his

Monk *pulls down their Gates*

But is reconciled to them.

his Requeſt; but the *General* not willing to truſt himſelf in their Hands, broke up from *Whitehall*, and having been invited by the Lord Mayor of *London*, and the chief Preſbyterian Miniſters, marched his whole Army into the City; and a Common-Council being called, he excuſed his late Conduct, and acquainted them with the Letter he had ſent to the Houſe, aſſuring them, that he would now ſtand by them to the utmoſt of his Power. This appeaſed the angry Citizens, and cauſed them to treat him as their Friend, notwithſtanding what had happen'd the Day before. When the News of this Reconciliation was ſpread through the Town, the Parliament were ſtruck with ſurprize; but there was a perfect Triumph among the People, the Bells rung, Bonefires were made, and Numbers of *Rumps* thrown into them, in contempt of the *Parliament*.

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He reſtores the ſecluded Members of 1648.

The General being now ſupported by the Citizens, proceeded to reſtore the ſecluded Members of 1648. who were of the Preſbyterian Party; for this Purpoſe he appointed a Conference between them and ſome of the ſitting Members, which miſcarried, becauſe the ſitting Members could not undertake that the Parliament would ſtand to their Agreement. Upon which *Monk* reſolved to reſtore them immediately by Force, leſt the Parliament and their Army ſhould come to an Accommodation, and diſlodge him from the City. Accordingly he ſummoned the ſecluded Members to *Whitehall*, *Feb.* 21. and having acquainted them with his Deſign, exhorted them to take care of the true Intereſt of the Nation, and told them, "That "the Citizens of *London* were for a *Commonwealth*, the "old Foundations of *Monarchy* being ſo broken that "it could not be reſtored but upon the Ruins of the "People, who had engaged for the Parliament; for "if the King ſhould return (ſays he) he will govern "by arbitrary Will and Power. Beſides, if the Go-"vernment of the State be *Monarchical*, the Church "muſt follow, and Prelacy be brought in, which I "know

K. Chr. p. 63.

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"know the Nation cannot bear, and have ſworn "againſt; and therefore a moderate, not a rigid Preſ- "byterian Government, with Liberty of Conſcience, "will be the moſt acceptable Way to the Churches "Settlement." He then obliged them to ſubſcribe the following Articles, "1. To ſettle the Armies ſo as to "preſerve the Peace. 2. To provide for their Sup- "port, and pay their Arrears. 3. To conſtitute a "Council of State for *Scotland* and *Ireland*. And, "4. To call a new Parliament and diſſolve the pre- "ſent." And ſo diſmiſſed them, with a ſtrong Party of Guards to ſee them take their Places in the Houſe. This Speech was very diſtant from what is pretended the General had in view, and ſeems to have been drawn up by ſome of the moderate Preſbyterians, with whom he kept a cloſe Correſpondence. And tho' he did not turn the Members out of the Houſe, as *Cromwel* did, yet his diſcharging the Parliament Guards, and placing a ſtrong Body of his own Horſe at the Door, without leave of the Parliament, gave them ſufficiently to underſtand, what would be the Conſequence of their making Oppoſition.

Proceedings of Parliament. Rapin.

The Houſe thus enlarged became entirely Preſbyterian. They ratified their Vote of *December* 1648. (*viz.*) That the King's Conceſſions at the *Iſle of Wight* were a ſufficient Ground for Peace —— They annulled the *Engagement* of 1649. —— They put the Militia into new Hands, with this Limitation, that *none ſhould be employed in that Truſt but who would firſt declare under their Hands, that they believed the War raiſed by both Houſes of Parliament againſt the King was juſt and lawful, till ſuch Time as Force and Violence was uſed upon the Parliament in* 1648. —— They repealed the Oath of Abjuration of *Charles Stuart* —— They appointed a new Council of State, and declared for a free Commonwealth —— For a learned and pious Miniſtry —— For the Continuance of Tithes, and for the Augmentation of ſmaller Livings by the Tenths and Firſt-Fruits —— They reſolved to encourage the two

two Univerſities, and all other Schools of Learning — And (to content the *Independants*) they voted, that Proviſion ſhould be made for a due Liberty of Conſcience in Matters of Religion, according to the Word of God. Inter-Regnum. 1659.

Thus all Things ſeemed to return to the Condition they were in at the Treaty of the *Iſle of Wight*. The Preſbyterians being now again in the Saddle, a Day of Thankſgiving was kept; after which the City Miniſters petitioned for the Redreſs of ſundry Grievances; as, "1. That a more effectual Courſe be taken againſt "Papiſts. 2. That the Quakers be prohibited open- "ing their Shops on the Sabbath Day. 3. That the "publick Miniſters may not be diſturbed in their "publick Services." They requeſted the Houſe to eſtabliſh the Aſſembly's Confeſſion of Faith, Directory, and Catechiſms; to appoint Perſons for Approbation of Miniſters, 'till the next Parliament ſhall take further Order; and to call another Aſſembly of Divines, to be choſen by the Miniſters of the ſeveral Counties, to heal the Diviſions of the Nation. *Preſbytery reſtored.* K. Chr. P. 52, 75.

In anſwer to theſe Requeſts the Houſe agreed to a Bill, *March* 2. for Approbation of publick Miniſters, according to the Directory, and named Mr. *Manton*, and ſeveral others of the Preſbyterian Perſuaſion, for that Service; which paſſed into an Act *March* 14. They declared for the Aſſembly's Confeſſion of Faith, except the 30th and 31ſt Chapters of Diſcipline, and appointed a Committee to prepare an Act, declaring it to be the *publick Confeſſion of Faith of the Church of England*. The Act paſſed the Houſe *March* 5. and was ordered to be printed; Dr. *Reynolds*, Mr. *Manton* and *Calamy* to have the Care of the Preſs. On the ſame Day they ordered *the Solemn League and Covenant* to be re-printed, and ſet up in every Church in *England*, and read publickly by the Miniſter once every Year.

Thus Preſbytery was reſtored to all the Power it had ever enjoyed; and the Miniſters of that Perſuaſion were *Preſbyterians in full Poſſeſſion of the Nation.*

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were in full Poſſeſſion of all the Livings in *England*. A Reform was made in the Militia; and the chief Places of Profit, Truſt, and Honour, were put into their Hands. The Army was in Diſgrace; the *Independants* deprived of all their Influence, and all Things managed by the Preſbyterians, ſupported by *Monk*'s Forces. After this the Long Parliament paſſed an Act for their own Diſſolution, and for Calling a new Parliament to meet *April* 25. 1660. the Candidates for which were to declare under their Hands, *That the War againſt the late King was juſt and lawful*; and, *All who had aſſiſted in any War againſt the Parliament ſince* January 1. 1641. *They and their Sons were made incapable of being elected, unleſs they had ſince manifeſted their good Affection to the Parliament.* They then appointed *a new Council of State*, conſiſting of Thirty one Perſons, to take Care of the Government; and diſſolved themſelves, *March* 16. after they had ſat, with ſundry Intermiſſions, Nineteen Years, four Months, and thirteen Days.

K. Chr. p. 85.

Character of General Monk.

We are now come to the Dawn of the Reſtoration, of which General MONK has had the Reputation of being the chief Inſtrument. This Gentleman was Son of Sir *Thomas Monk*, of *Potheridge*, in *Devonſhire*, and ſerved the King in the Wars for ſome Years, but being taken Priſoner he changed Sides, and acted for the Parliament. He afterwards ſerved *O. Cromwel*, and was by him left Commander in chief of the Forces in *Scotland*, from whence he now marched into *England* to reſtore the Parliament. Lord *Clarendon* and *Eachard*, ſay, "He was of a reſerved Nature, of "deep Thoughts, and of few Words; and what he "wanted in fine Elocution he had in ſound Judg"ment. That he had a natural Secrecy in him, pre"valent upon all his Qualifications of a Soldier; "ſtrong Body, a Mind not eaſily diſordered, an in"vincible Courage, and a ſedate and uniform Con"tempt of Death, without any Frenzy of Fanaticiſm "or Superſtition to turn his Head." This is the Lan-

guag

guage of Flattery. Others have ſet him forth in a very different Light; they admit, that he was bold and ventureſome, but had nothing of the Gentleman, nor any Depth of Contrivance; that he was perpetually wavering, and betrayed all whom he ſerved but *Cromwel*. *Ludlow* ſays, He was a Man of a covetous Temper, and of no Principles; of a vicious Life and ſcandalous Converſation. Father *Orleans* ſays, That he was a Man of ſlow Underſtanding. And *Whitlock* reports, that the *French* Ambaſſador ſaid, he had neither Senſe nor Breeding. The Truth is, he had a cloudy Head, and in no Action of his Life diſcovered a quick or enterprizing Genius. In the latter part of Life he was ſordidly covetous, and ſunk into moſt of the Vices of the Times. No Man ever went beyond him in Diſſimulation and Falſhood, as appears in this very Affair of the King's Reſtoration. He took the *Abjuration Oath* once under *Oliver*; and again this very Year, whereby he renounced the Title of *Charles Stuart*, and ſwore *to be true to the Commonwealth, without a ſingle Perſon or Houſe of Lords.* And yet in his firſt Meſſage to the King by Sir *John Greenville*, he aſſures his Majeſty, *That his Heart had been ever faithful to him, though he had not been in a Condition to ſerve him till now.* When he came with his Army to *London*, he aſſured the Rump Parliament of his chearful Obedience to all their Commands, and deſired them to be very careful that the Cavalier Party might have no Share in the Civil or Military Power. When he reſtored the ſecluded Members he promiſed the Parliament, to *take effectual Care that they ſhould do no hurt.* When the *Commonwealths Men* expreſſed their Fears, and aſked the General, Whether he would join with them againſt the King? he replied, *I have often declared my Reſolution ſo to do.* And taking Sir *Arthur Haſlerigge* by the Hand, he ſaid, *I do here proteſt to you, in the Preſence of all theſe Gentlemen, that I will oppoſe to the utmoſt, the ſetting up of* Charles Stuart, *a ſingle Perſon, or a Houſe of Peers.* He then

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We'w. Memoirs, p. 117, &c.

Hiſt. Stuarts, p. 459.

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expoſtulated with them about their Suſpicions; *What is it I have done in bringing theſe Members into the Houſe* (ſays he) *are they not the ſame that brought the King to the Block, tho' others cut off his Head, and that juſtly?* And yet this very Man, within ſix Months, condemned theſe Perſons to the Gallows. Nay further, the General ſent Letters to all the Regiments, aſſuring *them that the Government ſhould continue a* COMMONWEALTH, *that they had no Purpoſe to return to their old Bondage, that is Monarchy; and if any made Diſturbances in favour of* Charles Stuart, *he deſired they might be ſecured.* So that if this Gentleman was in the Secret of Reſtoring the King from his Entrance into *England*, or his firſt coming to *London*, I may challenge all Hiſtory to produce a Scene of Hypocriſy and Diſſimulation equal to his Conduct. Dr. *Welwood* adds, That he acted the Part of a Politician much better than that of a Chriſtian; and carried on the Thread of Diſſimulation with wonderful Dexterity. Biſhop *Burnet* differs from the Doctor, and ſays, that "tho' "he had both the Praiſe and the Reward, yet a very "ſmall Share of the Reſtoration belong'd to him —— "The Tide run ſo ſtrong that the General only went "into it dexterouſly enough to get much Fame and "great Rewards —— If he had died ſoon after, he "might have been more juſtly admired; but he lived "long enough to make it known how falſe a Judg-"ment Men are apt to make upon outward Appear-"ance."

Memoirs, p. 117, 120.

Burn. Hiſt. p. 87, 89.

State of Epiſcopacy, and of the King.

But before we relate the Particulars of the Reſtoration, it will be proper to conſider the abject State of the Church of *England*, and the Religion of the young King. If CROMWEL had lived Ten or Twelve Years longer, Epiſcopacy might have been loſt beyond Recovery, for by that Time the whole Bench of Biſhops would have been dead, and there would have been none to conſecrate or ordain for the future, unleſs they could have obtained a new Conveyance from the Church of *Rome*, or admitted the Validity of Preſbyterian Ordination.

nation. This was the *Case in view*, which induced some of the antient Bishops to petition the King to fill up the vacant Sees with all Expedition, in which they were supported by Sir *Edward Hyde*, Chancellor of the *Exchequer*, who prevail'd with his Majesty to nominate certain Clergymen for those high Preferments, and sent over a List of their Names to Dr. *Barwick*, to be communicated by him to the Bishops of *London*, *Ely*, *Sarum*, and others that were to be concerned in the Consecration. It was necessary to carry on this Design with a great deal of Secrecy, lest the governing Powers should secure the Bishops, and by that Means hinder the Work. It was no less difficult to provide Persons of Learning and Character who would accept the Charge, when it would expose them to Sufferings, as being contrary to the Laws in being, and when there was no Prospect of Restoring the Church. But the greatest Difficulty of all was, how to do it in a canonical Manner, when there were no *Deans* and *Chapters* to elect, and consequently no Persons to receive a *Congè d' Eslire*, according to antient Custom.

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Debates about filling the vacant Sees.

Difficulties that attended it.

Several Expedients were propos'd for removing this Difficulty. Sir *Edward Hyde* was of Opinion, that the Proceeding should be by a Mandate from the King to any three or four Bishops, by way of Collation, upon the Lapse, for the Dean and Chapter's Non-Election. But it was objected, that the Supposal of a *Lapse* would impair the King's Prerogative more than the Collation would advance it, because it would presuppose a Power of Election *pleno jure* in the Deans and Chapters, which they have only *De facultate Regia*; nor could they petition for such a License, because most of the Deans were dead, some Chapters extinguish'd, and all of them so disturb'd, that they could not meet in the Chapter-House, where such Acts regularly are to be perform'd.

Sundry Expedients proposed.

Life of Barwick, p. 204. Kennet's Chron. p. 14, 15.

Dr. *Barwick*, who was in *England*, and corresponded with the *Chancellor*, propos'd, that his Majesty

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jeſty ſhould grant his Commiſſion to the Biſhops of each Province reſpectively, aſſembled in Provincial Council, or otherwiſe, as ſhould be moſt convenient, to elect and conſecrate fit Perſons for the vacant Sees, with ſuch diſpenſative Clauſes as ſhould be found neceſſary upon the Emergency of the Caſe (his Majeſty ſignifying his Pleaſure concerning the Perſons, and the Sees) which Commiſſion may bear Date before the Action, and then afterward upon Certificate, and Petition, to have his Majeſty's Ratification and Confirmation of the whole Proceſs, and the Regiſter to be drawn up accordingly by the chief Actuary, who may take his Memorials hence, and make up the Record there.

Dr. *Bramhall*, Biſhop of *Derry*, was for the *Iriſh* Way, where the King has an abſolute Power of Nomination, and therefore no way ſeemed to him ſo ſafe, as conſecrating the Perſons nominated to void Sees in *Ireland*, and then removing them to others in *England*, which he apprehended would clearly elude all thoſe Formalities which ſeemed to perplex the Affair; but this was thought an ill Precedent, as it opened a Door for deſtroying the Privileges of the Church of *England* in their Capitular Elections. The old Biſhop of *Ely* was ſo far from wiſhing with Dr. *Bramhall*, that the *Iriſh* Method might be introduced into *England*, that he ſaid, if he ſhould live to ſee the Church reſtor'd, he would be a humble Suitor to his Majeſty, that the Privileges of the *Engliſh* Church, in their Elections of Biſhops, might be introduced into *Ireland*.

Dr. *Wren* Biſhop of *Ely*, and Dr. *Coſins* of *Peterborough*, were for an Expedient ſomething like the Second, to which the Court agreed, and Mr. Chancellor *Hyde* writ to Dr. *Barwick* for the Form of ſuch a Commiſſion as they judged proper, and urged, that it might be diſpatched with all poſſible Expedition. The Chancellor had this Affair very much at Heart, but the old Biſhops were fearful leſt it ſhould be diſcovered, in which caſe they were ſure to be the Sufferers.

ers. Dr. *Brownrigge* of *Exeter*, and Dr. *Skinner* of *Oxford*, declined meddling in the Affair; the Reſt declared their Willingneſs to advance the Work, but lived in hopes there might be no Occaſion for the Hazard. The Chancellor, in one of his Letters ſays, the *King was much troubled that no more Care was taken of the Church by thoſe who ſhould be the Gardians of it.* He cenſures the Slowneſs of the Clergy, and ſays, it was very indecent, that when their afflicted Mother was in Extremity, any of her Sons ſhould be timorous and fearful. Such were the Chancellor's narrow Principles, who ſeemed to hang the Eſſence of Chriſtianity, and the Validity of all Church Adminiſtrations, upon the Conveyance of Eccleſiaſtical Power by an uninterrupted Succeſſion from the Apoſtles. Inter-Regnum. 1659.

The Non-Jurors had the like *Caſe in view* after the Revolution, and provided for it in the beſt Manner they could. But is not the Chriſtian World in a ſad Condition, if a Biſhop cannot be choſen or conſecrated without a Royal Mandate, and the Suffrage of a Dean and Chapter, when there were no ſuch Officers in the Church for three Hundred Years after the Apoſtles? and if the Validity of all ſacerdotal Miniſtrations muſt be hung upon the Line of an uninterrupted Succeſſion from St. *Peter?* when *Baronius*, their Hiſtorian confeſſes, that in a Succeſſion of fifty Popes not one pious or virtuous Man ſat in the Chair; when there had been no Popes for ſome Years together; and at other Times two or three at once; and when the ſame Writer admits, between twenty and thirty Schiſms, one of which continued fifty Years, the Popes of *Avignon* and *Rome* excommunicating each other, and yet conferring Orders upon their ſeveral Clergy. How impoſſible is it to trace the right Line through ſo much Confuſion; and how abſurd to lay the Validity or Regularity of our Miniſtrations upon it? *Remarks.*

But with regard to the King, his Concern for the regular Conſecration of Proteſtant Biſhops was a meer Farce; for *King abjures the Pr. Religion at the Pyrenees.*

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for if he was not a Papiſt before this Time, 'tis certain he was reconciled to the Church of *Rome* this Year, at the *Pyrenæan* Treaty concluded between *France* and *Spain* at *Fontarabia*, whither he had repaired incognito to engage them in his Intereſt. Here the King ſtayed twenty Days, in which Time his Majeſty, with the Earl of *Briſtol* and Sir *H. Bennet* embraced the *Roman* Catholick Religion. The Secret of this Affair was well known to Lord *Clarendon*, tho' he is pleaſed to mention it with great Tenderneſs. "It is "believed, ſays his Lordſhip, by wiſe Men, that in "that Treaty ſomewhat was agreed to the Prejudice "of the Proteſtant Intereſt; and that in a ſhort Time "there would have been much done againſt it, both "in *France* and *Germany*, if the Meaſures they had "then taken had not been ſhortly broken, chiefly by "the ſurprizing Revolution in *England*, which hap-"pened the next Year, and alſo by the Death of the "two great Favourites of the two Crowns, *Don Lewis* "*de Haro*, and Cardinal *Mazarine*, who both died "not long after it." But the Secret of the King's Reconciliation to Popery has been more fully acknowledged of late Years, by the eldeſt Son of Lord *Clarendon*, and by the Duke of *Ormond*, who declared to ſeveral Perſons of Honour, that "he himſelf, to his "great Surprize and Concern, accidentally, in a "Morning early, ſaw the King in the great Church "on his Knees before the high Altar, with ſeveral "Prieſts and Eccleſiaſticks about him. That he was "ſoon after confirmed in his Sentiments by Sir *Henry* "*Bennet* and the Earl of *Briſtol*, who both owned the "King to be a Catholick as well as themſelves; but it "was agreed, that this Change ſhould be kept as the "greateſt Secret imaginable." There is another Story (ſays Biſhop *Kennet*) which I have Reaſon to think true: "Sir *H. Bennet* was ſoon after ſeen to wait on "the King from Maſs, at which Sight the Lord *Cul-*"*peper* had ſo much Indignation, that he went up to "*Bennet*, and ſpoke to this Effect; *I ſee what you*

"*are*

Eachard, p. 751.

Kennet, p. 238.

" *are at*; *Is this the Way to bring our Maſter home* Inter-
" *to his three Kingdoms? Well, Sir, if ever you and* Regnum.
" *I live to ſee* England *together, I will have your* 1659.
" *Head, or you ſhall have mine.* Which Words ſtruck
" ſuch a Terror upon Sir *Harry Bennet*, that he ne-
" ver durſt ſet Foot in *England* till after the Death of
" Lord *Culpeper*, who met with a very ſurprizing End,
" ſoon after the King's Return."

But tho' the prime Miniſters of *France* and *Spain* were now firſt Witneſſes of his Majeſty abjuring the Proteſtant Religion, there are ſtrong Preſumptions that he was a Papiſt long before, even before his Brother *James*, if we may credit the Teſtimony of his Confeſſor, *Father Huddleſton*. To the Proofs of this Fact already mention'd under the Year 1652. I would add the Teſtimony of the Author of the Myſtery of Iniquity, printed 1689. who writes thus; " The King's " [*Charles* the Second's] Apoſtaſy, is not of ſo late a " Date as the World is made commonly to believe, " for tho' it was many Years concealed, and the con-" trary pretended and diſſembled, yet it is certain he " abjured the Proteſtant Religion ſoon after the Exile-" ment of the Royal Family, and was reconciled to " the Church of *Rome* at St. *Germains* in *France*. " Nor were ſeveral of the then ſuffering Biſhops and " Clergy ignorant of this, tho' they had neither Inte-" grity nor Courage to give the Nation warning of " it." Biſhop *Burnet*, in the *Hiſtory of his Life and Times*, confirms this Teſtimony from the Cardinal Miniſter, who ſent an Advertiſement of it to the Biſhop himſelf; he ſays, " that before the King left *Pa-* " *ris* (which was in *June* 1654.) he changed his Re-" ligion, but by whoſe Perſuaſion is not yet known, " only Cardinal *De Retz* was in the Secret, and Lord " *Aubigny* had a great Hand in it. Chancellor *Hyde* " had ſome Suſpicion of it, but would not ſuffer him-" ſelf to believe it quite." And Sir *Allen Broderick* declared upon his Death-bed, That King *Charles* the Second made Profeſſion of the Popiſh Religion at

Proofs of his being a Papiſt before.

Welw. Memoirs. p. 126.

Ken. Chron. P. 598.

Burnet, P. 73.

Fon-

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Fontainbleau, before he was ſent out of *France* to *Cologn*.

But denies it to foreign Proteſtants.

The *Dutch* Proteſtants ſuſpected the Change, but the King denied it in the moſt publick Manner; for when he was at *Bruſſels* in the Year 1658. he writ the following Letter to the Reverend Mr. *Cawton*, the Preſbyterian Miniſter of the *Engliſh* Congregation at *Rotterdam*.

CHARLES REX.

King's Letter to Mr. Cawton.

"TRUSTY and well-beloved, we greet you well. We have received ſo full a Teſtimony of your Affection to our Perſon, and Zeal for our Service, that we are willing to recommend an Affair to you in which we are much concerned. We do not wonder, that the Malice of our Enemies ſhould continue to lay all Manner of Scandals upon us, but are concerned that they ſhould find Credit with any *to make our Affection to the Proteſtant Religion ſuſpected, ſince the World cannot but take notice of our conſtant and uninterrupted Profeſſion of it in all Places. — No Man has, or can more manifeſt his Affection to, and Zeal for the Proteſtant Religion than we have done.* Now as you cannot but have much Converſation with the Miniſters of the *Dutch* Church, we preſume and expect that you will uſe your utmoſt Diligence and Dexterity to root out thoſe unworthy Aſperſions, ſo maliciouſly and groundleſly laid upon us by wicked Men; and that you aſſure all that will give Credit to you, that we value our ſelves ſo much upon that Part of our Title, of being *Defender of the Faith*, that no worldly Conſideration can ever prevail with us to ſwerve from it, and the Proteſtant Religion in which we have been bred, the Propagation whereof we ſhall endeavour with our utmoſt Power. Given at *Bruxels*, *Nov.* 7. in the 10th Year of our Reign."

To

To carry on the Diſguiſe, Dr. *Morley*, afterwards Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, was employed to write an Apologetical Letter to Dr. *Trigland*, the *Dutch* Miniſter at the *Hague*, to aſſert and prove the King's Stedfaſtneſs to the reformed Faith and Communion. The Letter was dated *June* 7. 1659. a little before the King's going to the *Pyrenæan* Treaty, to engage the *Roman* Catholick Powers for his Reſtoration. Inter-Regnum. 1659. K. Chron. p. 95.

But to confirm the Preſbyterians further, and to put an End to all Suſpicions of his Majeſty being turned Papiſt, Sir *Robert Murray* and the Counteſs of *Balcarres* were employed to engage the moſt eminent reformed Miniſters in *France* to write to their Preſbyterian Brethren in *England*, and aſſure them *of the King's Stedfaſtneſs in the Proteſtant Faith*, and to excuſe his not joining with the Church at *Charenton*. Accordingly theſe credulous Miniſters not being acquainted with the Secret, writ to their Brethren at *London* to the following Purpoſe.

Monſieur *Raymond Gaches*, Paſtor of the Reform'd Church at *Paris*, to the Reverend Mr. *Baxter*, *March* 23. 1659-60. —— "I know what Odium has been "caſt upon the King; ſome are diſſatisfied in his Con- "ſtancy to the true Religion —— I will not anſwer "what truly may be ſaid, that it belongs not to Sub- "jects to enquire into the Prince's Religion; be he "what he will, if the Right of Reigning belongs to "him, Obedience in Civil Matters is his due. *But* "*this Prince never departed from the publick Profeſſion* "*of the true Religion*; nor did he diſdain to be pre- "ſent at our Religious Aſſemblies at *Roan* and *Rochel*, "tho' he never graced our Church at *Paris* with his "Preſence, which truly grieved us ——" Fr. *Miniſters employed to write that the King is a Proteſtant.* *Mr.* Gaches's *Letter.* K. Chron. p. 91. 92.

Monſieur *Drelincourt*, another of the *French* Paſtors at *Paris*, writes *March* 24. —— "A Report is here, "that the Thing which will hinder the King's Reſtora- "tion, is the Opinion conceived by ſome, of his being "turn'd *Roman* Catholick, and the Fear that in Time "he will ruin the Proteſtant Religion. But I ſee no *Mr.* Drelincourt's.

"Ground

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" Ground for the Report, his Majeſty making no Profeſſion of it, but on the contrary has rejected all the " Aids and Advantages offer'd him upon that Condition. Charity is not jealous, and if it forbids us to " ſuſpect on ſlight Grounds private Perſons, how can " it approve Jealouſies upon Perſons ſo ſacred! Beſides, there are in the King's Family, and among " his Domeſticks, ſome Gentlemen of our Religion; " and my old Friends, who at ſeveral Times have " given me Aſſurances of the Piety of this Prince, " and his Stability in the Profeſſion he makes ——— " Your Preſbyterians are now entruſted with the Honour of our Churches; if they recal this Prince " without the intervening of any foreign Power they " will acquire to themſelves immortal Glory, and " ſtop their Mouths for ever, who charge us falſly as " Enemies to Royalty, and make appear that the " Maxim, *No Biſhop, no King*, is falſly imputed to " us ——— "

Mr. Daillè's K. Chron. p. 34.

The famous Monſieur *Daillè* of *Paris*, in his Letter of *March* 28. writes to the ſame Purpoſe: ——" I " know 'tis reported that the King has changed his " Religion; but who can believe a Thing ſo contrary to all Probability? Nothing of this appears to " us; on the contrary we well know, that when he " has reſided in Places where the Exerciſe of his Religion is not permitted, he has always had his Chaplains with him who have regularly performed Divine " Service. Moreover, all *Paris* knows the Anger " the King expreſſed at the Endeavours that were " us'd to pervert the Duke of *Glouceſter*. And tho' " 'tis objected, that he never came to our Church at " *Charenton*, yet as we are better inform'd of this " than any one, we can teſtify, that Religion was " not the Cauſe of it, but that it was upon political " and prudential Conſiderations, which may be peculiar to our Church, for he has gone to Sermon in " *Caen*, and ſome other Towns; and in *Holland* he " heard ſome Sermons from the famous Monſieur

" *More*

" *More*, our preſent Collegue. Thus, Sir, it is more " clear than the Day, that whatſoever has been report- " ed till this Time, of the Change of this Prince's Re- " ligion, is a meer Calumny — " Inter-Regnum. 1659.

Monſieur *de L'Angle*, Miniſter of the Proteſtant Church at *Roüen*, writ upon the ſame Subject to his Friend in *London*, more fully to evidence the King's Stedfaſtneſs in the Proteſtant Religion. Theſe Letters were printed, and induſtriouſly ſpread over the whole Kingdom. *Mr.* De L'Angle's

The King himſelf in his Letter to the Houſe of Commons ſays, " Do you deſire the Advancement of " the Proteſtant Religion? We have by our conſtant " Profeſſion and Practice given ſufficient Teſtimony " to the World, that *neither the Unkindneſs of thoſe of* " *the ſame Faith towards us, nor the Civilities and* " *Proteſtations of thoſe of a contrary Profeſſion, could* " *in the leaſt degree ſtartle us, or make us ſwerve from* " *it.*"

'Tis a ſurprizing Reflection of Mr. *Baxter* upon occaſion of theſe Letters: " Theſe Divines (ſays he) " knew nothing of the State of Affairs in *England*. " They knew not thoſe Men who were to be reſtor'd " with the King. They pray (ſays he) for the Succeſs of my Labours, when they are perſuading me " to put an End to my Labours by ſetting up thoſe " *Prelates* who will ſilence me and many Hundreds " more. They perſuade me to that which will ſeparate me from my Flock, and then pray, that I may " be a Bleſſing to them; and yet (ſays he) I am for " Reſtoring the King, that when we are ſilenc'd, and " our Miniſtry at an end, and ſome of us lie in Priſons, we may there, and in that Condition, have " Peace of Conſcience in the Diſcharge of our Duty, " and the Exerciſe of Faith, Patience, and Charity " in our Sufferings." Was there ever ſuch Reaſoning as this! But the Reader will make his own Remarks upon theſe extraordinary Paragraphs. *Life*, Part II. p. 216.

To

Inter-Regnum. 1659.

To return back to General *Monk* in *Scotland*; as long as the Army governed Affairs at *Weſtminſter* the *General* was on their Side, and entertain'd Mr. *John Collins*, an *Independant* Miniſter, for his Chaplain; but upon the Quarrel between the Army and Parliament, and *Monk*'s declaring for the latter, it was apprehended he had changed Sides, and would fall in with the *Presbyterians*; upon which Mr. *Caryl* and *Barker* were ſent to *Scotland*, with a Letter from Dr. *Owen*, expreſſing their Fears of the Danger of their Religious Liberties upon a Revolution of Government. The General received them with all the Marks of Eſteem; and after a few Days returned the following Anſwer, in a Letter directed to Dr. *Owen*, Mr. *Greenhill*, and Mr. *Hook*, to be communicated to the Churches in and about *London*.

Hon. and dear Friends,

Monk's *Letter to the* Independants.

" I Received yours, and am very ſenſible of your " Kindneſs expreſs'd to the Army in *Scotland*, in " ſending ſuch honourable and reverend Perſons, whom " we received with Thankfulneſs and great Joy, as " the Meſſengers of the Churches, and the Miniſters " of Chriſt of theſe three Nations. *I do promiſe you for* " *my ſelf, and the reſt of the Officers here, that your* " *Intereſt, Liberty, and Encouragement, ſhall be very* " *dear to us.* And we ſhall take this as a renewed " Obligation to aſſert to the utmoſt, what we have " already declared to the Churches of Jeſus Chriſt. " I doubt not, but you have received Satisfaction of " our Inclinations to a peaceable Accommodation. " do hope, that ſome Differences being obviated, we " ſhall obtain a fair Compoſure. *I do aſſure you, that* " *the great Things that have been upon my Heart to* " *ſecure and provide for, are our Liberties and Free-* " *dom, as the Subjects and Servants of Jeſus Chriſt,* " *which we have conveyed to us in the Covenant of* " *Grace, aſſur'd in the Promiſes purchaſed by the Blood* " *of our Saviour for us; and given as his great Legacy*

" *cy to his Church and People*, in compariſon of which " we eſteem all other Things as Dung and Droſs, but " as they have a Relation to, and Dependance upon " this noble End. The others are our Laws and " Rights as Men, which muſt have their Eſteem in " the ſecond Place; for which many Members of the " Churches have been eminent Inſtruments to labour " in Sweat and Blood for theſe eighteen Years laſt " paſt, and our Anceſtors for many hundred Years " before; the Subſtance of which may be reduc'd to " a *Parliamentary Government, and the Peoples con-* " *ſenting to the Laws by which they are govern'd.* " That theſe Privileges of the Nation may be ſo " bounded, that the Churches may have both Securi- " ty and Settlement, is my great Deſire, and of thoſe " with me. So that I hope you will own theſe juſt " Things, and give us that Aſſiſtance that becomes " the Churches of Chriſt in purſuance of this Work. " And we do aſſure you, we ſhall comply as far as " poſſible, with reſpect had to the Security and Safe- " ty of the Nation, and the Preſervation of our antient " Birth-rights and Liberties. And we ſhall pray, " that we may be kept from going out of God's Way " in doing God's Work.

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" I do in the Name of the whole Army, and my " ſelf, give all our affectionate Thanks for this your " Work of Love; and tho' we are not able to make " ſuch Returns as are in our Hearts and Deſires to do, " yet we ſhall endeavour by all Ways and Means to " expreſs our Care and Love to the Churches, and " ſhall leave the Reward to him who is the God of " Peace, and has in ſpecial aſſur'd all Bleſſings to the " Peace-Makers. I conclude with the Words of *Da-* " *vid*, 1 Sam. xxv. 32. Bleſſed be the Lord God of " *Iſrael*, and bleſſed be your Advice, and bleſſed be " you All. Now the Lord God be a Wall of Fire " round about you, and let his Preſence be in his " Churches, and they fill'd with his Glory. I have " no more, but to entreat your Prayers for an happy

" Iſſue

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" Iſſue of this unhappy Difference; which is the Pray-
" er of him, who is, Reverend Sirs, and dear Friends,
" your very affectionate Brother and Servant,

Edinburgh, Nov. 23. 1659. *G. Monk.*

Welw. Mem. Append. N° XI.

In one of the General's Letters to the Parliament, written about *June* 1659. he declares ſtrongly for Liberty of Conſcience, and an abſolute Commonwealth, in Language which in another would be called the *Fumes of Fanaticiſm.* " You are the People (ſays he) who " have fill'd the World with wonder, but nothing is " difficult to Faith; and the Promiſes of God are ſure " and certain. We acknowledge that we our ſelves " have very much contributed to the Lord's departing " from our *Iſrael*, but we ſee God's Hour is come, " and the Time of the People's Deliverance, even the " ſet Time, is at hand. *He cometh ſkipping over all* " *the Mountains of Sin, and Unworthineſs*, &c. We " humbly beſeech you not to heal the Wounds of the " Daughter of God's People ſlightly, but to make ſo " ſure and laſting Proviſion for both Chriſtian and " Civil Rights, as both this and future Generations " may have cauſe to riſe up and call you bleſſed, and " the blackeſt of Deſigns may never be able to caſt " Dirt in your Faces any more—" He then deſires them to encourage none but godly Miniſters and Magiſtrates, that no Yoke may be impoſed upon Conſcience but what is agreeable to the Word of God, and that they would eſtabliſh the Government in a *free* State or Commonwealth. Signed by General *Monk* and twenty five of his chief Officers.

He courts the Preſbyterians. K. Chron. p. 81.

Upon the *General*'s coming to *London* he was tranſformed at once into a zealous Preſbyterian, and thought no more of the Independant Churches; he received the Sacrament at Mr. *Calamy*'s Church, and would ſuffer none to preach before him but whom *he* approved. He conſulted the Preſbyterian Miniſters, and aſked their Advice in all important Affairs. It ſeems theſe were the Gentle-

Gentlemen that beat him out of his Commonwealth Principles, if we may believe the Reverend Mr. *Sharp*, afterwards Archbiſhop of St. *Andrews*, whoſe Words are theſe, in one of his Letters to the Reverend Mr. *Douglaſs* in *Scotland*, " *Sunday* laſt, *March* 11. the " General ſent his Coach for Mr. *Calamy*, Mr. *Aſh*, " and me; we had a long Converſation with him in " private, and convinced him, that a *Commonwealth* " was impracticable; and to our Senſe beat him off " that Sconce he has hitherto maintained ——— We " urged upon him, that the *Presbyterian Intereſt* " *which he had eſpouſed* was much concerned in keep- " ing up this Houſe, and ſettling the Government up- " on Terms. But the ſubtle General replied, that in " regard he had declared ſo lately againſt a Houſe of " Lords, and the continuing this Houſe of Commons, " he could not ſo reputably do it." Afterwards, when ſome Gentlemen of Quality, ſuſpecting the *King* to be at the Bottom, were earneſt with the General, that if the King muſt be brought in by the next Parliament, it might be *upon the Terms of his late Majeſty's Conceſſions at the* Iſle of Wight; the General at firſt recoil'd, and declar'd, he would adhere to a *Commonwealth*; but at laſt ſeeming to be conquer'd into a Compliance, he intimated to them, that *this was the utmoſt Line he could or would advance in favour of the King*; and yet when this was moved in the Convention Parliament by Sir *Matthew Hale*, the General ſtood up, and declared againſt all Conditions, and threaten'd them that ſhould encourage ſuch a Motion with all the Miſchiefs that might follow. Thus the credulous Preſbyterians were gradually drawn into the Snare, and made to believe, that *Presbytery* was to be the eſtabliſhed Government of the Church of *England* under King *Charles* II.

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K. Chron. p. 81.

The *Scots* were equally concerned in this Affair, and much more zealous for their Diſcipline. The *General* therefore ſent Letters to the Kirk, with the ſtrongeſt Aſſurances that he would take care of their Diſci-

And the Scots *Kirk.* Kennet, p. 50.

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Diſcipline. But the *Scots* not willing to truſt him commiſſioned Mr. *Sharp* to be their Agent, and gave him Inſtructions to uſe his beſt Endeavours, that the Kirk of *Scotland* might without Interruption or Encroachment, enjoy the Freedom and Liberty of her eſtabliſhed Judicatories, and to repreſent the Sinfulneſs and Offenſiveneſs of a *Toleration* in that Kingdom. *Sharp* was to concert Meaſures with Mr. *Calamy*, *Aſh*, *Manton*, and *Cowper*; but theſe Gentlemen being not very zealous for the Diſcipline, *Sharp* informed his Principals, that it was feared the King would come in, and with him moderate Epiſcopacy, at leaſt in *England*, but that the more zealous Party were doing what they could to keep on foot the Covenant. To which *Douglaſs* replied, "It is beſt that the Preſbyterian Govern-"ment be ſettled ſimply, for you know that the "Judgment of honeſt Men here is for admitting the "King on no other but Covenant Terms."

Behaviour of the Independants.

The *Independants* and *Anabaptiſts* were in ſuch Diſgrace that their Leaders had not the Honour of being conſulted in this weighty Affair. General *Monk* and the Preſbyterians were united, and had Force ſufficient to ſupport their Claims; the Tide was with them, and the Parliament at their Mercy. The Independants offered to ſtand by their Friends in Parliament, and to raiſe four new Regiments from among themſelves to force the General back into *Scotland*. Dr. *Owen* and Mr. *Nye* had frequent Conſultations with Mr. *Whitlock* and *St. John*; and at a private Treaty with the Officers at *Wallingford Houſe*, offered to raiſe one hundred Thouſand Pounds for the Uſe of the Army, provided they would protect them in their religious Liberties, which they were apprehenſive *Monk* and the Preſbyterians deſign'd to ſubvert; but thoſe Officers had loſt their Credit; their Meaſures were diſconcerted and broken; one Party was for a Treaty, and another for the Sword, but it was too late; their old veteran Regiments were diſlodged from the City, and *Monk* in poſſeſſion. In this Confuſion their General *Fleetwood*, who

who had brought them into this Diſtreſs retired, and left them a Body without a Head, after which they became inſignificant, and in a few Months quite contemptible. Here ended the Power of the Army, and of the Independants. Inter-Regnum. 1659.

Being now to take leave of this People it may be proper to obſerve, that the *Independants* grew up in the Time of the Civil Wars, and had the Reputation of a wiſe and politick People: They divided from the Preſbyterians upon the Foot of Diſcipline, and fought in the Parliament's Quarrel, not ſo much for Hire and Reward, as from a real Belief that it was *the Cauſe of God*; this inſpired their Soldiers with Courage, and made them face Death with undaunted Bravery, in ſo much that when the Army was new modell'd, and fill'd up with Men of this Principle, they carried all before them. When the War was over they boldly ſeized the Perſon of the King, and treated him with Honour till they found him unſteady to his Promiſes of a *Toleration of their Religion*, and then they became his moſt determined Enemies; when they were aſſured afterwards by the Treaty of the *Iſle of Wight*, that they were to be cruſhed between both Parties, and to loſe their Religious Liberty, for which they had been fighting, they tore up the Government by the Roots, and ſubverted the whole Conſtitution. After the King's Death they aſſumed the chief Management of publick Affairs, and would not part with it on any Terms, leſt they ſhould be diſbanded and called to Account by a Parliamentary Power, and therefore they could never come to a Settlement, tho' they attempted it under ſeveral Forms: The firſt was an *abſolute Commonwealth*, as moſt agreeable to their Principles, but when the Commonwealth began to clip their Wings they diſpoſſeſſed them, and ſet up their own General with the Title of *Protector*, who had Skill enough to keep them in Awe tho' they were continually plotting againſt his Government. After his Death they diſpoſſeſſed his Son, and reſtored the Commonwealth. When theſe again at- *Their Riſe, and reſolute Progreſs thro' the War.*

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tempted to diſband them, they turned them out a ſecond Time, and ſet up themſelves under the Title of a *Committee of Safety*; but they wanted *Oliver*'s Head, their new General *Fleetwood* having neither Courage nor Policy enough to make them cement. Thus they crumbled into Factions, and their wanton ſporting with the ſupreme Power, made the Nation ſick of the Times, and give way to the Return of the old Conſtitution.

And of the Officers of the Army.

The Officers were made up of Independants and Anabaptiſts, moſt of them of mean Extraction, and far from being as able States-Men as they had been fortunate Soldiers; they were brave and reſolute Men, who had the Cauſe of Religion and Liberty at heart, but they neglected the old Nobility and Gentry, ſo that when they fell to pieces there was hardly a Gentleman of Fortune or Intereſt in his Country that would ſtand by them. As to their moral Character, they ſeem to have been Men of Piety and Prayer; they called God into all their Councils, but were too much governed by the falſe Notions they had imbibed, and the enthuſiaſtick Impulſes of their own Minds. I don't find that they conſulted any Number of their Clergy, tho' many of the Independant Miniſters were among the moſt learned and pious Preachers of the Times, as Dr. *Goodwin*, *Owen*, *Nye*, and *Greenhill*, &c. ſome of whom had no ſmall Reputation for Politicks; but their pulling down ſo many Forms of Government, without abiding by any one, was certainly their Ruin. Thus as the Army and Independants over-reached the Preſbyterians in 1648. the Preſbyterians, in conjunction with the *Scots*, blew up the Independants at this Time, and next Year the Epiſcopal Party, by an artful Management of the credulous Preſbyterians, undermined and deceived them both.

Death of Biſhop Brownrigge.

This Year died Dr. *Ralph Brownrigge*, Biſhop of *Exeter*, born at *Ipſwich* in the Year 1592. educated in *Pembrook Hall*, *Cambridge*, and at length choſen Maſter of *Katherine Hall* in that Univerſity. He was alſo

alſo Prebendary of *Durham*, and Rector of *Barly* in *Hertfordſhire*. In the Year 1641. he was nominated to the See of *Exeter*, and inſtalled *June* 1. 1642. but the Wars between the King and Parliament did not allow him the Enjoyment of his Dignity. He was nominated one of the Aſſembly of Divines; and was Vice-Chancellor of the Univerſity of *Cambridge* in the Year 1644. when the Earl of *Mancheſter* viſited it, and complied ſo far as to keep his Maſterſhip till the next Year, when he was deprived for a Sermon he preached upon the Anniverſary of his Majeſty's Inauguration. He was no Favourer of Archbiſhop *Laud*'s Innovations; for while he was Vice-Chancellor he ſent for one of Mr. *Barwick*'s Pupils, and ſaid to him, "I wonder "your Tutor, no ill Man in other Reſpects, does "not yet abſtain from that Form of Worſhip [Bowing towards the Eaſt] which he knows is diſagreeable to our excellent Parliament, and not very acceptable to God himſelf; but be you careful to ſteer your Courſe clear of the dangerous Rock of every Error, whether it ſavour of the Impiety of *Arminianiſm*, or of the Superſtition of Popery." He was ſucceeded by Dr. *Spurſtow*; and ſuffered in common with the reſt of the Biſhops; but being a *Calviniſt*, and a Perſon of great Temper and Moderation, he was permitted by the Protector *Cromwel* to be a Preacher at the *Temple*, in which Employment he died, *Dec.* 7. 1659. about the Sixty ſeventh Year of his Age. Dr. *Gauden* ſays, he was a Perſon of great Candor, Sweetneſs, Gravity, and Solidity of Judgment. He was conſulted by Mr. *Baxter*, and others, in ſeveral Points of Controverſy, and was indeed a moſt humble Chriſtian, and very patient under moſt ſevere Fits of the Stone, which were very acute and tedious for ſome Time before his Death.

Inter-Regnum. 1659.

Life of Barwick, p. 17.

The Reverend Mr. *Charles Herle*, ſometime Procutor of the Aſſembly of Divines at *Weſtminſter*, was born of honourable Parents at *Prideaux Herle*, near *Lyſtwithyel* in *Cornwall*, in the Year, 1598. He was educated

Of Mr. Herle.

Inter-Regnum. 1659.

educated in *Exeter College*, *Oxon*. In the Year 1618. he took the Degrees in Arts, and was afterwards Rector of *Winnick* in *Lancaſhire*, one of the richeſt Livings in *England*, and was always eſteemed a Puritan. When the Wars broke out he took part with the Parliament, was elected one of the Members of the Aſſembly of Divines, and upon the Death of Dr. *Twiſſe*, in 1646. was appointed Prolocutor. After the King's Death he retir'd to his Living at *Winnick*, and was in very high Eſteem with all the Clergy in that Country. In the Year 1654. he was appointed one of the aſſiſtant Commiſſioners for ejecting ſcandalous Miniſters, together with Mr. *Iſaac Ambroſe* and Mr. *Gee*. He was a moderate Preſbyterian, and left behind him ſome practical, and controverſial Writings. Mr. *Fuller* ſays, he was ſo much of a Chriſtian, Scholar, and Gentleman, that he could agree in Affection with thoſe who differ'd from him in Judgment. He died at his Parſonage at *Winnick* in the Sixty firſt Year of his Age, and was buried in his own Church, *Sept*. 29. 1659.

Fuller's Worthies, p. 205.

Mr. Tho. Cawton.

The Reverend Mr. *Tho. Cawton*, born at *Rainham* in *Norfolk*, and educated in *Queen's College*, *Cambridge*; he was afterwards Miniſter of *Wivenhoe* in *Eſſex*, 1637. and at laſt of St. *Bartholomew* behind the *Exchange*. He was (ſays the *Oxford* Hiſtorian) a learned and religious Puritan, driven into Exile for preaching againſt the Murder of King *Charles* I. and for being in the ſame Plot with Mr. *Love*, for raiſing Money to ſupply the Army of King *Charles* II. when he was coming into *England* to recover his Right. He fled to *Rotterdam*, and became Preacher to the *Engliſh* Church there, where he died, *Aug*. 7. 1659. in the Fifty fourth Year of his Age.

King Charles II. 1660.

The new Year began with the Reſtoration of King *Charles* II. to the Throne of his Anceſtors. The Long Parliament diſſolved themſelves *March* 16. and while the People were buſy in chooſing a new one, General *Monk* was courted by all Parties. The *Republicans* endeavoured

The Reſtoration of King Charles II.

deavoured to fix him for a Commonwealth; the *French* Ambaſſador offered him the Aſſiſtance of *France*, if he would aſſume the Government either as *King* or *Protector*, which, 'tis ſaid, he would have accepted, if Sir *Anthony Aſhley Cooper* had not prevented it, by ſummoning him before the Council, and keeping the Doors locked till he had taken away the Commiſſions from ſome of his moſt truſty Officers, and given them to others of the Council's Nomination. But be this as it will, 'tis certain *Monk* had not as yet given the King any Encouragement to rely upon him, though his Majeſty had ſent him a Letter as long ago as *July* 21. 1659. by an expreſs Meſſenger, with the largeſt Offers of Reward. *King* Charles II. 1660.

The Preſbyterians were now in Poſſeſſion of the whole Power of *England*; the Council of State, the chief Officers of the Army and Navy, and the Governors of the chief Forts and Gariſons were theirs; their Clergy were in Poſſeſſion of both Univerſities, and of the beſt Livings in the Kingdom. There was hardly a Loyaliſt, or profeſſed Epiſcopalian, in any Poſt of Honour or Truſt; nor had the King any Number of Friends capable of promoting his Reſtoration, for there was a diſabling Clauſe in the Qualification Act, that *all who had been in Arms againſt the Long Parliament ſhould be diſqualified from ſerving in the next*. The whole Government therefore was with the Preſbyterians, who were ſhy of the *Independants* as of a Body of Men more diſtant from the Church, and more enclined to a Commonwealth. They were no leſs watchful to keep out of Parliament the *Republicans* of all Sorts, ſome of whom, ſays *Burnet*, run about every where like Men that were giddy or amazed, but their Time was paſt. On the other hand, they ſecretly courted the Epiſcopalians, who diſperſed Papers among the People, proteſting their Reſolutions to forget all paſt Injuries, and to bury all Rancour, Malice, and Animoſities, under the Foundation of his Majeſty's Reſtoration. "We reflect (ſay they) upon our Preſbyterians *in full Power*

Baxter, p. 216, 218. Hiſt. Stuarts, p. 458.

King Charles II. 1660.

K. Chr. p. 121, 144. Baxter's *Life*, Part II. p. 217.

"Sufferings as from the Hand of God, and therefore "do not cheriſh any violent Thoughts or Inclinations "againſt any Perſons whatſoever who have been in- "ſtrumental in them; and if the Indiſcretion of any "particular Perſons ſhall tranſport them to Expreſſi- "ons contrary to this general Senſe, we ſhall diſclaim "them." This was ſigned by eighteen Noblemen, and about fifty Knights and Gentlemen. Dr. *Morley* and ſome of his Brethren met privately with the Preſbyterian Miniſters, and made large Profeſſions of Lenity and Moderation, but without deſcending to Particulars. The King and Chancellor *Hyde* carried on the Intrigue. The Chancellor, in one of his Letters from *Breda*, dated *April* 20. 1660. ſays, that "the King very "well approved that Dr. *Morley* and ſome of his Bre- "thren, ſhould enter into Conferences, and have fre- "quent Converſation with the Preſbyterian Party, in "order to reduce them to ſuch a Temper as is con- "ſiſtent with the good of the Church; and it may "be no ill Expedient (ſays he) to aſſure them of pre- "ſent good Preferments; but in my Opinion you "ſhould rather endeavour to win over thoſe who be- "ing recovered, will both have Reputation, and de- "ſire to merit from the Church, than be over ſolicitous "to comply with the Pride and Paſſion of thoſe who "propoſe extravagant Things." Such was the Spirit of the Church Party, who were decoying the others into the Snare! The Preſbyterian Miniſters did not want for Cautions from the Independants and others, not to be too forward in truſting their new Allies, but they would neither hear nor ſee, nor believe, till it was too late. They valued themſelves upon their ſuperior Influence, and from an ambitious Deſire of graſping all the Merit and Glory of the Reſtoration to themſelves, they would ſuffer none to act openly with them, but deſired the Epiſcopal Clergy to lie ſtill for fear of the People, and leave the conducting of this great Affair to the Hands it was in.

Life of Barwick, p. 253.

Accord-

Accordingly the Preſbyterian Miniſters writ to their Friends in the ſeveral Counties, to be careful that Men of Republican Principles might not be returned to ſerve in the next Parliament, ſo that in ſome Counties the Elections fell upon Men that had no Religion. And in other Places the People broke through the diſabling Clauſe. Dr. *Barwick* ſays, they paid no regard to it; and *Monk* declared, that if the People made uſe of their natural Rights in chooſing whom they thought fit, without reſerve, no Injury ſhould be done them. So that when the Houſes met it was evident to all wiſe Men it would be a Court Parliament.

King Charles II. 1660.

But the *Scots* were more ſteady to the *Covenant*, and ſent over the Reverend Mr. *James Sharp*, with the Earls of *Crawford* and *Lauderdale* to *Holland*, humbly to put his Majeſty in mind, that the Kirk of *Scotland* expected Protection upon the Foot of the Preſbyterian Eſtabliſhment, without Indulgence to *Sectaries*. Their Brethren in the North of *Ireland* joined in an Addreſs to the ſame Purpoſe: And ſome of the *Engliſh* Preſbyterians were of the ſame Mind; ten of whom met the *Scots* Commiſſioners at *London*, and made earneſt Applications to the General not to reſtore the King but upon the Conceſſions made by his Father in the *Iſle of Wight*. But this was only the Reſolution of a few, the Majority (ſays Mr. *Sharp*) were for moderate Epiſcopacy, upon the Scheme of Archbiſhop *Uſher*, and therefore willing to hearken to an Accommodation with the Church. Dr. *Barwick* adds, "What "the Preſbyterians aimed at, who were now ſuperior "to the *Independants*, was, that all Matters ſhould "be ſettled according to the Treaty of the *Iſle of* "*Wight*," which gave the Court a fair Opportunity of referring all Church Matters to a conciliatory Synod, the Divines of each Party to be ſummoned when the King ſhould be ſettled on his Throne. This was the Bait that was laid for the Preſbyterians, and was the Ruin of their Cauſe. The *Scots* Kirk ſtood to their Principles, and would have bid Defiance to the old

Terms on which the Scots *and* Engliſh Preſbyterians *would reſtore the King.* K. Chron. p. 101, 110. Ib. p. 104.

Life, P. 256.

King Charles II. 1660.

old Clergy, but Mr. *Calamy*, *Manton*, and *Aſh*, informed them in the Name of the *London* Miniſters, that the general Stream and Current being for the old Prelacy in its Pomp and Height, it was in vain to hope for the eſtabliſhing Preſbytery, which made them lay aſide the Thoughts of it, and fly to Biſhop *Uſher*'s moderate Epiſcopacy. Thus they were beat from their firſt Works.

K. Chron. p. 228.

Remarks.

But if the Tide was ſo ſtrong againſt them, ſhould they have opened the Sluices, and let in the Enemy at once, without a ſingle Article of Capitulation? 'Tis hard to account for this Conduct of the Preſbyterians without impeaching their Underſtandings. Indeed the Epiſcopal Clergy gave them good Words, aſſuring them, that all Things ſhould be to their Minds when the King came home; and that their relying on the Royal Word would be a Mark of Confidence which his Majeſty would always remember, and would do Honour to the King, who had been ſo long neglected. But ſhould this have induced the Miniſters to give up a Cauſe that had coſt ſo much Treaſure and Blood, and become humble Petitioners to thoſe who were now almoſt at their Mercy? For they could not but be ſenſible, that the old Conſtitution muſt return with the King; that Dioceſan Epiſcopacy was the only legal Eſtabliſhment; that all that had been done in favour of Preſbytery not having had the Royal Aſſent, was void in Law, therefore they and their Friends who had not Epiſcopal Ordination and Induction into their Livings muſt be look'd upon as Intruders, and not legal Miniſters of the Church of *England*.

Of their vain Expectations from the Court.

But notwithſtanding this Infatuation, and vain Confidence in the Court, and the Clergy, Mr. *Eachard* would ſet aſide all their Merit, by ſaying, "Whatever the Preſbyterians did in this Affair was principally to relieve themſelves from the Oppreſſion of the *Independants*, who had wreſted the Power out of their Hands, and not out of any Affection to the King and Church." Directly contrary to his Majeſty's Declaration concerning Eccleſiaſtical Affairs,

which ſays, "When we were in *Holland* we were "attended with many grave and learned Miniſters of "the Preſbyterian Perſuaſion, whom to our great Sa "tisfaction and Comfort we found to be *full of Affe-* "*ction to us, of Zeal for the Peace of the Church* "*and State, and neither Enemies* (as they have been "given out to be) *to Epiſcopacy or Liturgy.*" Biſhop *Burnet* acknowledges, that many of the Preſbyterian Miniſters, chiefly in the City of *London*, had gone into the Deſign of the Reſtoration in ſo ſignal a Manner, and with ſuch Succeſs, that they had great Merit, and a juſt Title to very high Preferments. Mr. *Baxter* gives the following Reaſons of their Conduct. "The "Preſbyterians (ſays he) were influenced by the Co- "venant, by which, and by the Oaths of Allegiance "to the King, and his Heirs, they apprehended them- "ſelves bound to do their utmoſt to reſtore the King, "let the Event be what it will." But then he adds, "Moſt of them had great Expectations of Favour and "Reſpect; and becauſe the King had taken the Co- "venant, they hoped he would remove Subſcriptions, "and leave the Common-Prayer and Ceremonies in- "different; that they might not be caſt out of the "Churches. Some who were leſs ſanguine depended "on ſuch a Liberty as the Proteſtants had in *France*; "but others, who were better acquainted with the "Principles and Tempers of the Prelates, declared, "that they expected to be ſilenced, impriſoned, and "baniſhed, but yet they would do their Parts to re- "ſtore the King, becauſe no foreſeen ill Conſequence "ought to hinder them from doing their Duty." Surely theſe were better Chriſtians than Caſuiſts! When the Miniſters waited on his Majeſty in *Holland*, he gave them ſuch encouraging Promiſes (ſays Mr. *Baxter*) as raiſed in ſome of them high Expectations. When he came to *Whitehall* he made Ten of them his Chaplains; and when he went to the Houſe to quicken the paſſing the Act of Indemnity, he ſaid, "My "Lords, If you do not join with me in extinguiſhing

King Charles II. 1660.

p. 96, 178.

p. 216.

"this

King Charles II. 1660.

" this Fear, which keeps the Hearts of Men awake, " you keep me from performing my Promiſe, which " if I had not made, neither I nor you had been now " here. *I pray let us not deceive thoſe who brought,* " *or permitted us to come together.*" Here is a Royal Declaration, and yet all came to nothing. The Reader will judge hereafter who were moſt to blame, the Epiſcopal Party, for breaking through ſo many ſolemn Vows and Proteſtations; or the Preſbyterians, for bringing in the King without a previous Treaty, and truſting a Set of Men, whom they knew to be their implacable Enemies. I can think of no decent Excuſe for the former; and the beſt Apology that can be made for the latter is, that moſt of them lived long enough to ſee their Error, and to repent heartily of it.

G. Monk correſponds with the King. Burnet, p. 78, 79.

In the Interval between the Diſſolution of the Long Parliament, and the Meeting of the *Convention* which brought in the King, General *Monk* ſeeing which Way Things were like to go, fell in with the Stream, and ventur'd to correſpond more freely with the King by Sir *J. Greenville*, who brought the General a Letter, and was ſent back with an Aſſurance that he would ſerve his Majeſty in the beſt Manner he could. He deſired the King to remove out of the *Spaniſh* Dominions, and promiſed, that if his Majeſty writ Letters to the Parliament, he would deliver them at the Opening of the Seſſions. Biſhop *Burnet* ſays, That he had like to have let the Honour ſlip through his Fingers, and that a very ſmall Share of it really belonged to him.

Convention Parliament meets.

The *Convention* met *April* 25. the Earl of *Mancheſter* being choſen Speaker of the Houſe of Lords, and Sir *Harbottle Grimſtone* of the Commons. At the Opening the Seſſions Dr. *Reynolds* preached before the Houſes. *April* 30. was appointed for a Faſt, when Dr. *Reynolds* and Mr. *Hardy* preached before the Lords, and Dr. *Gauden*, Mr. *Calamy* and *Baxter* before the Commons; all but *Gauden* of the Preſbyterian Party. Lord *Clarendon* ſays, the Preſbyterian Party in

in the Houſe were rather troubleſome than *powerful*; but others with greater probability affirm, that the Body of the Commons were at firſt of that Party. Next Day after the Faſt, the King, by the Advice of the General, having removed privately to *Breda*, and writ Letters to both Houſes; the General ſtood up and acquainted the Speaker, that one Sir *J. Greenville* had brought him a Letter from the King, but that he had not preſumed to open it; and that the ſame Gentleman attended at the Door with another to the Houſe. Sir *John* was immediately called in, and having delivered his Letter at the Bar withdrew, and carried another to the Lords. The Letter contained an earneſt Invitation to the Commons to return to their Duty, as the only way to a ſettled Peace; his Majeſty promiſing an Act of Oblivion for what was paſt, and all the Security they could deſire for their Liberties and Properties, and the Rights of Parliament for the future.

King Charles II. 1660.

Under the ſame Cover was encloſed his Majeſty's *Declaration* from *Breda*, granting "a general Pardon "to all his loving Subjects who ſhould lay hold of it "within forty Days, except ſuch as ſhould be excepted by Parliament. Thoſe only excepted (ſays he) "let all our Subjects, how faulty ſoever, rely upon "the Word of a King ſolemnly given, that no Crime "committed againſt us, or our Royal Father, ſhall "ever be brought into Queſtion to the Prejudice of "their Lives, Eſtates, or Reputation. *We do alſo* "*declare a Liberty to tender Conſciences, and that no* "*Man ſhall be diſquieted or called in queſtion for dif-* "*ferences of Opinion in Matters of Religion, which* "*do not diſturb the Peace of the Kingdom.* And we "ſhall be ready to conſent to ſuch an Act of Parliament as upon mature Deliberation ſhall be offered to "us for the full granting that Indulgence ——" Upon reading theſe Letters the *Commons* voted, that according to the antient Conſtitution, the Government of this Kingdom is, and ought to be, by King, Lords, and Commons; and a Committee was appointed to draw up

King's Declaration from Breda.

Parliament invite the King home without any Terms.

King Charles II. 1660. up a dutiful Letter, inviting his Majeſty to return to his Dominions: Money was voted to defray the King's Expences; a Deputation of Lords and Commons was ſent to attend his Majeſty; and the Fleet was ordered to convoy him home. Sir *Matthew Hale* moved, that a Committee might be appointed to review the Propoſitions of the *Iſle of Wight*, and was ſeconded in the Motion; but *Monk*, who was prepared for ſuch a Motion, ſtood up and ſaid, "The Nation was now "quiet, but there were many Incendiaries upon the "Watch, trying where they could firſt raiſe a Flame; "that he could not anſwer for the Peace of the King- "dom or Army, if any Delays were put to the ſend- "ing for the King. What need is there of it (ſays "he) when he is to bring neither Arms nor Treaſure "along with him." He then added, "That he ſhould "lay the Blame of all the Blood and Miſchief that "might follow, on the Heads of thoſe who ſhould in- "ſiſt upon any Motion that might retard the preſent "Settlement of the Nation." Which frighten'd the Houſe into a Compliance. And this is all the Service General *Monk* did towards the King's Reſtoration, for which he was rewarded with a *Garter*, a *Dukedom*, a *great Eſtate in Land, and with one of the higheſt Poſts of Honour and Profit in the Kingdom.*

Burnet.

Owing in part to Ld. Clarendon. Thus was the King voted home in a Hurry, which was owing to the flattering Accounts Lord *Clarendon* gave in his Letters of the King's good Nature, Virtue, Probity, and Application to Buſineſs, for when the Earl of *Southampton* ſaw afterwards what the King was like to prove, he ſaid once in great Wrath to the *Chancellor*, "That it was to him "they owed all they either felt or feared; for if he "had not poſſeſſed them in all his Letters with ſuch "an Opinion of the King, they would have taken "care to have put it out of his Power either to do "himſelf or them any Miſchief, which was like to be "the Effect of their truſting him ſo entirely." To which *Hyde* anſwered, that "he thought the King had "ſo

Ib. p. 88, 89.

" ſo true a Judgment, and ſo much good Nature, " that when the Age of Pleaſure ſhould be over, and " the Idleneſs of his Exile, which made him ſeek " new Diverſions, for want of other Employment, was " turned to an Obligation to mind Affairs, then he " would have ſhaken off theſe Entanglements." But here the Chancellor was miſtaken. *King Charles II. 1660.*

When the Lords and Commons ſent over a Deputation to the King at *Breda*, the *London* Miniſters moved, that a Paſs might be granted to ſome of their Number, to wait upon his Majeſty with an Addreſs from their Brethren; accordingly Dr. *Reynolds*, Dr. *Spurſtow*, Mr. *Calamy*, Mr. *Hall*, Mr. *Manton*, and Mr. *Caſe*, were appointed, who went over with three or four Attendants, and had an Audience *May* 17. wherein, according to Lord *Clarendon*, " they mag- " nified their own, and the Affection of their Friends, " who had always wiſh'd his Majeſty's Reſtoration, " according to the Covenant, and had lately informed " the People of their Duty to invite him home. " They thanked God for his Majeſty's Conſtancy to " the Proteſtant Religion, and declared themſelves no " Enemies to moderate Epiſcopacy, only they deſi- " red that ſuch Things might not be preſſed upon " them in God's Worſhip which in their Judgments " that uſed them were indifferent, but by others were " held to be unlawful." But the Tables were now turned: The King ſpoke kindly to them, and acknowledged their Services, but told them, he would refer all to the Wiſdom of the Parliament. At another Audience (if we may believe the noble Hiſtorian) they met with very different Uſage; for when they entreated his Majeſty at his firſt Landing not to uſe the Book of Common-Prayer entire and formally in his Chapel, it having been long laid aſide, the King replied with ſome warmth, " That while he gave " *them* Liberty he would not have his own taken " away. That he had always uſed that Form of Ser- " vice which he thought the beſt in the World, and " had

A Deputation of Lords and Commons, with ſome Miniſters wait on the King.

Miniſters Addreſs and Reception.

K. Chron. p. 139. Compl. Hiſt. p. 247.

K. Chron. p. 152.

King Charles II. 1660.

"had never discontinued it in Places where it was "more disliked, than he hoped it was by them. "That when he came into *England* he should not "severely enquire how it was used in other Churches, "but he would have no other used in his own "Chapel." They then besought him with more Importunity, that the Use of the *Surplice* might be discontinued by his Chaplains, because it would give Offence; but the King was as inexorable in that Point as the other, and told them, that it was a decent Habit, and had been long used in the Church; that it had been still retained by him, and that he would never discountenance that good old Practice of the Church in which he had been bred. Mr. *Baxter* says, the King gave them such encouraging Promises of Peace, as raised some of them to high Expectations. He never refused them a private Audience when they desired it; and to amuse them further, while they were once waiting in an Anti-Chamber, his Majesty said his Prayers with such an audible Voice in the Room adjoining, that the Ministers might hear him; "He thanked "God that he was a covenanted King; that he hoped "the Lord would give him an humble, meek, for-"giving Spirit; that he might have Forbearance to-"wards his offending Subjects, as he expected For-"bearance from offended Heaven." Upon hearing which old Mr. *Case* lift up his Hands to Heaven, and blessed God, who had given them a praying King.

Bishops send to the King with Instructions.

Tho' the Bishops held a private Correspondence with Chancellor *Hyde*, and by him were assured of the King's Affection, they were not less forward than the Presbyterians in their Application to his Majesty; for while his Majesty was at *Breda*, Mr. *Barwick* was sent over with the following Instructions:

1. He was to wait upon the Right Honourable the Lord Chancellor of *England*, and to beg his Lordship's Assistance to present a most humble Petition to his Majesty in the Name of the Bishops, and then to deliver their Lordships Letters to the Chancellor, to the

the Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, and to the Secretary of State, wherein they returned those great Men their most thankful Acknowledgments for their Piety and Affection to the Church in her late most afflicted State. *King Charles II. 1660.*

2. He was then to give his Majesty a distinct Account of the present State of the Church in all the Particulars wherein his Majesty desired to be informed; and to bring the Bishops back his Majesty's Commands with regard to all that should be thought proper for them, or any of them to do.

3. He was humbly to ask his Majesty's Pleasure with regard to some of the Bishops waiting on the Sea-Coast to pay their Duty to his Majesty, when, by God's Blessing he should soon land in *England*; and whether it was his Royal Pleasure, that they should attend him there in their Episcopal Habits; and at what Time and Place, and how many, and which of them his Majesty pleased should wait his Arrival.

4. He was also to enquire concerning the Number of his Majesty's Chaplains; whether any of them, besides those in Waiting, should attend his Arrival upon the Coast; and to beg that his Majesty would vouchsafe to appoint how many, and who.

5. He was most humbly to beseech his Majesty, that if Dr. *Lushington*, formerly the King's Chaplain, should offer to officiate in that Capacity, his Majesty would be pleased not to indulge him that Favour till Enquiry should be made concerning his suspected Faith and Principles. [He was a *Socinian*.]

6. Since it has been customary for our Kings to celebrate publick Thanksgivings in St. *Paul's Cathedral*, he was humbly to beseech his Majesty, to signify what was his Royal Pleasure in this behalf, considering the ruinous Estate of that Church.

7. His last Instruction was, to give a just and due Account to his Majesty, why the Affair of filling up the vacant Sees had met with no better Success.

King Charles II. 1660.

Forwardneſs of the Clergy.

Life of Barwick, p. 519.

Mr. *Barwick* was moſt graciouſly received by the King, and his Miniſters, and the *Sunday* after his Arrival at *Breda*, was appointed to preach before his Majeſty. The Court was as yet very much upon their Guard with reſpect to the Preſbyterians; but the Flames began to break out at home; the Epiſcopal Clergy not obſerving any Meaſures of Prudence in their Sermons; Dr. *Griffith* having preached an angry Sermon before the General at *Mercer's Hall*, *March* 25. on *Prov.* xxiv. 21. *My Son, fear thou the Lord and the King, and meddle not with them that are given to change*; was for a Pretence confined to *Newgate*, but in a few Days he was releaſed, and printed his Sermon with a Dedication to the General. Others in their Sermons gave out Threatnings againſt thoſe who had hitherto had the Power in their Hands; of which the King being inform'd, commanded Chancellor *Hyde* to acquaint his Correſpondents, that he was extreamly apprehenſive of Inconvenience and Miſchief to the Church and himſelf, from Offences of that kind, and ordered him to deſire Mr. *Barwick* and Dr. *Morley* to uſe their Credit and Authority with ſuch Men, and to let them know from his Majeſty, the Tenderneſs of the Conjuncture. The *Chancellor* accordingly, in his Letter from *Breda*, *April* 16. 1660. writ the King's Senſe, and added, that if Occaſion required they were to ſpeak to the Biſhops of *Ely* and *Salisbury* to interpoſe their Authority, to conjure theſe Men, to make a better Judgment of the Seaſon, and not to awake thoſe Jealouſies and Apprehenſions which all Men ſhould endeavour to extinguiſh. "And truly I hope (ſays the Chancellor) if Faults of this kind are not committed, that both the Church and the Kingdom will be better dealt with than is imagined; and am confident theſe good Men will be more troubled that the Church ſhould undergo a new Suffering for their Indiſcretion, than for all that they have ſuffered hitherto themſelves."

The Clouds gathering thus thick over the Managers of the late Times, every one began to ſhift for himſelf. RICHARD CROMWEL reſigned his Chancellorſhip of the Univerſity of *Oxford* the very Day the King was called home, and retired beyond Sea: He had offered to give it up when he was diveſted of the Protectorſhip, as appears by his Letter on that Occaſion, which ſays, — "You "ſhould have had fuller Experience of my high "Eſteem for Learning and learned Men, if Provi- "dence had continued me in my high Station; but "as I accepted of the Honour of being your Chan- "cellor in order to promote your Proſperity, I aſſure "you I will diveſt my ſelf of the Honour when it "will contribute to your Advantage." Accordingly as ſoon as the King was voted home he ſent them the following Reſignation.

King Charles II. 1660. Richard Cromwel *reſigns his Chancet- lorſhip and abſconds.* K. Chron. p. 141.

Gentlemen,

"I SHALL always retain a hearty Senſe of my "former Obligations to you, in your free Electi- "on of me to the Office of your Chancellor; and it "is no ſmall Trouble to my Thoughts, when I conſi- "der how little ſerviceable I have been to you in that "Relation. But ſince the All-wiſe Providence of "God, which I deſire always to adore, and bow "down unto, has been pleaſed to change my Condi- "tion, that I am not in a Capacity to anſwer the Ends "of the Office — I do therefore moſt freely reſign, "and give up all my Right and Intereſt therein, but "ſhall always retain my Affection and Eſteem for "you, with my Prayers for your continual Proſperi- "ty, that amidſt the many Examples of the Inſtabili- "ty and Revolutions of human Affairs, you may ſtill "abide flouriſhing and fruitful." *Gentlemen,*

Your affectionate Friend and Servant,

Hurſley,
May 8. 1660. RICH. CROMWEL.

King Charles II. 1660.

Thus RICHARD went off the Stage of publick Action. "As he was innocent of all the Evil his "Father had done (ſays *Burnet*) ſo there was no Pre- "judice lay againſt him. Upon his Advancement to "the Protectorſhip the City of *London*, and almoſt "all the Counties of *England*, ſent him Addreſſes of "Congratulation, but when he found the Times too "boiſterous he readily withdrew, and became a pri- "vate Man; and as he had done no hurt to any Body, "ſo no Body ever ſtudied to hurt him. A rare In- "ſtance of the Inſtability of human Greatneſs; and "of the Security of Innocence!" In his younger Years he had not all that Zeal for Religion as was the Faſhion of the Times; but thoſe who knew him well in the latter part of Life have aſſured me, that he was a perfect Gentleman in his Behaviour, well acquainted with publick Affairs, of great Gravity, and real Piety; but ſo very modeſt, that he would not be diſtinguiſhed or known by any Name but the feigned one of Mr. *Clarke*. He died at *Theobalds* about the Year 1712.

His Character. Burnet, p. 82, 83.

The King lands and rides thro' the City to Whitehall

The King landed at *Dover*, *May* 26. and came the ſame Night to *Canterbury*, where he reſted the next Day, and on *Tueſday*, *May* 29. rid in triumph with his two Brothers thro' the City of *London* to *Whitehall* amidſt the Acclamations of an innumerable Croud of Spectators. As he paſs'd along, old Mr. *Arthur Jackſon* an eminent Preſbyterian Miniſter, preſented his Majeſty with a rich emboſſed Bible, which he was pleaſed to receive, and to declare it his Reſolution, to make that Book the Rule of his Conduct.

Convention turned into a Parliament.

Two Days after the King's Arrival at *Whitehall* his Majeſty went to the Houſe of Peers, and after a ſhort congratulatory Speech paſs'd an Act, turning the preſent *Convention* into a Parliament. After which the Houſes for themſelves, and all the Commons of *England*, laid hold of his Majeſty's moſt gracious Pardon and appointed a Committee to prepare an Act of Indemnity for all that had been concerned in the late Troubles, except the King's Judges, and two or three others.

H

Had the Directions given for the Choice of this Parliament been obſerved, no Royaliſts could have ſat in the Houſe; however, their Numbers were inconſiderable; the Convention was a *Presbyterian Parliament*, and had the Courage to avow the Juſtice and Lawfulneſs of taking Arms againſt the late King till the Year 1648. for when Mr. *Lenthall*, Speaker of the Long Parliament, in order to ſhew the Sincerity of his Repentance, had ſaid, that *He that firſt drew his Sword againſt the late King committed as great an Offence as he that cut off his Head*; he was brought to the Bar, and received the following Reprimand from the preſent Speaker, by Order of the Houſe.

King Charles II. 1660.

They avow the Juſtice of the Civil War.

Eachard, p. 765.

SIR,

"THE Houſe has taken great Offence at what "you have ſaid, which, in the Judgment of "the Houſe, contains as high a Reflection upon the "Juſtice of the Proceedings of the Lords and Com-"mons of the laſt Parliament, in their Actings before "1648. as could be expreſſed. They apprehend there "is much Poiſon in the ſaid Words, and that they "were ſpoken out of deſign to inflame, and to render "them *who drew the Sword to bring Delinquents to "Puniſhment, and to vindicate their juſt Liberties*, "into balance with them who cut off the King's "Head; of which they expreſs their Abhorrence and "Deteſtation. Therefore I am commanded to let "you know, that had theſe Words fallen out at any "other Time in this Parliament, but when they had "Conſiderations of Mercy, and Indemnity, you "might have expected a ſharper and ſeverer Sentence "— Nevertheleſs I am according to Command, to "give you a ſharp Reprehenſion, and I do as ſharply "and ſeverely as I can reprehend you for it."

They give up every Thing the Court deſires.

Rapin, p. 258.

But it was to little Purpoſe to juſtify the Civil War, when they were yielding up almoſt every Thing to the Court; for though they ſtopt ſhort of the Lengths of the

King Charles II. 1660.

the next Parliament, they encreaſed his Majeſty's Revenues ſo much, that if he had been a frugal Prince he might have lived without Parliaments for the future. The bringing the King home after this Manner without any Treaty, or one ſingle Article for the ſecuring Men in the Enjoyment of their Religious and Civil Liberties, was (as Biſhop *Burnet* obſerves) the Foundation of all the Misfortunes of the Nation under this Reign. And as another Right Reverend Prelate obſerves, the Reſtoration of the King in this high and abſolute Manner laid the Foundation of all the King's future Miſcarriages; ſo that if the Revolution by King *William* and Queen *Mary* had not taken place, the Reſtoration had been no Bleſſing to the Nation.

p. 89.

Remarks. But it ought to be remember'd, that this was not a legal Parliament, for the *Rump* had no Power to appoint *Keepers of the Liberties of England*; nor had the *Keepers* a Right to iſſue out Writs for a Parliament; nor could the King's Writ, without the ſubſequent Choice of the People make them ſo. All the Laws therefore made by this Convention; and all the Puniſhments inflicted upon Offenders ſubſequent on them were not ſtrictly legal, which the Court were ſo apprehenſive of, that they prevailed with the next Parliament to confirm them. When this Convention Parliament had ſat about eight Months, it was diſſolved *December* 29. partly becauſe it was not legally choſen, and becauſe it was too much Preſbyterian; the prime Miniſter [*Hyde*] having now formed a Deſign in Concert with the Biſhops to turn all the Preſbyterians out of the Church.

Preſbyterian *Miniſters made King's Chaplains.* K. Chron. p. 162.

The managing Preſbyterians ſtill encouraged themſelves with Hopes of a Comprehenſion within the Church, tho' they had parted with all their Weight and Influence; and from *Directors* were become humble Supplicants to thoſe very Men who but a few Months before would have lain at their Feet. They had now no other Refuge but the King's Clemency, which was directed by Chancellor *Hyde* and the Biſhops;

ſhops; but to keep them quiet till Things were better ſettled his Majeſty condeſcended, at the Inſtance of the Earl of *Mancheſter*, to admit Ten of their Number into the Liſt of his Chaplains in ordinary (*viz.*) *King* Charles II. 1660.

Dr. *Reynolds*,	Mr. *Calamy*,
Dr. *Spurſtow*,	Mr. *Aſhe*,
Dr. *Wallis*,	Mr. *Caſe*,
Dr. *Manton*,	Mr. *Baxter*,
Dr. *Bates*,	Mr. *Woodbridge*.

But none of theſe Divines were call'd to preach at Court, except Dr. *Reynolds*, Dr. *Spurſtow*, Mr. *Calamy*, and Mr. *Baxter*, each of them once. Here again the Preſbyterians were divided in their Politicks, ſome being for going as far as they could with the Court, and others for drawing back. Of the former Sort were Mr. *Calamy*, Dr. *Reynolds*, and Mr. *Aſhe*, who were entirely directed by the Earl of *Mancheſter*, and had frequent Aſſemblies at his Houſe; to them were join'd Dr. *Bates*, Dr. *Manton*, and moſt of the City Miniſters; but Dr. *Seaman*, Mr. *Jenkins*, and others, were of another Party; theſe were a little eſtranged from the reſt of their Brethren, and meddled not with Politicks (ſays Mr. *Baxter*) becauſe the Court gave them no Encouragement, their Deſign being only to divide them; but the Former had more Confidence in their Superiors, and carried on a Treaty, till by Force and Violence they were beaten out of the Field. Baxter's *Life*, P. 29.

Upon the King's Arrival at *Whitehall* the Liturgy of the Church of *England* was reſtored in his Majeſty's Chapel, and in ſeveral Churches both in City and Country; for it was juſtly obſerved, that all Acts and Ordinances of the Long Parliament that had not the Royal Aſſent, were in themſelves null, and therefore Prelacy was ſtill the only legal Eſtabliſhment, and the Common-Prayer the only legal Form of Worſhip, and *Liturgy reſtor'd.*

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that they were puniſhable by the Laws of the Land who officiated by any other. The King in his *Declaration* had deſired, that the Preſbyterians would read ſo much of the Liturgy as they themſelves had no Exception againſt, but moſt of them declin'd the Propoſal. But to ſet an Example to the reſt of the Nation, the Houſe of Peers, two Days after the King was proclaimed, appointed Mr. *Marſton* to read Divine Service before them, in his Formalities, according to the Common-Prayer Book; and the *Sunday* following Dr. *Gauden* preached, and adminiſter'd the Sacrament to ſeveral of the Peers, who received it kneeling. On the 31ſt of *May* they ordered, that the Form of Prayers formerly uſed ſhould be conſtantly read in their Houſe, provided that no Prejudice, Penalty, or Reflection, ſhall be on any that are not preſent. The Houſe of Commons followed the Example of the Lords; and before the End of the Year many of the Parochial Clergy, who ſcrupled the Uſe of the Service Book, were proſecuted for offending againſt the Statutes made in that behalf; the Juſtices of the Peace and others inſiſting, that the Laws returned with the King, and that they ought not to be diſpenſed with in the neglect of them.

K. Chron. p. 432.

Sequeſter'd Clergy reſtored.

The old ſequeſter'd Clergy flocked in great Numbers about the Court, magnifying their Sufferings, and making Intereſt for Preferments in the Church; every one took Poſſeſſion of the Living from which he had been ejected; by which Means ſome Hundreds of the Preſbyterian Clergy were diſpoſſeſſed at once. Upon this the Heads of that Party waited upon the King, and prayed, that tho' all who had loſt their Livings for Malignancy, or Diſaffection to the late Powers were reſtored, yet that thoſe Miniſters who ſucceeded ſuch as had been ejected for *Scandal* might keep their Places; but the Court paid no Regard to their Petitions. However, where the Incumbent was dead his Majeſty yielded, that the Living ſhould be confirmed to the preſent Poſſeſſor.

The

The Heads of Colleges and Fellows who had been ejected in the late Times were no leſs forward in their Applications to be reſtored; upon which the Parliament appointed a Committee to receive their Petitions. Dr. *Goodwin* having reſigned his Preſidentſhip of *Magdalen College*, the Lords ordered, "that Dr. *Oliver* be "reſtored in as full and ample Manner as formerly he "enjoyed it, till the Pleaſure of his Majeſty be fur- "ther known. And the three ſenior Fellows were "appointed to put this Order in Execution." The ejected Fellows of *New College*, *Oxon*, petition'd at the ſame Time to be reſtored; upon which the Lords ordered, *May* 19. that "*Robert Grove*, *John Lamp-* "*ſhire*, &c. late Fellows of *New College*, *Oxon*, and "all others who were unjuſtly ejected out of their Fel- "lowſhips, be forthwith reſtored; and that all ſuch "Fellows as have been admitted contrary to the Sta- "tute be forthwith ejected; and that no new Fellows "be admitted contrary to the Statutes." And to prevent further Applications of this kind, the Lords paſſed this general Order *June* 4. "That the Chancellors "of both Univerſities ſhall take care, that the ſeveral "Colleges in the ſaid Univerſities ſhall be governed "according to their reſpective Statutes; and that ſuch "Perſons who have been unjuſtly put out of their "Headſhips, Fellowſhips, or other Offices relating "to the ſeveral Colleges or Univerſities, may be re- "ſtored according to the ſaid Statutes of the Univer- "ſity, and Founders of Colleges therein."

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And Heads of Colleges.

K. Chr. P. 152.

Ib. p. 153.

Ib. p. 173.

Purſuant to this Order there followed a very conſiderable Change in both Univerſities, Commiſſioners being appointed by the King to hear and determine all Cauſes relating to this Affair, who in the Months of *Auguſt* and *September* reſtored all ſuch as were unmarried to their reſpective Places. In the Univerſity of *Oxford*, beſides Dr. *Oliver* already mentioned, the following Heads of Colleges were reſtored, and the preſent Poſſeſſors ejected.

Heads

King Charles II. 1660.

Heads of Colleges restor'd,	*August* 3. President of	In the Place of Heads ejected,
Dr. *Hannibal Potter*,	*Trinity Coll.*	Dr. *Seth Ward*,
Dr. *Richard Bayly*,	*St. John's Coll.*	Mr. *Thank. Owen*,
Dr. *Francis Mansel*,	*Jesus College*,	Mr. *Fran. Howel*,
Dr. *Robert Newlin*,	*Corp. Chr. Coll.*	Dr. *Edw. Staunton*,
Dr. *Gilbert Sheldon*,	*All Souls Coll.*	Dr. *Meredith*, dec.
Dr. *Thomas Yate*,	*Braz. Nose Coll.*	Dr. *D. Greenwood*,
Mr. *Hen. Wightwick*,	*Pembrook Coll.*	Dr. *Henry Langley*.

N.B. This Mr. *Wightwick* was ejected a 2d Time 1664.

———	*St. Mary's Hall*,	Mr. *Thomas Cole*,
Dr. *Rob. Saunderson*,	*Regius Profess.* in *Divinity*,	Dr. *John Conant*,
———	*Nat. Philosoph. Reader*,	Dr. *Josh. Crosse*,
Dr. *Fell*,	*Can.* of *Chr. Ch.* & *Uni. Orator*,	Mr. *Ralph Button*,
———	*Can.* of *Chr. Ch.* & *Marg. Prof.*	Dr. *Hen. Wilkinson*, sen.

And Fellows. Besides these, all surviving ejected Fellows of Colleges were restored without Exception, and such as had been nominated by the Commissioners in 1648. or elected in any other Manner than according to the Statutes were ejected, and their Places declared vacant.

Reformation of the University of Camb. K. Chron. p. 221. The like Alterations were made in the University of *Cambridge*. The Earl of *Manchester*, Chancellor, was obliged to send the following Letter to the University, dated *August* 3. for restoring Dr. *Martin* to the Mastership of *Queen's College*, whom he had ejected for *Scandal* by Letters under his Hand, dated *March* 13. 1643.

Ib. p. 222. "Whereas I am informed, that Dr. *Ed. Martin* "has been wrongfully put out of his Mastership, these "are to signify to all whom it may concern, that I "do, by virtue of an Authority given to me, by the "Lords assembled in Parliament, restore him to his "said

" ſaid Maſterſhip, together with all Lodgings, *&c.* " appertaining to his Place, from henceforth to have " and enjoy all Profits, Rights, Privileges, and Ad- " vantages, belonging thereunto, unleſs Cauſe be " ſhewn to the contrary within ten Days after the " Date hereof." This Gentleman was accordingly reſtored, and with him ſeveral others; as, *King Charles II. 1660.*

Heads of Colleges reſtored,	Maſter of	In the Place of Heads ejected,
Dr. *J. Coſins*,	*Peter Houſe*,	Dr. *Laz. Seaman*,
Dr. *Tho. Paske*,	*Clare Hall*,	Reſigned to Dr. *Theo. Dillingham*,
Dr. *Benj. Laney*,	*Pembroke Hall*,	Mr. *Will. Moſes*,
Dr. *Rob. King*,	*Trinity Hall*,	Mr. *Bond*,
Dr. *Rich. Sterne*,	*Jeſus College*,	Mr. *John Worthington*,
Dr. *Ed. Rainbowe*,	*Magd. Coll.* eject. for refuſing Eng.	Mr. *John Sadleir.*

All the ſurviving Fellows unmarried were reſtored, as in the other Univerſity, by which means moſt of the Preſbyterians were diſpoſſeſſed, and the Education of Youth taken out of their Hands. To make way for the filling up theſe and other Vacancies in the Church, the *Honours of the Univerſities* were offered to almoſt any that would declare their Averſion to Preſbytery, and hearty Affection for Epiſcopal Government. It was his Majeſty's Pleaſure, and the Chancellor's, that there ſhould be a Creation in all Faculties of ſuch as had ſuffered for the Royal Cauſe, and had been ejected from the Univerſity by the Viſitors in 1648. Accordingly between ſeventy and eighty Maſters of Arts were created this Year, among whom (ſays the *Oxford* Hiſtorian) ſome that had not been Sufferers thruſt themſelves into the Croud for their Money; others, yet few, were Gentlemen, and created by the Favour of the Chancellor's Letters only; eighteen

Faſti. p. 120.

New Creations in the Univerſities. Kennet's Chron. p. 220, 221, *&c.*

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teen were created Bachelors of Divinity, ſeventy Doctors of Divinity, twenty two Doctors of Phyſick, beſides Doctors of Laws. The Creations in the Univerſity of *Cambridge* were yet more numerous: On *Midſummer* Day, *a Grace* paſſed in the Univerſity in favour of ſome Candidates for Degrees. *Auguſt* 2. the King ſent Letters to *Cambridge* for creating nine or ten Perſons, Doctors of Divinity; and on the fifth of *September* there were created by virtue of his Majeſty's *Mandamus* no leſs than ſeventy one Doctors of Divinity, nine Doctors of Civil Law, five Doctors of Phyſick, and five Bachelors of Divinity. So that within the Compaſs of little more than ſix Months the Univerſities diplomated above one hundred and fifty Doctors of Divinity, and as many more in the other Faculties. Some of theſe were deſerving Perſons, but the Names of moſt of them are no where to be met with but in the Regiſters. Had the Parliament Viſitors in 1648. or *O. Cromwel* in his Protectorſhip, made ſo free with the Honours of the Univerſities, they might juſtly have been ſuppoſed to countenance the *Illiterate*, and proſtitute the Honour of the two great Luminaries of this Kingdom; but his Majeſty's promoting ſuch Numbers in ſo ſhort a Time by a *Royal Mandamus*, without enquiring into their Qualifications, or inſiſting upon their performing any Academical Exerciſe, muſt be covered with ſilence, becauſe it was for the Service of the Church. In the midſt of theſe Promotions the Marquis of *Hertford*, Chancellor of the Univerſity, died, and was ſucceeded by Sir *Edward Hyde*, now Lord Chancellor of *England*, and created about this Time Earl of *Clarendon*. He was inſtalled *Nov.* 15. and continued in this Office till he retired into *France*, in the Year 1667.

Ken. Chron. p. 332.

Ib. p. 251.

Vacancies in Cathedrals filled up.

K. Chr. p. 179.

Theſe Promotions made way for filling up the Vacancies in Cathedrals; *July* 5. Dr. *Killigrew*, *Jones*, *Doughty* and *Busby*, were inſtalled Prebendaries of *Weſtminſter*; and within a Month or ſix Weeks four more were added. In the Months of *July* and *Auguſt* all

all the Dignities in the Cathedral of St. *Paul*'s were filled up, being upwards of twenty. *July* 13. twelve Divines were inſtalled Prebendaries in the Cathedral of *Canterbury*; and before the End of the Year all the Dignities in the Cathedrals of *Durham*, *Cheſter*, *Litchfield*, *Briſtol*, *Hereford*, *Worceſter*, *Glouceſter*, &c. were ſupplied with younger Divines, who ran violently along with the Times. *King* Charles II. 1660. Ib. p. 204.

There were but nine Biſhops alive at the King's Reſtoration, *viz.* *The old ſurviving Biſhops.* Kennet, p. 252.

Dr. *William Juxon*,	Biſhop of *London*,
Dr. *William Pierſe*,	*Bath* and *Wells*,
Dr. *Matthew Wren*,	*Ely*,
Dr. *Robert Skinner*,	*Oxford*,
Dr. *William Roberts*,	*Bangor*,
Dr. *John Warner*,	*Rocheſter*,
Dr. *Bryan Duppa*,	*Sarum*,
Dr. *Henry King*,	*Chicheſter*,
Dr. *Accepted Frewen*,	*Litchf.* and *Coventry*.

In order to make way for a new Creation, ſome of the Biſhops abovementioned were tranſlated to better Sees; as,

Dr. *Juxon*, Biſhop of *London*, to *Canterbury*, who was promoted more out of Decency (ſays Biſhop *Burnet*) as being the eldeſt and moſt eminent of the ſurviving Biſhops: He never was a great Man, but was now ſuperannuated. *Tranſlation of Biſhops.* p. 176.

Dr. *Accepted Frewen*, was tranſlated to *York*, *Sept.* 22. and confirmed *October* 4. He was the Son of a Puritanical Miniſter, and himſelf inclined that Way, till ſome Time after the Beginning of the Civil Wars, when he became a great Loyaliſt, and was promoted in the Year 1644. to the See of *Litchfield* and *Coventry*; but he made no Figure in the learned World, and died in the Year 1664. Wood *and* Walker.

Dr. *Bryan Duppa* was tranſlated to *Wincheſter*, and confirm'd *October* 4. He had been the King's Tutor, tho'

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tho' no way fit for it. He was a meek, humble Man, and much beloved for his good Temper (ſays Biſhop *Burnet*) and would have been more eſteemed if he had died before the Reſtoration, for he made not that Uſe of the great Wealth that flowed in upon him, as was expected.

p. 177.

To make way for the Election of new Biſhops in a Regular and Canonical Manner, it was firſt neceſſary to reſtore to every Cathedral a Dean and Chapter; which being done,

New Biſhops created.

Dr. *Gilbert Sheldon* was advanced to the See of *London*; he was eſteemed a learned Man before the Civil Wars, but had ſince engaged ſo deep in Politicks (ſays *Burnet*) that ſcarce any Prints of what he had been remained; he was a dexterous Man in Buſineſs, and treated all Men in an obliging Manner, but few depended much on his Profeſſions of Friendſhip. He ſeemed not to have a deep Senſe of Religion, if any at all; and ſpoke of it moſt commonly as an Engine of Government, and a Matter of Policy, for which Reaſon the King look'd upon him as a wiſe and honeſt Clergyman. He was one of the moſt powerful and implacable Adverſaries of the Non-Conformiſts.

p. 176.

Dr. *Henchman* was conſecrated Biſhop of *Sarum*, and Dr. *George Morley* Biſhop of *Worceſter*, *Octob.* 28. *December* 2. following ſeven Biſhops were conſecrated together, in St. *Peter's Weſtminſter* (viz.)

Dr. *John Coſins*,	Biſhop of	*Durham*,
Dr. *William Laws*,		*St. David's*,
Dr. *Benjamin Laney*,		*Peterborough*,
Dr. *Hugh Lloyd*,		*Landaff*,
Dr. *Richard Sterne*,		*Carliſle*,
Dr. *Bryan Walton*,		*Cheſter*,
Dr. *John Gauden*,		*Exeter*.

On the ſixth of *January* following four other Biſhops were conſecrated (*viz.*)

Dr. *Gilbert Ironſide*, Biſhop of *Briſtol*,
Dr. *Edward Reynolds*, *Norwich*,
Dr. *Nicholas Monk*, *Hereford*,
Dr. *William Nicholſon*, *Glouceſter*.

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Four or five Sees were kept vacant for the leading Divines among the Preſbyterians, if they would conform; but they declined, as will be ſeen hereafter. In *Scotland* and *Ireland* Things were not quite ſo ripe for Execution; the *Scots* Parliament diſannulled the Covenant, but Epiſcopacy was not eſtabliſhed in either of the Kingdoms till next Year.

The *Engliſh* Hierarchy being reſtored to its former Power, except the Peerage of the Biſhops, it remained only to conſider what was to be done with the Malecontents; the *Independants* and *Anabaptiſts* petitioned the King only for a Toleration; and the *Engliſh* Papiſts depending upon their Intereſt at Court offered his Majeſty one hundred thouſand Pounds before he left *Breda*, to take off the Penal Laws, upon which his Majeſty ordered the Chancellor to inſert the following Clauſe in his Declaration concerning Eccleſiaſtical Affairs, that *others alſo be permitted to meet for Religious Worſhip, ſo be it they do it not to the Diſturbance of the Peace; and that no Juſtice of Peace offer to diſturb them.* When this was debated in the King's Preſence after the Reſtoration, the Biſhops wiſely held their Peace; but Mr. *Baxter*, who was more zealous than prudent, declared plainly his Diſlike of a Toleration of Papiſts and Socinians; which his Majeſty took ſo very ill, that he ſaid, the Preſbyterians were a Set of Men who were only for ſetting up themſelves. Theſe ſtill flatter'd themſelves with hopes of a Comprehenſion, but the *Independants* and *Baptiſts* were in deſpair.

Of the Independants, Anabaptiſts and Papiſts.

K. Chron. p. 142.

Ib. Compl. Hiſt. p. 258.

And here was an End of thoſe unhappy Times, which our Hiſtorians have loaded with all the Infamy and Reproach that the Wit of Man could invent. The *Puritan* Miniſters have been repreſented as ignorant Mechanicks, canting Preachers, Enemies to Learning,

Of the Times before the Reſtoration.

King Charles II. 1660.

ing, and no better than publick Robbers. The Universities were ſaid to be reduced to a meer *Munſter*; and that, if the *Goths* and *Vandals*, and even the *Turks*, had over-run the Nation, they could not have done more to introduce Barbariſm and diſloyal Ignorance; and yet in theſe Times, and by the Men that then filled the Univerſity Chairs, were educated the moſt learned Divines and eloquent Preachers of the laſt Age, as the *Stillingfleet*'s, *Tillotſon*'s, *Bull*'s, *Barrow*'s, *Whitby*'s, and others, who retained a high Veneration for their learned Tutors after they were ejected and laid aſide. The religious Part of the common People have been ſtigmatized with the Character of *Hypocrites*; their Looks, their Dreſs and Behaviour, have been painted in the moſt frightful Colours; and yet one may venture to challenge theſe Writers to produce any Period of Time ſince the Reformation, wherein there was leſs open Prophaneneſs and Impiety, and more of the Spirit and Appearance of Religion. Perhaps there was a little too much Rigor and Preciſeneſs in indifferent Matters, which might be thought running into a contrary Extream. But the Luſts of Men were laid under a very great Reſtraint; and tho' the legal Conſtitution was unhappily broken to Pieces, and Men were govern'd by falſe Politicks, yet better Laws were never made againſt Vice, and thoſe Laws never better put in Execution. The Dreſs, the Language, and Converſation of People, was ſober and virtuous, and their Manner of Houſe-Keeping remarkably frugal: There was hardly a ſingle Bankrupcy to be heard of in a Year; and in ſuch a Caſe the Bankrupt had a Mark of Infamy upon him that he could never wipe off. The Vices of Drunkenneſs, Fornication, prophane Swearing, and every kind of Debauchery, were baniſhed, and out of Faſhion. The Clergy of theſe Times were laborious to Exceſs in Preaching and Praying, in Catechizing Youth, and Viſiting their Pariſhes. The Magiſtrates did their Duty in ſuppreſſing all Kinds of Games, Stage-Plays, and Abuſes in publick

lick Houſes. There was not a Play acted in any part of *England* for almoſt twenty Years. The *Lord's Day* was obſerved with unuſual Strictneſs; and there were a Set of as learned and pious Youths in the Univerſity as had been known. So that if ſuch a Reformation of Manners had obtained under a legal Adminiſtration, they would have deſerved the Character of the beſt of Times. *King* Charles II. 1660.

But when the legal Conſtitution was reſtored there came in with it a Torrent of all Kinds of Debauchery and Wickedneſs. The Times that followed the Reſtoration were the Reverſe of thoſe that went before; for the Laws which had been made againſt Vice for the laſt twenty Years being declared null, and the Magiſtrates changed, Men ſet no Bounds to their vitious Appetites. A Proclamation indeed was publiſhed againſt thoſe looſe and riotous Cavaliers, whoſe Loyalty conſiſted in drinking Healths, and railing at thoſe who would not revel with them; but in reality the King was at the Head of theſe Diſorders, who was devoted to his Pleaſures; having given himſelf up to an avowed Courſe of Lewdneſs, his Biſhops and Doctors ſaid, that he uſually came from his Miſtreſſes Lodgings to Church, even on Sacrament Days. There were two Play-houſes erected in the Neighbourhood of the Court. *Women Actreſſes* were introduced upon the *Engliſh* Stage, which had not been known till that Time; the moſt lewd and obſcene Plays were acted; and the more obſcene, the better did they pleaſe the King, who graced the acting every new Play with his Preſence. Nothing was to be ſeen at Court but Feaſting, hard Drinking, Revelling, and amorous Intrigues, which produced the moſt enormous Vices. From Court the Contagion ſpread like Wild-fire among the common People, inſomuch that Men threw off the very Profeſſion of Virtue and Piety, under colour of drinking the King's Health; all kinds of old *Cavalier Rioting* and Debauchery revived; the Appearances of Religion which remained with ſome, *Of the Times after the Reſtoration.* Burnet. K. Chron. p. 167. Ib. p. 493.

King Charles II. 1660.

Coke.

furniſhed Matter of Ridicule to the prophane Mockers of real Piety: Some who had been concerned in the former Tranſactions thought they could not redeem their Credit better than by laughing at all Religion, and telling or making Stories to expoſe their former Party and make them ridiculous. To appear ſerious, or make Conſcience of ones Words and Actions, was the Way to be avoided as a Schiſmatick, a Fanatick, or a Sectarian; tho' if there was any real Religion during the Courſe of this Reign, it was chiefly among thoſe People. They who did not applaud the new Ceremonies were marked out for *Presbyterians*, and every Preſbyterian was a Rebel. The old Clergy who had been ſequeſter'd for Scandal, having taken Poſſeſſion of their Livings, were intoxicated with their new Felicity, and threw off all the Reſtraints they were under before; every Week (ſays Mr. *Baxter*) produced Reports of one or other Clergyman who was taken up by the Watch drunk at Night, and mobb'd in the Streets. Some were taken with lewd Women; and one was reported to be drunk in the Pulpit. Such was the general Diſſolution of Manners which attended the Tide of Joy that overflow'd the Nation upon his Majeſty's Reſtoration!

Life, Part II. p. 287.

Death of Mr. Taylor.

About this Time died the Reverend Mr. *Francis Taylor*, ſometime Rector of *Clapham* in *Surrey*, and afterwards of *Yalden*, from whence he was called to ſit in the Aſſembly of Divines at *Weſtminſter*, and had a conſiderable Share in the Annotations which went under their Name. From *Yalden* Mr. *Taylor* removed to *Canterbury*, and became Preacher of *Chriſt Church* in that City, where I preſume he died, leaving behind him the Character of a learned Critick in the Oriental Languages, and one of the moſt conſiderable Divines of the Aſſembly. He publiſhed ſeveral valuable Works, and among others a Tranſlation of the *Jeruſalem Targum* on the *Pentateuch* out of the *Chaldee* into *Latin*, dedicated to the learned Mr. *Gataker* of *Rotherhithe*, with a Prefatory Epiſtle

of *Selden*'s, and several others, relating to *Jewish* Antiquities. Among the Letters to Archbishop *Usher* there is one from Mr. *Taylor*, dated from *Clapham*, 1635. He corresponded also with *Boetius*, and most of the learned Men of his Time. He left behind him a Son who was blind, but ejected for Non-Conformity in the Year 1662. from St. *Alphage* Church in *Canterbury*, where he lies buried.

King Charles II. 1660.

CHAP. V.

From the Reſtoration of King CHARLES II. *to the Conference at the* Savoy.

King Charles II. 1660.

BEFORE we relate the Conference between the Epiſcopal and Preſbyterian Divines about a *Comprehenſion*, it will be proper to repreſent the Views of the Court, and the Biſhops, who had promiſed to come to a Temper, and to bury all paſt Offences under the Foundation of the Reſtoration. The Point in debate was, *Whether Conceſſions ſhould be made, and Pains taken to gain the Presbyterians?* The King ſeemed to be for it; but the Court Biſhops, with Lord *Clarendon* at their Head, were abſolutely againſt it: *Clarendon* was a Man of high and abſolute Principles, and gave himſelf up to the Biſhops, for the Service they did him in reconciling the King to his Daughter's clandeſtine Marriage with the Duke of *York*. If his Lordſhip had been for moderate Meaſures the greateſt part of the Preſbyterians might have been gained; but he would not diſoblige the Biſhops; the Reaſons of whoſe angry Behaviour, were, 1. *Their high Notions of the Epiſcopal Form of Government as neceſſary to the very Eſſence of a Chriſtian Church.* 2. *The Reſentments that remained in their Breaſts againſt all who had engaged with the Long Parliament, and had been the Cauſe of their Sufferings.* 3. *The Presbyterians being legally poſſeſſed of moſt of the Benefices in Church and State, it was thought neceſſary to diſpoſſeſs them; and if there muſt be a Schiſm, rather to have it out of the Church than within it*; for it had been obſerved, that the half Conformity of the Puritans before the War, had in moſt Cities and Corporations, occaſioned a Faction between the *Incumbents* and *Lecturers*, which latter had endeavoured to render themſelves popular at the Expence of the Hierarchy of the

Views of the Court and of the Biſhops.

the Church. 4. Beſides, *They had too much Credit in Elections of Parliament Men*; therefore inſtead of uſing Methods to bring them into the Church (ſays Biſhop *Burnet*) they reſolved to ſeek the moſt effectual ones for caſting them out. Here was no Gratitude, no Remembrance of paſt Services, nor Compaſſion for weak or prejudiced Minds, but a fixed Reſolution to diſarm their Opponents and ſend them a Begging; ſo that the Conferences with the Preſbyterians which followed, were no better than an Amuſement to keep them quiet till they could obtain a Law to ſtrike them all dead at once.

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p. 178, 179.

The King was devoted to his Pleaſures, and had no Principles of Religion; his grand Deſign was to lay aſleep the former Troubles, and to unite both Proteſtant and Papiſt under his Government; with this View he ſubmitted to the Scheme of the Biſhops, in hopes of making it ſubſervient to a *general Toleration*; which nothing could make ſo neceſſary, as having great Bodies of Men ſhut out of the Church, and put under ſevere penal Laws, who ſhould move for a Toleration, and make it reaſonable for the Legiſlature to grant it; but it was his Majeſty's Reſolution, that *whatſoever ſhould be granted of that ſort ſhould paſs in ſo large a Manner, that Papiſts as well as other Sectaries ſhould be comprehended within it.* The Duke of *York* and all the Papiſts were in this Scheme; they declared abſolutely againſt a *Comprehenſion*, but were very much for a *general Toleration*, as what was neceſſary for the Peace of the Nation, and promoting the Catholick Cauſe. If the Reader will keep theſe Things in mind, he will not be ſurprized that all Attempts for an Accommodation with Proteſtants only were vain and fruitleſs.

And of the King and Duke of York.

The well meaning Preſbyterians were all this while ſtriving againſt the Stream, and making Intereſt with a Set of Men who were now laughing in their Sleeves at the abject Condition to which the Follies of their Adverſaries had reduced them. They offered Archbiſhop *Uſher*'s Model of Primitive Epiſcopacy

Preſbyterians *addreſs for a Comprehenſion.* K. Chron. p. 173.

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copacy as a Plan of Accommodation; that the *Surplice*, the *Croſs* in Baptiſm, and *Kneeling* at the Communion, ſhould be left indifferent. They were content to ſet aſide the *Aſſembly's Confeſſion*, and let the Articles of the Church of *England* take place with ſome few Amendments. About the middle of *June* Mr. *Calamy*, Dr. *Reynolds*, Mr. *Aſhe*, Mr. *Baxter*, Dr. *Wallis*, Dr. *Manton*, and Dr. *Spurſtow*, waited upon the King, being introduced by the Earl of *Manchester*, to crave his Majeſty's Interpoſition for reconciling the Differences in the Church; that the People might not be deprived of their faithful Paſtors: Honeſt Mr. *Baxter* told his Majeſty, that the Intereſt of the *late Uſurpers* with the People was their encouraging Religion; and he hoped the King would not undo, but rather go beyond the Good which *Cromwel*, or any other had done. They laid a good deal of ſtreſs on their own Loyalty, and carefully diſtinguiſhed between their own Behaviour and that of other Sectaries, who had been diſloyal and factious. The King told them, "He was glad to hear of their Inclinations to "an Agreement; that he would do his Part to bring "them together, but this muſt not be by bringing "one Party over to another, but by abating ſome-"what on both ſides and meeting in the Midway; and "that if it was not accompliſhed it ſhould not be his "Fault; nay, he ſaid, he was reſolved to ſee it "brought to paſs." Accordingly his Majeſty required them to draw up ſuch Propoſals as they thought meet for an Agreement about Church-Government, and to ſet down the moſt they could yield; promiſing them a Meeting with ſome Epiſcopal Divines in his Majeſty's Preſence, when their Propoſals were ready. Upon this they ſummoned the City Miniſters to meet and conſult at *Sion College*, not excluding ſuch of their Country Brethren as would attend, that it might not be ſaid afterwards they took upon themſelves the concluding ſo weighty an Affair. After two or three Weeks Conſultation they agreed upon a Paper to the fol-

K. Chron. p. 182.

Ib. p. 183.

Baxter, Part II. p. 232.

following Purpoſe, drawn up chiefly by Dr. *Reynolds*, Dr. *Worth*, and Mr. *Calamy*, which, together with Archbiſhop *Uſher*'s Reduction of Epiſcopacy, they offered to the King; with the following Addreſs. *King* Charles II. 1660.

May it pleaſe your moſt excellent Majeſty,

"WE your Majeſty's moſt loyal Subjects cannot "but acknowledge it as a very great Mercy of "God, that immediately after ſo wonderful and peace-"able Reſtoration to your Throne and Government "(for which we bleſs his Name) he has ſtir'd up your "Royal Heart, as to a zealous Teſtimony againſt Pro-"phaneneſs, ſo to endeavour an happy compoſing of "the Differences, and healing the ſad Breaches which "are in the Church. And we ſhall, according to "our bounden Duty, become humble Suitors to the "Throne of Grace, that the God of Peace, who has "put ſuch a Thing as this into your Majeſty's Heart, "will, by his heavenly Wiſdom and Holy Spirit, aſ-"ſiſt you herein, that you may bring your Reſolu-"tions to a perfect Effect and Iſſue ——

"In humble Conformity to your Majeſty's Chriſti-"an Deſigns, we taking it for granted, that there is a "firm Agreement between our Brethren and us, in the "Doctrinal Truths of the Reform'd Religion, and in the "ſubſtantial Parts of Divine Worſhip, humbly deſire,

Firſt, "That we may be ſecured of thoſe Things "in Practice of which we ſeem to be agreed in Prin-"ciple; as, *Abſtract of their firſt Paper of Propoſals.* Baxter's Part II. p. 232.

1. "That thoſe of our Flocks that are ſerious in "Matters of their Salvation may not be reproachfully "handled by Words of Scorn, or any abuſive Lan-"guage, but may be encouraged in their Duties of "exhorting and provoking one another in their moſt "holy Faith, and of furthering one another in the "Ways of eternal Life.

2. "That each Congregation may have a learned, "orthodox, and godly Paſtor, that the People may

King Charles II. 1660.

" be publickly inſtructed by Preaching every Lord's " Day, by Catechiſing, by frequent Adminiſtring the " Lord's Supper and Baptiſm; and that effectual Pro- " viſion by Law may be made, that ſuch as are in- " ſufficient, negligent, or ſcandalous, may not offi- " ciate.

3. " That none may be admitted to the Lord's " Supper till they perſonally own their Baptiſmal Co- " venant by a credible Profeſſion of Faith and Holi- " neſs, not contradicted by a ſcandalous Life That " to ſuch only *Confirmation* may be adminiſter'd; and " that the Approbation of the Paſtor to whom the in- " ſtructing thoſe under his Charge doth appertain, " may be produced before any Perſon receives Confir- " mation.

4. " That an effectual Courſe be taken for the San- " ctification of the Lord's Day, appropriating the " ſame to holy Exerciſes both in publick and private, " without any unneceſſary Divertiſements."

" Then for Matters in difference (*viz.*) Church- " Government, Liturgy, and Ceremonies, we hum- " bly repreſent,

" That we do not renounce the true antient Primi- " tive Epiſcopacy or Preſidency, as it was ballanced " with a due Commixtion of Preſbyters. If therefore " your Majeſty, in your grave Wiſdom and Mode- " ration, ſhall conſtitute ſuch an Epiſcopacy, we " ſhall humbly ſubmit thereunto. And in order to " an Accommodation in this weighty Affair, we de- " ſire humbly to offer ſome Particulars which we con- " ceive were amiſs in the Epiſcopal Government as it " was practiſed before the Year 1640.

1. " The great Extent of the Biſhop's Dioceſe, " which we apprehend too large for his perſonal In- " ſpection.

2. " That by reaſon of this Diſability the Biſhops " did depute the Adminiſtration, in Matters of ſpiri- " tual Cognizance, to Commiſſaries, Chancellors, Of- " ficials, whereof ſome are ſecular Perſons, and could " not

" not administer that Power that originally belongs to " the Officers of the Church. *King* Charles II. 1660.

3. " That the Bishops did assume the sole Power of " Ordination and Jurisdiction to themselves.

4. " That some of the Bishops exercised an arbitrary " Power, by sending forth Articles of Visitation, en- " quiring unwarrantably into several Things; and " swearing Church-Wardens to present accordingly. " Also many Innovations and Ceremonies were impo- " sed upon Ministers and People not required by " Law.

" For Remedy of these Evils we crave leave to " offer,

1. " The late most Reverend Primate of *Ireland*, " his Reduction of Episcopacy into the Form of Syno- " dical Government.

2. " We humbly desire, that the *Suffragans*, or " *Chorepiscopi*, may be chosen by the respective " Synods.

3. " That no Oaths, or Promises of Obedience to " the Bishops, nor any unnecessary Subscriptions or " Engagements be made necessary to Ordination, In- " stitution, or Induction, Ministration, Communion, " or Immunities of Ministers, they being responsible " for any Transgression of the Law. And that no " Bishops or Ecclesiastical Governors may exercise their " Government by their private Will or Pleasure, but " only by such Rules, Canons, and Constitutions, as " shall be established by Parliament."

Secondly, " Concerning Liturgy.

1. " We are satisfied in our Judgments concerning " the Lawfulness of a Liturgy, or Form of Worship, " provided it be for Matter agreeable to the Word of " God, and suited to the Nature of the several Ordi- " nances and Necessities of the Church, neither too " tedious, nor composed of too short Prayers or Re- " sponsals, not dissonant from the Liturgies of other " Reformed Churches, nor too rigorously imposed,

" non

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" nor the Miniſter confined thereunto, but that he " may alſo make uſe of his Gifts for Prayer and Ex- " hortation.

2. " Foraſmuch as the Book of Common-Prayer is in " ſome Things juſtly offenſive, and needs Amendment, " we moſt humbly pray, that ſome learned, godly, and " moderate Divines of both Perſuaſions, may be em- " ployed to compile ſuch a Form as is before deſcribed, " as much as may be in Scripture Words; or at leaſt to " reviſe, and reform the Old; together with an Addi- " tion of other various Forms in Scripture Phraſe, " to be uſed at the Miniſter's Choice."

Thirdly, " Concerning Ceremonies.

" We hold our ſelves obliged in every Part of Di- " vine Worſhip, to do all Things decently and in or- " der, and to Edification; and are willing to be de- " termined by Authority in ſuch Things, as being " meerly circumſtantial, are common to human Acti- " ons and Societies, and are to be ordered by the Light " of Nature, and human Prudence.

" As to divers Ceremonies formerly retain'd in the " Church of *England*, we do, in all Humility, offer " to your Majeſty the following Conſiderations.

" That the Worſhip of God is in it ſelf pure and " perfect, and decent, without any ſuch Ceremonies. " That it is then moſt pure and acceptable when it has " leaſt of human Mixtures. That theſe Ceremonies " have been impoſed and advanced by ſome, ſo as to " draw near to the Significancy and moral Efficacy of " Sacraments. That they have been rejected by ma- " ny of the Reformed Churches abroad, and have " been ever the Subject of Contention and endleſs Diſ- " putes in this Church; and therefore being in their " own Nature indifferent, and mutable, they ought " to be changed, leſt in Time they ſhould be appre- " hended as neceſſary as the Subſtantials of Worſhip " themſelves.

" May

"May it therefore pleaſe your Majeſty graciouſly "to grant, that *Kneeling at the Lord's Supper*, and "ſuch *Holy Days* as are but of human Inſtitution, "may not be impoſed on ſuch as ſcruple them. That "the *Uſe of the Surplice and Croſs in Baptiſm, and* "*Bowing at the Name of Jeſus*, may be aboliſhed. "And foraſmuch as erecting Altars and bowing to- "wards them, and ſuch like (having no Foundation "in the Law of the Land) have been introduced and "impoſed, we humbly beſeech your Majeſty, that "ſuch Innovations may not be uſed or impoſed for the "future." *King* Charles II. 1660.

When the Preſbyterian Divines came to Court with theſe Propoſals, the King received them favourably, and promiſed to bring both Parties together. His Majeſty told them, he was glad to hear that they were for a Liturgy, and Forms of Prayer, and that they were willing to yield to the Eſſence of Epiſcopacy, and therefore he doubted not of procuring an Accommodation. The Miniſters expected to have met the Biſhops with their Papers of Propoſals, but none of them appeared, having been better inſtructed in a private Conference with the Lord Chancellor *Hyde*, who told them, it was not their Buſineſs to bring Propoſals, becauſe *they were in Poſſeſſion of the Laws of the Land*; that the *Hierarchy* and *Service Book* being the only legal Eſtabliſhment, ought to be the Standard of Agreement; and therefore they had nothing to do but to anſwer the Exceptions of the Miniſters againſt it. Accordingly, inſtead of a Conference, or Paper of Propoſals, which the Miniſters expected, the Biſhops having obtained a Copy of the Paper of the Preſbyterians, drew up an Anſwer in writing, which was communicated to their Miniſters, *July* 8. *Their Reception.* *Abſtract of the Biſhops Reply.*

In this Anſwer the Biſhops take notice of the Miniſters Conceſſions in their Preamble, as *that they agree with them in the Subſtantials of Doctrine and Worſhip*; and infer from thence, that their particular Exceptions K. Chron. p. 200. Baxter's *Life*, Part II. p. 242.

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ceptions are of leſs Importance, and ought not to be ſtood upon to the Diſturbance of the Peace of the Church.

To the Particulars they Anſwer,

1. *Concerning Church-Government*, "That they never heard any juſt Reaſons for a Diſſent from the "Eccleſiaſtical Hierarchy of this Kingdom, which "they believe in the main to be the true *Primitive* "*Epiſcopacy*, which was more than a meer Preſidency "of Order. Nor do they find that it was ballanced "by any authoritative Commixtion of Preſbyters, tho' "it has been in all Times exerciſed with the Aſſiſtance "and Counſel of Preſbyters in ſubordination to Bi-"ſhops. They wonder that they ſhould except againſt "the Government by one ſingle Perſon, which, if "applied to the Civil Magiſtrate, is a moſt dangerous "Inſinuation."

Baxter, p. 243.

As to the four particular Inſtances of Things amiſs.

1. "We cannot grant the Extent of any Dioceſe is "ſo great, but that a *Biſhop* may well perform his "Duty, which is not a perſonal Inſpection of every "Man's Soul, but the Paſtoral Charge, or taking "Care that the Miniſters, and other Eccleſiaſtical Of-"ficers within their Dioceſs, do their Duties; and if "ſome Dioceſſes ſhould be too large, the Law allows "*Suffragans*.

2. "Concerning *Lay-Chancellors*, *&c.* we confeſs "the Biſhops did depute part of their Eccleſiaſtical "Juriſdiction to *Chancellors*, *Commiſſaries*, *Officials*, "&c. as Men better ſkill'd in the Civil and Ca-"non Laws; but as for Matters of mere ſpiritual "Concernment, as *Excommunication*, *Abſolution*, and "other Cenſures of the Church, we conceive they be-"long properly to the Biſhop himſelf, or his Surro-"gate, wherein if any Thing has been done amiſs, "we are willing it ſhould be reformed.

3. "Whether *Biſhops* are a diſtinct Order from "*Presbyters*, or not? or, Whether they have the ſole

"Power

" Power of Ordination, is not now the Queſtion; " but we affirm, that the Biſhops of this Realm have " conſtantly ordained with the Aſſiſtance of Preſby- " ters, and the Impoſition of their Hands together " with the Biſhops, and for this Purpoſe the Colleges " of Deans and Chapters are inſtituted.

4. " As to Archbiſhop *Uſher*'s Model of Church- " Government, We decline it, as not conſiſtent with " his other learned Diſcourſes on the Original of Epiſ- " copacy, and of Metropolitans; nor with the King's " Supremacy in Cauſes Eccleſiaſtical."

II. *Concerning Liturgy.*

" We eſteem the Liturgy of the Church of *Eng-* " *land*, contained in the Book of Common-Prayer, " and by Law eſtabliſhed, to be ſuch an one as is by " them deſired, according to the Qualifications which " they mention; the Diſuſe of which has been the " Cauſe of the ſad Diviſions of the Church, and the " Reſtoring it may be, by God's Bleſſing, a ſpecial " Means of making up the Breach. Nor can the Im- " poſition of it be called rigorous, as long as Clergy- " Men have the Liberty of uſing their Gifts before " and after Sermon. Nevertheleſs we are not againſt " reviſing the Liturgy by ſuch diſcreet Perſons as his " Majeſty ſhall think fit to employ therein."

III. *Of Ceremonies.*

" Lawful Authority has already determined the *Ce-* " *remonies in queſtion* to be decent and orderly, and " for Edification, and conſequently to be agreeable " to the general Rules of the Word. We allow the " Worſhip of God is in it ſelf perfect in Eſſentials, " but ſtill the Church is at liberty to improve it with " Circumſtantials for Decency and Order. Ceremo- " nies were never eſteemed to be *Sacraments*, nor " impoſed as ſuch; they are retained by moſt Prote- " ſtant Churches; and that they have been the Sub- " ject of Contention is owing to Mens Weakneſs, and

" their

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" their Unwillingneſs to ſubmit their private Opini-
" ons to the publick Judgment of the Church. We
" acknowledge, that theſe Things are in their Nature
" mutable, but we can by no means think it expedi-
" ent to remove them. However, as we are no way
" againſt ſuch a tender and religious Compaſſion in
" Things of this Nature, as his Majeſty's Piety and
" Wiſdom ſhall think fit to extend; ſo we cannot
" think that the Satisfaction of ſome private Perſons is
" to be laid in the Balance againſt the publick Peace
" and Uniformity of the Church.

" As for *Kneeling at the Lord's Supper*, it is a Ge-
" ſture of the greateſt Reverence and Devotion, and ſo
" moſt agreeable to that holy Service.

" *Holy Days* of human Inſtitution having been ob-
" ſerved by the People of God in the Old Teſtament,
" and by our bleſſed Saviour himſelf in the Goſpel, and
" by all the Churches of Chriſt in the primitive and fol-
" lowing Times, as apt Means to preſerve the Memori-
" als of the chief Myſteries of the Chriſtian Religion:
" And ſuch *Holy Days* alſo being fit Times for the honeſt
" Recreation of the meaner Sort of People; for theſe
" Reaſons we humbly deſire they may be continued in
" the Church.

" As for the three other Ceremonies, the *Surplice*,
" the *Croſs after Baptiſm*, and *Bowing at the Name*
" *of Jeſus*, tho' we ſee not any ſufficient Reaſon why
" they ſhould be utterly aboliſhed, nevertheleſs, how
" far forth, in regard of tender Conſciences, a Liberty
" may be thought fit to be indulged to any, his Majeſty
" is beſt able to judge.

They conclude thus, " We are ſo far from believ-
" ing that his Majeſty's condeſcending to the Mini-
" ſters Demands will take away not only our Diffe-
" rences, but the Roots and Cauſes of them, that we
" are confident it will prove the Seminary of new Dif-
" ferences, both by giving Diſſatisfaction to thoſe that
" are well pleaſed with what is already eſtabliſhed, who
" are much the greateſt Part of his Majeſty's Subjects;

" and

" and by encouraging unquiet Spirits, when theſe " Things ſhall be granted, to make further Demands; " there being no Aſſurance by them given, what will " content all Diſſenters, than which nothing is more " neceſſary for ſettling a firm Peace in the Church."

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About a Week after the Preſbyterian Divines ſent the Biſhops a warm Remonſtrance, and Defence of their Propoſals, drawn up chiefly by Mr. *Baxter*, to the following Purpoſe.

Abſtract of the Preſbyterians *Defence of their Propoſals.* K. Chr. p. 205. Baxter, Part II. p. 248.

Concerning the Preamble.

" We are not inſenſible of the Danger of the " Church, through the Doctrinal Errors of thoſe with " whom we differ about Points of Government and " Worſhip; but we chooſe to ſay nothing of the Par- " ty that we are agreed with in Doctrinals, becauſe " we both ſubſcribe the ſame holy Scriptures, Articles " of Religion, and Books of Homilies; and the Con- " tradictions to their own Confeſſions, which too ma- " ny are guilty of, we did not think juſt to charge " upon the *Whole*."

Concerning Church-Government.

" Had you read *Gerſon*, *Bucer*, *Parker*, *Baynes*, " *Salmaſius*, *Blondel*, &c. you would have ſeen juſt " Reaſon given for our Diſſent from the Eccleſiaſtical " Hierarchy as ſtated in *England*."

Inſtances of Things amiſs.

" You would eaſily grant that *Dioceſes* are too " great, if you had ever conſcionably tried the Taſk " which Dr. *Hammond* deſcribeth as the Biſhop's " Work; or had ever believed *Ignatius*, and other " antient Deſcriptions of a Biſhop's Church. You can- " not be ignorant, that our Biſhops have the ſole Go- " vernment of Paſtors and People; that the whole " Power of the Keys is in their Hands, and that their " Preſbyters are but Cyphers."

Con-

King Charles II. 1660.

Concerning Ceremonies.

"These Divines argue for leaving them indifferent "for the Peace of the Church, as being not eſſential "to the Perfection of Chriſtian Worſhip, eſpecially "when ſo many looked upon them as ſinful."

They conclude thus, "We perceive your *Counſels* "*againſt Peace* are not likely to be fruſtrated. Your "Deſires concerning us are likely to be accompliſhed. "You are like to be gratified with our Silence and "Ejection; and yet we will believe, that *Bleſſed are* "*the Peace-makers*; and tho' we are prevented by "you in our Purſuits of Peace, and are never like "thus publickly to ſeek it more, yet are we reſolved, "as much as poſſible, to live peaceably with all "Men."

The Beginning of the Sufferings of the Preſbyterians.

The Eyes of the Preſbyterians were now opened, and they began to confeſs their Credulity in expecting an Agreement with the Biſhops, who appeared to be exaſperated, and determined to tie them down to the old Eſtabliſhment. The former Severities began already to revive, and the Laws to be put in Execution againſt ſuch as did not make uſe of the old *Liturgy*. Many were ſuſpended and turned out of their Livings on this Account; upon which the leading Preſbyterians applied to the King, and humbly requeſted,

Who apply to the King. Baxter's *Life*, Part II. p. 241.

1. "That they might with all convenient ſpeed "ſee his Majeſty's Concluſions upon the Propoſals "of mutual Condeſcenſions, before they paſs into "Reſolves.

2. "That his Majeſty would publickly declare his "Pleaſure for the Suſpenſion of all Proceedings upon "the Act of Uniformity, againſt Non-Conformiſts to "the Liturgy and Ceremonies, till they ſaw the Iſſue "of their hoped-for Agreement.

3. "That until the ſaid Settlement there may be no "Oath of Canonical Obedience, nor Subſcription to "the Liturgy and Ceremonies required, nor Renun-"ciation of their Ordination by meer Preſbyters, im-

" poſed as neceſſary to Inſtitution, Induction, or Con- " firmation. *King* Charles II. 1660.

4. " That his Majeſty would cauſe the Broad Seal " to be revoked, where Perſons had been put into the " Poſſeſſion of the Livings of others not void by Se- " queſtration, but by the Death of the former In- " cumbents.

5. " That a Remedy may be provided againſt the " Return of ſcandalous Miniſters into the Places from " whence they had been ejected."

His Majeſty gave them a civil Audience, and told them, he would put what he thought fit to grant them into the Form of a *Declaration*, which they ſhould have the Liberty of peruſing before it was made publick. A Copy of this was accordingly delivered by the Chancellor to Mr. *Baxter*, and other Preſbyterian Divines, *Sept.* 4. with liberty to make Exceptions, and give Notice of what they diſliked. Theſe Divines petitioned for ſome further Amendments and Alterations; upon which the King appointed a Day to hear what could be ſaid on both Sides, and came to the Chancellor's Houſe, *October* 22. attended by the Dukes of *Albemarle* and *Ormond*, the Earls of *Manchester*, *Angleſea*, and Lord *Hollis*. *An Aſſembly of Divines to peruſe the King's Declaration.* K. Chr. p. 279. Baxter's *Life*, Part II. p. 275, 276.

On the Part of the Biſhops were,

Dr. *Sheldon*,	Biſhop of *London*,
Dr. *Morley*,	*Worceſter*,
Dr. *Henchman*,	*Salisbury*,
Dr. *Coſins*,	*Durham*,
Dr. *Gauden*,	*Exeter*,
Dr. *Hacket*,	*Litchf.* and *Coventry*,
Dr. *Barwick*,	Dean of St. *Paul's*,
Dr. *Gunning*,	&c.

On the Side of the Preſbyterians were,

Dr. *Reynolds*,	Dr. *Manton*,
Mr. *Calamy*,	Mr. *Baxter*,
Dr. *Spurſtow*,	Dr. *Wallis*.
Mr. *Aſhe*,	

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As the Chancellor read over the Declaration each Party were to make their Exceptions, and the King to determine. The chief Debates were on the high Power of the Biſhops, and the Neceſſity of Re-Ordination. Biſhop *Morley* and Doctor *Gunning* ſpoke moſt on one ſide; and Mr. *Calamy* and *Baxter* on the other. Upon hearing the Whole his Majeſty told them what he thought proper ſhould ſtand in the *Declaration*; and appointed Biſhop *Morley* and *Henchman*, Doctor *Reynolds* and Mr. *Calamy* to determine upon proper Words; and if they diſagreed the Earl of *Angleſea* and Lord *Hollis* to decide.

Baxter's *Life*, Part II. p. 278.

At length the Declaration, with ſuch Amendments as the King would admit, was publiſhed under the following Title.

Abſtract of the King's Declaration concerning Eccleſiaſtical Affairs.

His Majeſty's Declaration to all his loving Subjects of his Kingdom of England *and Dominion of* Wales, *concerning Eccleſiaſtical Affairs.* Given at our Court at *Whitehall*, *October* 25. 1660. in the twelfth Year of our Reign.

K. Chron. p. 289.

The Declaration being long, and to be met with in moſt of our Hiſtorians, I ſhall give the Reader only an Abſtract of it.

CHARLES REX.

Comp. Hiſt. Vol. III. p. 246. Baxter's *Life*, Part II. p. 259.

" IN our Letter from *Breda* we promiſed in due " Time to propoſe ſomething to the World for " the Propagation of the Proteſtant Religion; and " we think our ſelf more competent to propoſe, and " with God's Aſſiſtance determine many Things now " in difference, from the Experience we have had in " moſt of the Reformed Churches abroad, where we " have had frequent Conferences with the moſt learn- " ed Men, who have unanimouſly lamented the Di- " ſtempers, and too notorious Schiſms in Matters of " Religion in *England*.

" When

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" When we were in *Holland* we were attended by " many grave and learned Miniſters from hence of " the Preſbyterian Opinion, and to our great Satiſ- " faction we found them full of Affection to us, no " Enemies to Epiſcopacy or Liturgy (as they have " been reported to be) but modeſtly deſiring ſuch " Alterations as without ſhattering Foundations might " give eaſe to the Tenderneſs of ſome Mens Con- " ſciences. For the doing of this we intended to have " called a Synod of Divines, but obſerving the over- " paſſionate and turbulent Way of proceeding of ſome " Perſons, and the Impatience of others for a ſpeedy " Determination of theſe Matters, we have been pre- " vailed with to invert the Method we propoſed, and " to give ſome Determination our ſelf to the Matters " in difference, till ſuch a Synod may be called, as " may, without Paſſion or Prejudice, give us ſuch fur- " ther Aſſiſtance towards a perfect Union of Affecti- " ons, as well as Submiſſion to Authority as is ne- " ceſſary.

" We muſt, for the Honour of all with whom we " have conferr'd, declare, that the Profeſſions and " Deſires of all for the Advancement of Piety and " true Godlineſs are the ſame; their Profeſſions of " Zeal for the Peace of the Church, and of Affection " and Duty to us, the ſame; they all approve Epiſ- " copacy and a Liturgy, and diſapprove of Sacrilege, " and the Alienation of the Revenues of the Church."

His Majeſty then declares his Eſteem and Affection for the Church of *England*, and that his Eſteem of it is not leſſen'd by his condeſcending to diſpenſe with ſome particular Ceremonies, and then goes on to his Conceſſions.

1. " We declare our Purpoſe and Reſolution is, " and ſhall be, to promote the Power of Godlineſs, " to encourage the publick and private Exerciſes of " Religion, to take care of the due Obſervation of the " Lord's Day; and that inſufficient, negligent, and " ſcandalous Miniſters be not permitted in the Church.

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" We ſhall take care to prefer none to the Epiſcopal " Office and Charge but Men of Learning, Virtue, and " Piety; and we ſhall provide the beſt we can, that " the Biſhops be frequent Preachers, and that they do " often preach in ſome Church or other of their " Dioceſe.

2. " Becauſe ſome Dioceſes may be of too large " Extent, we will appoint ſuch a Number of Suffra- " gans as ſhall be ſufficient for the due Performance " of their Work.

3. " No Biſhops ſhall ordain or exerciſe any Part " of Juriſdiction which appertains to the Cenſures of " the Church, without Advice and Aſſiſtance of the " Preſbyters. No Chancellors, Commiſſaries or Of- " ficials, ſhall excommunicate, abſolve, or exerciſe " any act of Spiritual Juriſdiction, wherein any of the " Miniſtry are concerned with reference to their Paſto- " ral Charge. Nor ſhall the Archdeacon exerciſe " any Juriſdiction without the Advice and Aſſiſtance " of ſix Miniſters of his Archdeaconry; three to be " nominated by the Biſhop, and three by the Suffrage " of the Preſbyters within the Archdeaconry.

4. " We will take care, that the Preferment of " *Deans* and *Chapters* ſhall be given to the moſt learn- " ed and pious Preſbyters of the Dioceſe, and that an " equal Number (to thoſe of the Chapter) of the " moſt learned and pious Preſbyters of the ſame Dio- " ceſe annually choſen by the major Vote of all the " Preſbyters of that Dioceſe preſent at ſuch Elections, " ſhall be always adviſing and aſſiſting, together with " thoſe of the Chapter, in all Ordinations, at all " Church-Cenſures, and other important Acts of Ec- " cleſiaſtical Juriſdiction wherein any of the Miniſtry " are concerned. Provided that at all ſuch Meetings, " the Number of Miniſters ſo elected, and thoſe of " the *Chapter* preſent, be equal, and to make the " Numbers equal, the Juniors of the exceeding Num- " ber ſhall withdraw to make way for the more anti- " ent. Nor ſhall any ſuffragan Biſhop ordain, or ex-

" erciſe

" ercise any Jurisdiction, without the Advice and " Assistance of a sufficient Number of Presbyters an- " nually chosen as before. And our Will is, that Or- " dination be constantly and solemnly performed by " the Bishop and his aforesaid Presbytery at the four " set Times appointed by the Church for that Pur- " pose. *King Charle* II. 1669.

5. " *Confirmation* shall be rightly and solemnly " performed, by the Information, and with the Con- " sent of the Minister of the Place, who shall admit " none to the Lord's Supper, till they have made a " credible Profession of their Faith, and promised " Obedience to the Will of God, according to the " Rubrick before the Catechism, and all Diligence " shall be used for the Instruction and Reformation of " scandalous Offenders, whom the Minister shall not " suffer to partake of the Lord's Supper till they have " openly declared their Repentance, and Resolutions " of Amendment; provided there be place for Ap- " peals to superior Powers. Every *Rural Dean* (to " be nominated by the Bishop as heretofore) with three " or four Ministers of that Deanery chosen by the " major Part of all the Ministers within the same, " shall meet once a Month to receive Complaints " from the Ministers or Church-Wardens of Parishes, " and to compose such Differences as shall be referr'd " to them for Arbitration, and to reform such Things " as are amiss, by their pastoral Reproofs and Admo- " nitions, and what they cannot reform are to be pre- " sented to the Bishop. Moreover, the *Rural Dean* " and his Assistants are to take Care of the Catechising " Children and Youth, and that they can give a good " Account of their Faith before they are brought to " the Bishop to be confirmed.

6. " No Bishop shall exercise any arbitrary Power, " or impose any Thing upon his Clergy or People, " but according to the Law of the Land.

7. " We will appoint an equal Number of Divines " of both Persuasions to review the Liturgy of the

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" Church of *England*, and to make ſuch Alterations " as ſhall be thought neceſſary; and ſome additional " Forms in the Scripture Phraſe, as near as may be, " ſuited to the Nature of the ſeveral Parts of Wor- " ſhip, and that it be left to the Miniſter's Choice to " uſe one or the other at his Diſcretion. In the mean " Time, we deſire that the Miniſters in their ſeveral " Churches will not wholly lay aſide the Uſe of the " Common-Prayer, but will read thoſe Parts of it " againſt which they have no Exception; yet our " Will and Pleaſure is, that none be puniſhed or " troubled for not uſing it till it be reviewed and effe- " ctually reformed.

8. *Laſtly*, " Concerning *Ceremonies*, if any are " practiſed contrary to Law the ſame ſhall ceaſe. " Every national Church has a Power to appoint Ce- " remonies for its Members, which, tho' before they " were indifferent, yet ceaſe to be ſo when eſtabliſh- " ed by Law. We are therefore content to indulge " tender Conſciences, ſo far as to diſpenſe with their " uſing ſuch Ceremonies as are an Offence to them, " but not to aboliſh them. We declare therefore, " that none ſhall be compell'd to receive the Sacra- " ment *kneeling*, nor to uſe the *Croſs in Baptiſm*, nor " to *bow* at the Name of *Jeſus*, nor to uſe the *Sur- " plice*, except in the Royal Chapel, and in Cathedral " and Collegiate Churches. Nor ſhall Subſcription, " nor the Oath of Canonical Obedience be required at " *preſent*, in order to Ordination, Inſtitution, or In- " duction, but only the taking the Oaths of Allegi- " ance and Supremacy; nor ſhall any loſe their Aca- " demical Degrees, or forfeit a Preſentation, or be " deprived of a Benefice, for not declaring his Aſſent " to all the Thirty-Nine Articles, provided he read " and declare his Aſſent to all the Doctrinal Articles, " and to the Sacraments. And *we do again renew* " *our Declaration from* Breda, *that no Man ſhall be* " *diſquieted or called in queſtion for Differences of Opi-* " *nion in Matters of Religion which do not diſturb the* " *Peace of the Kingdom.*

His

His Majeſty concludes, " with conjuring all his " loving Subjects, to acquieſce and ſubmit to this De- " claration, concerning the Differences that have ſo " much diſquieted the Nation at home, and given Of- " fence to the Proteſtant Churches abroad." *King* Charles II. 1660.

Tho' this Declaration did not pleaſe all the *Miniſters*, yet the greateſt Number in *London*, and Country were content; but becauſe it went upon the Plan of *Dioceſan Epiſcopacy*, which they had covenanted againſt, Others were not ſatisfied; ſome ventur'd upon a ſecond Addreſs to the King, in which they renew their Requeſts for Archbiſhop *Uſher*'s Scheme of Primitive Epiſcopacy, as moſt agreeable to Scripture, moſt conducive to good Diſcipline; and as that which would ſave the Nation from the Violation of the *Solemn League and Covenant*, which whether it were lawfully impoſed or no, they conceive now to be binding upon them.

Concerning the Preamble of his Majeſty's Declaration they tender theſe Requeſts.

1. " That as they are perſuaded it is not in his " Majeſty's thoughts, to intimate that they are guilty " of the Offences therein mentioned, they hope it will " be a Motive to haſten the Union. *Abſtract of the 2d Paper of Exceptions and Requeſts of the* Preſbyterians. Hiſt. Nonconf. p. 14.

2. " Tho' they deteſt Sacrilege, yet they will not " determine, whether in ſome Caſes of ſuperfluities of " Revenues, and the Neceſſity of the Church, there " may not be an Alienation, which is no Sacri- " lege. Baxter, Part II. P. 268.

3. " His Majeſty having acknowledged their Mo- " deration, they ſtill hope they may be received into " the Settlement, and continue their Stations in the " Church.

4. " Since his Majeſty has declared, that the Eſſence " of Epiſcopacy may be preſerved, tho' the Extent of " the Juriſdiction be alter'd, they hope his Majeſty " will conſent to ſuch an Alteration as may ſatisfy " their Conſciences."

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They then renew their Requeſts for promoting of Piety; of a religious and diligent Miniſtry; of the Requiſites of Church Communion, and for the Obſervation of the Sabbath. They complain that Pariſh Diſcipline is not ſufficiently granted in his Majeſty's Declaration, that inferior Synods are paſſed by, and that the Biſhop is not *Epiſcopus Præſes*, but *Epiſcopus Princeps*, endued with ſole Power of Ordination and Juriſdiction. They therefore pray again, that Archbiſhop *Uſher*'s Form of Church-Government may be eſtabliſhed at leaſt in theſe three Points:

1. "That the Paſtors of Pariſhes may be allowed "to preach, catechiſe, and deny the Communion of "the Church to the Impenitent, Scandalous, or ſuch "as do not make a credible Profeſſion of Faith and "Obedience to the Commands of Chriſt.

2. "That the Paſtors of each Rural Deanry may "meet once a Month to receive Preſentments and Ap-"peals, to admoniſh Offenders, and after due Pati-"ence to proceed to Excommunication.

3. "That a Dioceſan Synod of the Delegates of "Rural Synods may be called as often as need re-"quires; that the Biſhop may not ordain or ex-"erciſe ſpiritual Cenſures without the Conſent of the "Majority; and that neither *Chancellors*, *Archdea-"cons*, *Commiſſaries* nor *Officials*, may paſs Cenſures "purely ſpiritual; But for the Exerciſe of Civil Go-"vernment, coercively by Mulcts, or corporal Pe-"nalties, by power derived from your Majeſty, as ſu-"preme over all Perſons and Things Eccleſiaſtical, we "preſume not at all to interpoſe."

"As to the Liturgy.

"They rejoice that his Majeſty has declared, that "none ſhould ſuffer for not uſing the Common-Pray-"er and Ceremonies; but then it grieves us (ſay "they) to hear that it is given in Charge to the Judges "at the Aſſizes, to indict Men upon the Act of Uni-"formity

" formity for not uſing the Common-Prayer. That " it is not only ſome obſolete Words and Phraſes that " are offenſive, but that other Things need Amend- " ment; therefore we pray, that none may be puniſh- " ed for not uſing the Book, till it be reformed by " the Conſent of Divines of both Parties." *King Charles II. 1660.*

" Concerning Ceremonies.

" They thank his Majeſty for his gracious Conceſſi- " ons, but pray him to leave out of his Declaration theſe " Words, *That we do not believe the Practice of the par-* " *ticular Ceremonies excepted againſt unlawful*, becauſe " we are not all of that Opinion; but we deſire, that " there may be no Law nor Canon for, nor againſt them, " (being allowed by our Opponents as indifferent) as " there is no Canon againſt any particular Geſture in Sing- " ing Pſalms, and yet there is an uninterrupted Unity."

For particular Ceremonies.

1. " We humbly crave, that there may be liberty " to receive the Lord's Supper either *Kneeling*, *Stand-* " *ing*, or *Sitting*. 2. That the Obſervation of Holy " Days of Human Inſtitution may be left indifferent. " 3. We thank your Majeſty for Liberty as to the " *Croſs in Baptiſm*, the *Surplice*, and *Bowing at the* " *Name of Jeſus*; but we pray, that this Liberty " may extend to Colleges and Cathedrals for the Bene- " fit of Youth as well as elder Perſons, and that the " Canons which impoſe theſe Ceremonies may be re- " peal'd.

" We thank your Majeſty for your gracious Con- " ceſſion of the Forbearance of Subſcription; tho' we " do not diſſent from the Doctrinal Articles of the " Church of *England*; nor do we ſcruple the Oaths " of Allegiance and Supremacy, nor would we have " the Door left open for Papiſts and Hereticks to " come in.

" But we take the Liberty to repreſent to your Ma- " jeſty, that notwithſtanding your gracious Conceſ- " ſions

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" ſions, our Miniſters cannot procure *Inſtitution* with-
" out renouncing their *Ordination by Presbyters*, or
" being *Re-ordained*, nor without Subſcription and
" the Oaths of Canonical Obedience. And we are
" apprehenſive that your Majeſty's Indulgence does
" not extend to the Abatement of Re-Ordination, or
" Subſcription, or the Oath of Canonical Obedience.
" We therefore earneſtly crave, that your Majeſty
" will declare your Pleaſure, 1. That Ordination
" and Inſtitution, and Induction, may be conferr'd
" without the ſaid Subſcription and Oath. 2. That
" none may be urged to be Re-ordained, or denied
" Inſtitution for want of Ordination by Prelates, that
" have been ordained by Preſbyters. 3. That none
" may forfeit their Preſentation or Benefice for not
" reading thoſe Articles of the Thirty Nine that relate
" to Government and Ceremonies."

Opinion of ſome Churchmen concerning the Declaration. Kennet, p. 246.

However, if the King's Declaration, without any Amendments, had paſſed into a Law, it would have prevented in a great Meaſure the Separation that followed; but neither the Court, nor Miniſtry intended it, if they could ſtand their Ground upon the Foot of the old Eſtabliſhment. A Reverend Prelate of the Church of *England* confeſſes, " that this Declaration has in it a Spirit of true
" Wiſdom and Charity above any one publick
" Confeſſion that was ever made in Matters of Religi-
" on. It ſhews the admirable Temper and Prudence
" of the King and his Council in that tender Juncture
" of Affairs; it proves the Charity and Moderation of
" the ſuffering Biſhops, in thinking ſuch Conceſſions
" juſt and reaſonable for Peace and Unity; and it
" ſhews a Diſpoſition in the other Party to have ac-
" cepted the Terms of Union conſiſtent with our Epiſ-
" copacy and Liturgy. It condemns the unhappy
" Ferment that ſoon after followed for want of this
" Temper; and it may ſtand for a Pattern to Poſte-
" rity, whenever they are diſpoſed, to reſtore the Diſ-
" cipline,

" cipline, and heal the Breaches of the Church." Another Conformiſt Writer adds, " If ever a Divine " Sentence was in the Mouth of any King, and his " Mouth erred not in Judgment; I verily believe it " was thus with our preſent Majeſty when he compo- " ſed that admirable Declaration, which next to holy " Scripture I adore, and think that the united Judg- " ment of the whole Nation cannot frame a better or " a more unexceptionable Expedient, for a firm and " laſting Concord of theſe diſtracted Churches." *King* Charles II. 1660.

The Preſbyterians about *London* were ſo far pleaſed, that they drew up the followlng Addreſs of Thanks, in the Name of the City Miniſters, and preſented it to the King *Nov.* 16. by the Hands of the Reverend Mr. *Samuel Clarke*. *Acceptable to moſt of the* Preſbyterians. Baxter's *Life*, Part II. p. 279, 284. Kennet, p. 311.

Moſt dread Sovereign!

" WE your Majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal Sub- " jects, Miniſters of the Goſpel in your City " of *London*, having peruſed your Majeſty's late De- " claration, and finding it ſo full of Indulgence and " gracious Condeſcenſion, we cannot but judge our " ſelves highly obliged firſt to render our unfeigned " Thanks to God, and next our moſt humble and " hearty Acknowledgments to your Majeſty, that we " may teſtify to your Royal Self, and all the World " our juſt Reſentments of your Majeſty's great Good- " neſs and Clemency therein expreſſed."

The Addreſs then recites the ſeveral Condeſcenſions of his Majeſty in the Declaration, and concludes thus, " We crave leave to profeſs, that tho' all Things in " this Frame of Government be not exactly ſuited to " our Judgments, yet your Majeſty's Moderation has " ſo great an Influence on us, that we ſhall to our ut- " moſt, endeavour the Healing of the Breaches, and " promoting the Peace and Union of the Church —— " We would beg of your Majeſty, with all Humi- " lity upon our Knees, that *Re-Ordination*, and the " *Surplice* in Colleges might not be impoſed; and we " hope

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"hope God will encline your Majeſty's Heart to gratify us in theſe our Deſires alſo." Sign'd by

Samuel Clark,
William Couper,
Thomas Caſe,
Jo. Rawlinſon,
Jo. Sheffield,
Thomas Gouge,
Gab. Sanger,
El. Pledger,
Matth. Pool,
Jo. Gibbon,
William Whitaker,
Tho. Jacomb,
Tho. Lye,
John Jackſon,
John Meriton,
William Bates,
With many others.

K. Chron. p. 315. The King having received the Addreſs, returned this Anſwer, *Gentlemen, I will endeavour to give you all Satisfaction, and to make you as Happy as my ſelf.*

Same accept of Preferments. Upon the Terms of this Declaration Dr. *Reynolds* accepted of the Biſhoprick of *Norwich*; Mr. *Baxter* was offered the Biſhoprick of *Hereford*, but refuſed upon other Reaſons; and Mr. *Calamy* declined the Biſhoprick of *Litchfield* and *Coventry*, till the King's Declaration ſhould be paſſed into a Law. Dr. *Manton* having been preſented to the Living of *Covent Garden* by the Earl of *Bedford*, accepted it upon the Terms of the Declaration, and received Epiſcopal Inſtitution from Dr. *Sheldon*, Biſhop of *London*, *Jan.* 10. 1660-61. *Subſcriptis prius Articulis Fidei Eccleſiæ* Anglicanæ *tantum, & præſtito juramento de Allegiant' & Supremitate, & canonica Obedientia in omnibus licitis & honeſtis.* Having firſt ſubſcribed the Doctrinal Articles of the Church of *England only*, and taken the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, and of canonical Obedience in all Things lawful and honeſt. The Dr. was alſo content that the Common-Prayer ſhould be read in his Church. Dr. *Bates* was offered the Deanry of *Coventry* and *Litchfield*; Dr. *Manton* the Deanry of *Rocheſter*; and Mr. *Bowles* that of *York*; but finding how Things were going at Court, after ſome Time, they refuſed.

K. Chr.

The

The Houſe of Lords and Commons, upon reading the *King's Declaration*, agreed to wait upon his Majeſty in a Body, and return him Thanks; and the Commons ordered a Bill to be brought in to paſs it into a Law; but when the Bill had been read the firſt Time, the Queſtion being put for a ſecond Reading, it paſſed in the Negative; one of the Secretaries of State oppoſing it, which was a ſufficient Indication (ſays Dr. *Bates*) of the King and Court's Averſion to it. Sir *Matthew Hale*, who was zealous for the Declaration, was at that very Juncture taken out of the Houſe of Commons, and made Lord Chief Baron of the *Exchequer*, that he might not oppoſe the Reſolutions of the Miniſtry. Strange! that an Houſe of Commons, that on the 9th of *November* gave the King Thanks for his Declaration by their Speaker *Nem. Contradicente*, ſhould on the 28th of the ſame Month throw it out before a ſecond Reading. This blaſted all the Expectations of the Preſbyterian Clergy at once; for it was now apparent that the Court did not deſign *the Declaration* ſhould be continued, but only ſerve as a temporary Expedient to keep them quiet, till the Church ſhould be in Circumſtances to bid them Defiance. While the *Dioceſan Doctors* were at *Breda* (ſays Mr. *Baxter*) they did not dream that their Way to the higheſt Grandeur was ſo fair; then they would have been glad of the Terms of the Declaration of *Breda*; when they came in they proceeded by ſlow Degrees, that they might feel the Ground under them; for this Purpoſe they propoſed the *Declaration*, which being but a temporary Proviſion muſt give place to Laws, but when they found the Parliament and Populace ripe for any Thing they ſhould propoſe, they dropt the Declaration, and all further Thoughts of Accommodation.

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Declaration rejected by the H. of Commons.

Remarks.

Preſbyterians *in Deſpair. Life*, p. 287.

The Court and Biſhops were now at eaſe, and went on briſkly with reſtoring all Things to the old Standard; the Doctrines of *Paſſive-Obedience* and *Non-Reſiſtance* were revived; Men of the higheſt Principles,

Behaviour of the Court and Biſhops.

and

King Charles II. 1660.

and moſt inveterate againſt the Preſbyterians, were preferr'd to Biſhopricks, by which they were more than compenſated for their Sufferings, by the large Sums of Money they raiſed by renewing of Leaſes, which after ſo long an Interval were almoſt all expired; but what a ſad Uſe they made of their Riches, I chooſe rather to relate in the Words of Biſhop *Burnet* than my own. "What the Biſhops did with their great "Fines was a Pattern to all the lower Dignitaries, "who generally took more Care of themſelves than "of the Church; the Men of Service were loaded "with many Livings, and many Dignities. With "this Acceſſion of Wealth there broke in upon the "Church a great deal of Luxury and high Living, "on Pretence of Hoſpitality; and with this Overſet of "Wealth and Pomp that came upon Men in the De-"cline of their Age, they who were now growing in-"to old Age became lazy and negligent in all the true "Concerns of the Church."

p. 314.

The beginning of the Perſecution of the Non-Conformiſts.

From this Time, ſays Biſhop *Kennet*, the Preſbyterians began to prepare for the Cry of Perſecution, and not without Reaſon, for *Feb.* 14. Mr. *Zach. Croſton*, Miniſter of *Aldgate*, was ſent to the *Tower* for writing in favour of the *Covenant*; where he lay a conſiderable Time at great Expence, and was at laſt turned out of his Pariſh without any Conſideration, tho' he had a Wife and ſeven Children, and had been very zealous for the King's Reſtoration. Mr. *Andrew Parſons*, Rector of *Wem* in *Shropſhire*, a noted Loyaliſt, was fetch'd from his Houſe in the Month of *December* by ſix Soldiers, for ſeditious Preaching, and Non-Conformity to the Ceremonies; for which he was fined two hundred Pounds, and to continue in Priſon till paid.

Conf. Plea, p. 34.

Methods for that purpoſe.

Spies were ſent into all the Congregations of Preſbyterians throughout *England*, to obſerve and report their Behaviour to the Biſhops; and if a Miniſter lamented the Degeneracy of the Times, or expreſſed his Concern for the *Ark of God*; if he preached againſt Perfidiouſneſs,

neſs, or glanced at the Vices of the Court, he was marked for an Enemy to the King and Government. Many eminent and loyal Preſbyterians were ſent to Priſon upon ſuch Informations, among whom was the Learned and Prudent Mr. *John Howe*, and others; and when they came to their Trials the Court was garded with Soldiers, and their Friends not ſuffered to attend them. Many were ſequeſter'd from their Livings, and cited into the Eccleſiaſtical Courts, *for not uſing the Surplice and other Ceremonies*, while the Diſcipline of the Church was under a kind of Suſpenſion. So eager were the Spiritual Courts to revive the Exerciſe of their Power; and ſo ſtrongly did the Tide run againſt the unhappy Preſbyterians!

King Charles II. 1660.

The Convention Parliament paſſed ſundry Acts with relation to the late Times, of which theſe following deſerve to be remember'd: An Act for *the Confirming and Reſtoring of Miniſters*, which enacts, among other Things, that "every ſequeſter'd Miniſter who has not "juſtified the late King's Murder, or declared againſt "Infant Baptiſm, ſhall be reſtored to his Living be-"fore the 25th of *December* next enſuing, and the pre-"ſent Incumbent ſhall peaceably quit it, and be ac-"countable for Dilapidations, and all Arrears of "Fifths not paid." By this Act ſome hundreds of Non-Conformiſt Miniſters were diſpoſſeſſed of their Livings before the Act of Uniformity was formed. Here was no Diſtinction between good or bad; but if the *Parſon* had been Epiſcopally Ordained, and in Poſſeſſion, he muſt be reſtored, tho' he had been ejected upon the ſtrongeſt Evidence of Immorality or Scandal.

Act for Reſtoring the ſequeſter'd Clergy.

The Act for *Confirmation of Marriages* was very ſerviceable to the Peace of the Kingdom, and prevented numberleſs Law-Suits. It enacts, "That all Mar-"riages ſince *May* 1. 1642. ſolemnized before a Ju-"ſtice of Peace, or reputed Juſtice; and all Marri-"ages ſince the ſaid Time, had or ſolemnized accord-"ing to the Direction of any Ordinance, or reputed

For confirming Marriages in the late Times.

"Act

King Charles II. 1660.

" Act or Ordinance of one or both Houſes of Parliament, ſhall be adjudged and eſteemed to be of the " ſame Force and Effect as if they had been ſolemnized according to the Rites and Ceremonies of the " Church of *England*."

Attainder of the King's Judges.

An Act for the *Attainder of ſeveral Perſons guilty of the horrid Murder of his late ſacred Majeſty King* Charles I. *and for the perpetual Obſervation of the 30th of* January. This was the Subject of many Conferences between the two Houſes, in one of which Chancellor *Hyde* declared, that the King having ſent him in Embaſſy to the King of *Spain*, charged him to tell that Monarch expreſly, " That the horrible " Murder of his Father ought not to be deemed as the " Act of the Parliament, or People of *England*, but " of a ſmall Crew of Wretches and Miſcreants who " had uſurped the ſovereign Power, and render'd " themſelves Maſters of the Kingdom;" for which the Commons ſent a Deputation with Thanks to the King. After the Preamble the Act goes on to attaint all the King's Judges, dead or alive, except Colonel *Ingoldsby* and *Thompſon*, who for their late good Services were pardoned, but in their room were included Colonel *Lambert*, Sir *Harry Vane*, and *Hugh Peters*, who were not of the Judges. The Bodies of *O. Cromwel*, *Bradſhaw*, and *Ireton*, were taken out of their Graves and drawn upon Hurdles to *Tyburn*, where they were hung up from ten in the Morning till Sunſet of the next Day, after which their Heads were cut off, and their Trunks buried all together in one Hole under the Gallows. Colonel *Lambert* was ſent to the Iſle of *Jerſey*, where he continued ſhut up a patient Priſoner almoſt thirty Years; nineteen made their Eſcape beyond Sea; ſeven were made Objects of the King's Clemency; nineteen others, who ſurrender'd on the King's Proclamation of *June* 6. had their Lives ſaved after Trial; but underwent other Penalties, as Impriſonment, Baniſhment, and Forfeiture of Eſtates; ſo that ten only were executed in the Month of *October*, after

Cromwel and others that were dead taken out of their Graves. Kennet, p. 367.

after the new Sheriffs were enter'd upon their Office, (*viz.*) Col. *Harrison*, Mr. *Carew*, *Cook*, *Hugh Peters*, Mr. *Scot*, *Clement*, *Scroop*, *Jones*, *Hacker*, and *Axtel*. *King* Charles II. 1660.

Bishop *Burnet* says, "The Trials and Executions p. 162. "of the first that suffered were attended by vast Crouds *Trials of those that suffer'd.* "of People. All Men seemed pleased with the Sight; "but the Firmness and Shew of Piety of the Suffer- "ers, who went out of the World with a Sort of "Triumph in the Cause for which they suffered, turn- "ed the Minds of the Populace, insomuch that the "King was advised to proceed no further." The Prisoners were rudely treated in Court; the Spectators with their Noise and Clamour endeavouring to put them out of Countenance. None of them denied the Fact, but all pleaded *not Guilty to the Treason*, because, as they said, they acted by Authority of Parliament; not considering, that the House of Commons is no Court of Judicature; or if it was, that it was packed and purged before the King was brought to his Trial. Those who guarded the Scaffold pleaded that they acted by Command of their superior Officers, who would have cashiered or put them to Death, if they had not obeyed. They were not permitted to enter into the Merits of the Cause between the King and Parliament, but were condemned upon the Statute of 25th *Edward* III. for compassing and imagining the King's Death.

The Behaviour of the Regicides at their Execution *Their Execution.* was bold and resolute: Colonel *Harrison* declared at the Gibbet, That he was fully persuaded that *what he had done was the Cause and Work of God, which he was confident God would own and raise up again, how much soever it suffered at that Time.* He went through all the Indignities and Severities of his Sufferings with a Calmness, or rather Chearfulness, that astonished the Spectators; he was turned off, and cut down alive, for after his Body was opened he raised himself up and gave the Executioner a Box on the Ear. When Mr. State Trials. p. 404.

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Solicitor *Cooke* and *Hugh Peters* went into the Sledge, the Head of Major General *Harriſon* was put upon it, with the Face bare towards them; but notwithſtanding this, Mr. *Cooke* went out of the World with ſurpriſing Reſolution, *bleſſing God that he had a clear Conſcience.* *Hugh Peters* was more fearful; but tho' he ſat by, and ſaw the Execution and Quarterting of Mr. *Cooke*, he reſum'd his Courage at length [which ſome ſaid was artificial] and ſaid to the Sheriff, *Sir, You have here ſlain one of the Servants of the Lord, and made me behold it, on purpoſe to terrify and diſcourage me; but God has made it an Ordinance for my Strengthening and Encouragement.* Mr. *Scot* was not allowed to ſpeak to the People, but ſaid in his Prayer, *That he had been engaged in a Cauſe not to be repented of; I ſay in a Cauſe not to be repented of.* *Carew* appeared very chearful as he went to the Gibbet, but ſaid little of the Cauſe for which he ſuffered. *Clements* alſo ſaid nothing. Colonel *Jones* juſtified the King and Court in their Proceedings; but added, that *they did not ſatisfy him in ſo great and deep a Point.* Colonel *Scroop* went with him in the ſame Sledge, whoſe grave and venerable Countenance, accompanied with Courage and Chearfulneſs, cauſed great Compaſſion in ſome of the Spectators, tho' the Inſults and Rudeneſs of others, was cruel and barbarous: He ſaid *he was born and bred a Gentleman; and appealed to thoſe who had known him for his Behaviour; he forgave the Inſtruments of his Sufferings, and died for that which he judged to be the Cauſe of Chriſt.* Colonel *Axtel* and *Hacker* ſuffered laſt; the former behaved with great Reſolution, and holding the Bible in his Hand, ſaid, "*The very Cauſe* "*in which I was engaged is contained in this Book of* "*God; and having been fully convinced in my Conſcience* "*of the Juſtneſs of the War, I freely engaged in the* "*Parliament's Service, which as I do believe was the* "*Cauſe of the Lord, I ventur'd my Life freely for it* "*and now die for it.*" *Hacker* read a Paper to the ſame Purpoſe; and after having expreſſed his Charity

toward

towards his Judges, Jury and Witneſſes, he ſaid, *I have nothing lies upon my Conſcience as Guilt whereof I am now condemned, and do not doubt but to have the Sentence revers'd.* *King* Charles II. 1660.

Few, if any of theſe Criminals, were Friends of the Protector CROMWEL, but gave him all poſſible Diſturbance in favour of a *Commonwealth*. Mr. *H. Cromwel*, in one of his Letters from *Ireland*, 1657-58. ſays, " 'Tis a ſad Caſe, when Men knowing the Dif- " ficulties we labour under ſeek Occaſions to quarrel " and unſettle every Thing again; I hear *Harriſon*, " *Carew*, and *Okey*, have done new Feats. I hope " God will infatuate them in their Endeavours to di- " ſturb the Peace of the Nation; their Folly ſhews " them to be no better than Abuſers of Religion, and " ſuch whoſe Hypocriſy the Lord will avenge in due " Time." They certainly confounded the Cauſe of the Parliament, or the Neceſſity of entering into a War to bring Delinquents to Juſtice, with cutting off the King's Head, whereas they were diſtinct and ſeparate Things; the former might be lawful, when the latter had neither Law nor Equity to ſupport it; for admitting (with them) that the King is accountable to his Parliament, the Houſe of Commons alone is not the Parliament; and if it was, it could not be ſo, after it was under Reſtraint, and one half of the Members kept from their Places by the Military Power. They had no Precedent for their Conduct, nor any Rule of Law to try and condemn their Sovereign: Tho' the Scripture ſays, *He that ſheds Man's Blood, by Man ſhall his Blood be ſhed*; yet this is not the Duty of private Perſons, when there is a Government ſubſiſting. If the King had fallen in Battle it had been a different Caſe; but how Criminal ſoever his Majeſty might be in their Opinions, they were not his Judges, and therefore could have no Right by their own Verdict to put him to Death. *Remarks.*

There was another Act paſſed this Seſſions, for a perpetual Anniverſary Thankſgiving on the 29th of *May*, *Act for an Anniverſ. Obſervation of the 29th of* May.

King Charles II. 1660.

May, for his Majeſty's happy Reſtoration; upon which Occaſion the Biſhops were commanded to draw up a ſuitable Form of Prayer; and Mr. *Robinſon*, in the Preface to his *Review of the Caſe of Liturgies*, ſays, that in the firſt Form, which is ſince alter'd, there are theſe unwarrantable Expreſſions, which I mention only to ſhew the Spirit of the Times. — "We beſeech thee to give us Grace, to remember, and "provide for our latter End, by a careful and ſtudi- "ous Imitation of this thy bleſſed Saint and Martyr, "and all other thy Saints and Martyrs that have gone "before us; that we may be made worthy to receive "Benefit by their Prayers, which they, in Commu- "nion with thy Church Catholick, offer up unto thee "for that Part of it here Militant, and yet in fight "with, and danger from the Fleſh —"

Milton's *and* J. Goodwin's *Books burnt.*

The Books of the Famous Mr. *Milton*, and Mr. *John Goodwin*, writ in Defence of the Sentence of Death, paſſed upon his late Majeſty, were called in by Proclamation. And upon the 27th of *Auguſt*, *Milton*'s *Defenſio pro Populo* Anglicano *contra* Salmaſium; and his *Anſwer* to a Book, entituled, *The Portraiture of his ſacred Majeſty in his Solitude and Sufferings*, were burnt by the Hands of the Common Hangman; together with Mr. *John Goodwin*'s Book, entituled, *The Obſtructors of Juſtice*; but the Authors abſconded till the Storm was over. It was a Surprize to all People that they eſcaped Cenſure. None but *Goodwin* and *Peters* had magnified putting the King to Death in their Sermons; but *Goodwin*'s being a ſtrenuous *Arminian* procur'd him Friends. *Milton* had appear'd ſo boldly, though with much Wit, and great Purity and Elegance of Stile, upon the Argument of putting the King to Death, that it was thought a ſtrange Omiſſion not to except him out of the Act of Indemnity; but he lived many Years after, tho' blind, to get immortal Honour by his celebrated Poem, entituled, *Paradiſe loſt*.

Burnet, p. 163, 164.

The

The Tide of Joy that overſpread the Nation with the King's Reſtoration brought with it the Revival of Popery, which had been at a very low Ebb in the late Times: Great Numbers of that Religion came over with his Majeſty, and crouded about the Court, magnifying their Sufferings for the late King. A Liſt of the Lords, Gentlemen, and other Officers, that were killed in his Service, was printed in red Letters, by which it appeared that beſides ſeveral Noblemen, ten Knights and Baronets, fourteen Colonels, ſeven Lieutenant Colonels, fourteen Majors, ſixty ſix Captains, eighteen Lieutenants and Cornets, and thirty eight Gentlemen, loſt their Lives in the Wars, beſides great Numbers wounded and ſequeſter'd from their Eſtates. The Queen-Mother came from *France* and reſided at *Somerſet Houſe* with her Catholick Attendants both religious and ſecular. Several *Romiſh* Prieſts who had been confined in *Newgate*, *Lancaſter*, and other Gaols, were by order of Council ſet at Liberty. Many Popiſh Prieſts were ſent over from *Douay* into *England* as Miſſionaries for propagating that Religion; and their Clergy appeared openly in Defiance of the Laws; they were buſy about the Court and City in giving away, and diſperſing Popiſh Books of Devotion; and the King gave open Countenance and Protection to ſuch as had been ſerviceable to him abroad, and came over with him, or ſoon followed him, which (Biſhop *Kennet* ſays) his Majeſty could not avoid. Upon the Whole, more *Roman* Catholicks appeared openly this Year, than in all the twelve Years of the Inter-Regnum put together.

King Charles II. 1660.

Popery revives in England.

In *Ireland* the Papiſts took Poſſeſſion of their Eſtates, which had been forfeited by the Rebellion and Maſſacre, and turn'd out the Purchaſers; which occaſioned ſuch Commotions in that Kingdom that the King was obliged to iſſue out a Proclamation, commanding them to wait the Determinations of the next Parliament. The Body of their Clergy by an Inſtrument, bearing Date *Jan.* 1. 1660. *O. S.* ſigned and ſealed

And in Ireland.

King Charles II. 1660.

by the chief Prelates and Officials of their Religion, ventur'd to depute a Perſon of their own Communion to congratulate his Majeſty's Reſtoration, and to preſent their humble Supplications for the free Exerciſe of their Religion, purſuant to the Articles of 1648. whom the King received very favourably, and encouraged to hope for an Accompliſhment of their Requeſts in due Time. Such was the prodigious Change of the Times within nine Months after the King's Arrival at *Whitehall!*

Inſurrection of the Fifth Monarchy Men.

The only Pretenders to Religion who attempted any Thing againſt the Government was a ſmall Number of Enthuſiaſts, who were for *King Jeſus:* Their Leader was *Thomas Venner*, a Wine-Cooper, who in his little Conventicle in *Coleman Street* warmed his Admirers with paſſionate Expectations of a fifth Univerſal Monarchy under the perſonal Reign of *King Jeſus* upon Earth, and that the Saints were to take the Kingdom themſelves. To introduce this imaginary Kingdom they marched out of their Meeting-Houſe towards St. *Paul's Church Yard* on *Sunday*, *Jan.* 6. to the Number of about Fifty Men well armed, and with a Reſolution to ſubvert the preſent Government, or die in the Attempt. They publiſhed a Declaration of the Deſign of their Riſing, and placed Centinels at proper Places. The Lord Mayor ſent the Trained Bands to diſperſe them, whom they quickly routed, but in the Evening retired to *Cane Wood*, between *High-Gate* and *Hampſtead*. On *Wedneſday* Morning they returned and diſperſed a Party of the King's Soldiers in *Threadneedle-Street*. In *Wood-Street* they repell'd the Trained Bands, and ſome of the Horſe-Guards; but *Venner* himſelf was knock'd down, and ſome of his Company ſlain; from hence the Remainder retreated to *Cripplegate*, and took Poſſeſſion of an Houſe, which they threaten'd to defend with a deſperate Reſolution, but no-body appearing to countenance their Frenzy, they ſurrender'd after they had loſt about half their Number; *Venner*, and one of his Officers, were hanged before their Meeting-Houſe

House Door in *Coleman Street*, *Jan.* 19. and a few Days after Nine more were executed in divers Parts of the City. *King* Charles II. 1660.

This mad Insurrection gave the Court a Handle for breaking through the late *Declaration of Indulgence*, within three Months after it was publish'd; for *Jan.* 2. there was an Order of Council against the Meetings of Sectaries in great Numbers, and at unusual Times; and on the 10th of *January* a Proclamation was publish'd, whereby his Majesty forbids the *Anabaptists*, *Quakers*, and *Fifth Monarchy Men*, to assemble or meet together under pretence of Worshiping God, except it be in some Parochial Church, or Chapel, or in Private Houses by the Persons there inhabiting. All Meetings in any other Places are declared to be unlawful and riotous. And his Majesty commands all Mayors, and other Peace-Officers, to search for such Conventicles, and cause the Persons therein to be bound over to the next Sessions. Upon this the *Independants*, *Baptists*, and *Quakers*, who dissented from the Establishment, thought fit publickly to disown and renounce the late Insurrection. *Consequences of* Venner's *Insurrection.* Ken. p. 357.

The *Independants*, tho' not nam'd in the Proclamation, were obnoxious to the Government, and suspected to join in all Designs that might change the Constitution into a Commonwealth: To wipe off this Odium there was published, *A Renunciation and Declaration of the Congregational Churches, and publick Preachers of the same Judgment, living in and about the City of* London, *against the late horrid Insurrection and Rebellion acted in the said City.* Dated *Jan.* 1660. In this Declaration they disown the Principles of a *Fifth Monarchy*; or, *The personal Reign of King Jesus on Earth*, as dishonourable to him, and prejudicial to his Church; and abhor the Propagating this or any other Opinion by Force or Blood. They refer to their late Meeting of Messengers from one hundred and twenty Churches of their Way at the *Savoy*, in which they declared, (*Chap.* XXIV. *Of their Confession*) That *Disown'd by the* Independants.

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Civil Magiſtrates are of Divine Appointment, and that it is the Duty of all People to pray for them, to honour their Perſons, to pay them Tribute, to obey their lawful Commands, and to be ſubject to their Authority; and that Infidelity, or Difference in Religion, does not make void the Magiſtrate's juſt and legal Authority, nor free the People from their Obedience. Accordingly they ceaſe not to pray for all Sorts of Bleſſings, ſpiritual and temporal, upon the Perſon and Government of his Majeſty, and by the Grace of God will continue to do ſo themſelves, and perſuade others thereunto. And with regard to the late impious and prodigiouſly daring Rebellion; they add, *Curſed be their Anger, for it was fierce; and their Wrath, for it was cruel: O my Soul! come not thou into their Secret, but let God divide them in* Jacob, *and ſcatter them in* Iſrael. Sign'd by

Joſ Caryl,	*Samuel Slater,*	*Will. Greenhill,*
George Griffiths,	*George Cockayn,*	*Matth. Barker,*
Richard Kenrick,	*Thomas Goodwin,*	*Tho. Malory,*
Robert Bragge,	*Thomas Brooks,*	*John Loder,*
Ralph Venning,	*Corn. Helme,*	*John Yates,*
John Oxenbridge,	*John Hodges,*	*Thomas Owen,*
Philip Nye,	*John Bachiler,*	*Nath. Mather,*
John Rowe,	*Seth Wood,*	*Will. Stoughton.*
Thomas Weld,		

By the Baptiſts.

The *Baptiſts* publiſh'd an Apology in behalf of themſelves, and their Brethren of the ſame Judgment, with a *Proteſtation againſt the late wicked and moſt horrid Treaſon and Rebellion in this City of* London; in which they declare their Loyalty to the King, and promiſe that their Practice ſhall be conformable; ſubſcribed by *William Kiffen, Henry Den, John Batty, Thomas Lamb, Thomas Cowper,* and about twenty nine or thirty other Names. They alſo addreſſed the King, that the Innocent might not ſuffer with the Guilty; proteſting in the moſt ſolemn Manner, that they

they had not the leaſt Knowledge of the late Inſurrection, nor did directly nor indirectly, contrive, promote, aſſiſt, or approve of it. They offered to give Security for their peaceable Behaviour, and for their ſupporting his Majeſty's Perſon and Government. But notwithſtanding this, their religious Aſſemblies were diſturb'd in all Places, and their Miniſters impriſon'd; great Numbers were crouded into *Newgate*, and other Priſons, where they remained under cloſe Confinement till the King's Coronation, when the general Pardon publiſhed on that Occaſion ſet them at liberty. *King Charles II. 1660.*

The *Quakers* alſo addreſs'd the King upon this Occaſion in the following Words:

Oh King Charles!

" OUR Deſire is, that thou mayeſt live for ever " in the Fear of God, and thy Council. We " beſeech thee, and thy Council, to read theſe follow- " ing Lines, in tender Bowels, and Compaſſion for " our Souls, and for your Good. *By the Quakers. Kennet, p. 366.*

" And this conſider, we are about four hundred " impriſoned in and about this City, of Men and Wo- " men from their Families; beſides, in the Country " Goals above ten hundred. We deſire, that our " Meetings may not be broken up, but that all may " come to a fair Trial, that our Innocency may be clear- " ed up —— "

London, 16th Day *eleventh Month*, 1660.

On the 28th of the ſame Month they publiſhed the Declaration referr'd to in their Addreſs, entituled, *A Declaration from the harmleſs and innocent People of God called* QUAKERS, *againſt all Sedition, Plotters and Fighters in the World, for removing the Ground of Jealouſy and Suſpicion from both Magiſtrates and People in the Kingdom, concerning Wars and Fightings.* Preſented to the King the 21ſt Day of the eleventh Month, 1660. Upon which his Majeſty promiſed them, on the Word of a King, that they ſhould not ſuffer for *Ib. p. 364.*

their

King Charles II. 1660.

their Opinions as long as they lived peaceably; but his Promiſes were little regarded.

Preſbyterians *in Trouble.* Rapin, p. 264.

The Preſbyterian Clergy were in ſome Degree affected with theſe Commotions, tho' Envy it ſelf could not charge them with Guilt; but it was the Wiſh and Deſire of the Prelatical Party, that they might diſcover their Uneaſineſſes in ſuch a Manner as might expoſe them to Trouble; for their Ruin was already determined, only ſome Pretexts were wanting to execute the Deſign, particularly ſuch as affected the Peace of the Kingdom, and might not reflect on his Majeſty's Declaration from *Breda*, which promiſed, *That no Perſon ſhould be moleſted purely for Religion.* But they were inſulted by the Mob in the Streets; when Families were ſinging Pſalms in their Houſes, they were frequently interrupted by blowing of Horns, or throwing Stones in at the Window. The Preſbyterian Miniſters made the beſt Retreat they could, after they had unadviſedly delivered themſelves up into the Hands of their Enemies; for while they were careful to maintain an inviolable Loyalty to his Majeſty's Perſon and Government, they contended for their Religious Principles in the Preſs; ſeveral new Pamphlets were publiſhed, and a great many old ones reprinted, about *the Magiſtrates Right of impoſing Things indifferent in the Worſhip of God* —— *Againſt Bowing at the Name of Jeſus* —— *The Unlawfulneſs of the Ceremonies of the Church of* England —— *The Common-Prayer Book unmasked* —— *Grievances and Corruptions in Church-Government*, &c. moſt of which were anſwered by Divines of the Epiſcopal Party.

Bp. Stillingfleet's Irenicum.

But the moſt remarkable Treatiſe that appeared about this Time, and which if it had taken Place, muſt have prevented the Miſchiefs that followed, was that of the Reverend Dr. *Edward Stillingfleet*, Rector of *Sutton* in *Bedfordſhire*, and afterwards the Learned Biſhop of *Worceſter*, who firſt made himſelf known to the World at this Time by his *Irenicum*; or, *A Weapon ſalve for the Church's Wounds*; printed 1661.

1661. in which he attempts to prove, that no Form of Church-Government is of *Divine Right*, and that the Church had no Power to impoſe *Things indifferent*. I ſhall beg the Reader's Attention to a few Paſſages out of his Preface. " The Deſign of our " Saviour (ſays he) was to eaſe Men of their former " Burdens, and not to lay on more; the Duties he " required were no other but ſuch as were neceſſary, " and withal very juſt and reaſonable; he that came " to take away the inſupportable Yoke of *Jewiſh* Ce- " remonies, certainly did never intend to gall the " Necks of his Diſciples with another inſtead of it; " and it would be ſtrange the Church ſhould require " more than Chriſt himſelf did, and make other Con- " ditions of her Communion than our Saviour did of " Diſcipleſhip. What poſſible Reaſon can be aſſign- " ed or given why ſuch Things ſhould not be ſuffici- " ent for Communion with a Church which are ſuffi- " cient for eternal Salvation? And certainly thoſe " Things are ſufficient for that, which are laid down " as the neceſſary Duties of Chriſtianity by our Lord " and Saviour in his Word. What Ground can there " be why Chriſtians ſhould not ſtand upon the ſame " Terms now, which they did in the Time of Chriſt " and his Apoſtles? Was not Religion ſufficiently " guarded and fenced in them? Was there ever more " true and cordial Reverence in the Worſhip of God? " What Charter hath Chriſt given the Church to bind " Men up to more than himſelf has done? Or to ex- " clude thoſe from her Society who may be admitted " into Heaven? Will Chriſt ever thank Men at the " great Day, for keeping ſuch out from Communion " with his Church, who he will vouchſafe not only " Crowns of Glory to, but it may be *Aureolæ* too, if " there be any ſuch Things there? The grand Com- " miſſion the Apoſtles were ſent out with, was only to " teach what Chriſt had commanded them; not the " leaſt Intimation of any Power given them to impoſe " or require any Thing beyond what himſelf had ſpo- " ken

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Ib. p. 8, 9, 10.

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" ken to them, or they were directed to by the imme-
" diate Guidance of the Spirit of God. It is not, whe-
" ther the Things commanded and required be lawful
" or not? It is not, whether *Indifferencies* may be de-
" termined or no? It is not how far Chriſtians are
" bound to ſubmit to a Reſtraint of their Chriſtian
" Liberty which I now enquire after, but whether
" they conſult the Church's Peace and Unity who
" ſuſpend it upon ſuch Things. — We never read of
" the Apoſtles making Laws but of Things neceſſary,
" as *Acts* xv. 19. It was not enough with them that
" the Things would be neceſſary when they had requi-
" red them; but they looked upon an antecedent Ne-
" ceſſity either abſolute or for the preſent State, which
" was the only Ground of their impoſing theſe Com-
" mands upon the *Gentile* Chriſtians. But the Holy
" Ghoſt never thought thoſe Things fit to be made
" Matters of Law to which all Parties ſhould con-
" form. All that the Apoſtles required as to this
" was mutual Forbearance and Condeſcenſion towards
" each other in them. The Apoſtles valued not *In-*
" *differences* at all; and thoſe Things they accounted
" as *ſuch* which were of no Concernment to their Sal-
" vation. And what Reaſon is there why Men
" ſhould be tied up ſo ſtrictly to ſuch Things which
" they may do or let alone, and yet be very good
" Chriſtians? Without all Controverſy, the main In-
" let of all the Diſtractions, Confuſions, and Divi-
" ſions of the Chriſtian World, has been by adding
" other Conditions of Church Communion than Chriſt
" has done. —— Would there ever be the leſs Peace
" and Unity in a Church if a Diverſity were allowed
" as to Practices ſuppoſed indifferent? Yea, there
" would be ſo much more, as there was a mutual
" Forbearance and Condeſcenſion as to ſuch Things.
" The Unity of the Church is an Unity of Love and
" Affection, and not a bare Uniformity of Practice and
" Opinion —— There is nothing in the Primitive
" Church more deſerving our Imitation than that ad-
" mirable

" mirable Temper, Moderation and Condeſcenſion " which was uſed in it towards its Members. It was " never thought worth the while to make any ſtand- " ing Laws for Rites and Cuſtoms that had no other " Original but Tradition, much leſs to ſuſpend Men " her Communion for not obſerving them ——" *King Charles II. 1660.*

The Doctor's Propoſals for an Accommodation were, " 1. That nothing be impoſed as neceſſary but what " is clearly revealed in the Word of God. 2. That " nothing be required or determined but what is ſuffi- " ciently known to be indifferent in its own Nature. " 3. That whatever is thus determined be in order on- " ly to a due Performance of what is in general requi- " red in the Word of God, and not to be look'd up- " on as any Part of Divine Worſhip or Service. " 4. That no Sanctions be made, nor Mulcts or Pe- " nalties be inflicted on ſuch who only diſſent from " the Uſe of ſome Things whoſe Lawfulneſs they at " preſent ſcruple, till ſufficient Time and Means be uſed " for their Information of the Nature and Indifferency " of theſe Things. I am ſure (ſays the Dr.) it is contrary " to the Primitive Practice, and the Moderation then " uſed, to ſuſpend or deprive Men of their Miniſteri- " al Function for not conforming in Habits and Ge- " ſtures, or the like. *Laſtly*, That Religion be not " clog'd with Ceremonies; for when they are multi- " plied too much, tho' lawful, they eat out the Heart, " Heat, Life and Vigor of Chriſtianity —" If the Doctor had kept to theſe Principles he could hardly have ſubſcribed the Act of Uniformity next Year, much leſs have writ ſo fiercely againſt the Diſſenters, as he did twenty Years afterwards. But all he could ſay or do at preſent availed nothing, the Preſbyterians were in Diſgrace, and nothing could put a Stop to the Torrent of popular Fury that was coming down upon them. *Ib.* p. 66, 67.

The Earl of *Clarendon*, Lord Chancellor, was now prime Miniſter, and at the Head of Affairs. The Year began with new Scenes of Pleaſure and Diverſion, occaſioned by the King's Marriage with the Infanta 1661. *King's Marriage.*

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fanta of *Portugal*, which was conſummated *April* 30. The Match was promoted by General *Monk* and Lord *Clarendon*, if, according to the *Oxford* Hiſtorian, the latter was not the firſt Mover of it. But it was reckoned very odd, that a Proteſtant Chancellor ſhould adviſe the King to a Popiſh Princeſs, when a Catholick King propoſed at the ſame Time a Proteſtant Conſort. But his Lordſhip had further Views, for it was generally talked among the Merchants, that the *Infanta* could have no Children, in which Caſe the Chancellor's Daughter, who had been privately married to the King's Brother, muſt ſucceed, and her Iſſue by the Duke of *York* fill the Throne; which happen'd accordingly in the Perſons of Queen *Mary* II. and Queen *Anne*. Such was the aſpiring Views of this great Man, which, together with his haughty Behaviour towards his Inferiors, proved his Ruin.

Character of the New Parliament. Rapin.

The Convention Parliament being diſſolved, a new one was ſummoned to meet *May* 8. The Houſe of Commons was made up of Repreſentatives agreeable to the Wiſhes of the Courtiers, who had taken Care to recommend ſuch Perſons for Members as were zealous Enemies of the Preſbyterians, and followed the Principles of Archbiſhop *Laud*; many of them had their Eſtates impaired in the late Wars, and having now their Fortunes to make, became Tools of doing infinite Miſchief to the Nation. The Court kept above one hundred of them in conſtant pay, who went by the Name of the *Club of Voters*, and received large Sums of Money out of the *Exchequer*, till they had almoſt ſubverted the Conſtitution; and then, becauſe they would not put the finiſhing Hand to what they had unadviſedly begun, they were diſſolved.

The King's and Lord Clarendon's Speech. K. Chron. P. 437.

The King acquainted the Houſes at the Opening of the Seſſions, that "*He valued himſelf much upon keeping his Word, and upon making good whatſoever he had promiſed to his Subjects.*" But the Chancellor, who enlarged upon the King's Speech, ſpoke a different Language, and told the Houſe, "That there

" were a Sort of Patients in the Kingdom that deſerved " their utmoſt Severity, and none of their Lenity; " theſe were the *Seditious Preachers* who could not be " contented to be diſpenſed with for their full Obe- " dience to ſome Laws eſtabliſhed, without reproach- " ing and inveighing againſt thoſe Laws how eſta- " bliſhed ſoever, who tell their Auditories that when " the Apoſtle bid them ſtand to their Liberties, he " bid them ſtand to their Arms, and who by repeat- " ing the very Expreſſions, and teaching the very " Doctrines they ſet on Foot in the Year 1640. ſuffi- " ciently declare that they have no mind that twenty " Years ſhould put an End to the Miſeries we have " undergone. What good Chriſtians can think with- " out horror, of theſe Miniſters of the Goſpel, who " by their Function ſhould be Meſſengers of Peace, " but are in their Practice the only Trumpets of War, " and Incendiaries towards Rebellion? — And if the " Perſons and Place can aggravate their Offence, ſo " no doubt it does before God and Man. Methinks " the preaching Rebellion and Treaſon out of the Pul- " pit, ſhould be as much worſe than advancing it in " the Market, as poiſoining a Man at a Communi- " on, would be worſe than killing him at a Ta- " vern —" His Lordſhip concludes thus: " If " you do not provide for the thorough quenching " theſe Firebrands; King, Lords and Commons ſhall " be their meaneſt Subjects, and the whole Kingdom " will be kindled into a general Flame." This was a home Thruſt at the Preſbyterians; the Chancellor did not explain himſelf upon the Authors of theſe ſeditious Sermons, his Deſign being not to accuſe particular Perſons, but to obtain a general Order which might ſuppreſs all Preachers that were not of the Church of *England*; and the Parliament was prepared to go blindfold into all the Court Meaſures; for in this Seſſions the *Militia* was given abſolutely to the King — The *Solemn League and Covenant* was declared void, and illegal — The Act for diſabling Perſons in Holy Orders to exerciſe tem-

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K. Chron. p. 510, 511.

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temporal Juriſdiction was repealed —— The Biſhops were reſtored to their Seats in Parliament —— The old Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction was revived by the Repeal of the 17th of *Charles* I. except the *Oath ex Officio* —— And it was made a Præmunire to call the King a Papiſt.

King's ſecond Speech to his Parliament.

The Storm was all this while gathering thick over the Preſbyterians; for when the Parliament met a ſecond Time, *Nov.* 20. the King complimented the Biſhops, who appeared now in their Places among the Peers, and ſaid in his Speech, That it was a Felicity he had much deſired to ſee, as the only Thing wanting to reſtore the old Conſtitution. He then ſpoke the Language of the Chancellor, and told the Commons, "That there were many wicked Inſtruments who laboured Night and Day to diſturb the publick Peace —— That it was worthy of their Care to provide proper Remedies for the Diſeaſes of that kind; that if they found new Diſeaſes they muſt find new Remedies. That the Difficulties which concerned Religion were too hard for him, and therefore he recommended them to their Care and Deliberation who could beſt provide for them." The Deſign of this Speech was to make way for breaking through the *Breda Declaration*, and to furniſh the Parliament with a Pretence for treating the Non-Conformiſts with Rigor, to which they were but too well enclined of themſelves.

'Tis eaſy for a King or *Prime Miniſter* to raiſe a Cry of Sedition, or to ſpread Reports of dangerous Plots and Conſpiracies, when they have a mind to rain down Vengeance upon their Enemies, tho' they behave with all imaginable Circumſpection and Duty. But this was the Plan the Court went upon for the Execution of their Deſigns.

Sham Plots fathered on the Preſbyterians. Yarrington's *Plot*, K. Chr. p. 602.

Lord *Clarendon*, in a Conference between the two Houſes, affirmed poſitively, that there was a real Conſpiracy againſt the Peace of the Kingdom; and tho' it was diſconcerted in the City, it was carried on in divers Coun-

Counties; a Committee was therefore appointed to enquire into the Truth of the Report; but after all their Examinations not one ſingle Perſon was put to Death, or ſo much as proſecuted for it. Great Pains was taken to faſten ſomething on the Preſbyterians; Letters were ſent from unknown Hands to the Chiefs of the Party in ſeveral Counties, intimating the Deſign of a general Inſurrection, in which *their Friends* were concerned, and deſiring them to communicate it to certain Perſons in their Neighbourhood, whom they name in their Letters, that they may be ready at Time and Place. A Letter of this kind was directed to the Reverend Mr. *Sparry* in *Worceſterſhire*, deſiring him and Captain *Yarrington* to be ready with Money; and to acquaint Mr. *Oatland* and Mr. *Baxter* with the Deſign. This, with a Packet of the ſame kind, was ſaid to be left under a Hedge by a *Scots* Pedlar; and as ſoon as they were found they were carried to Sir *J. Packington*, who immediately committed *Sparry*, *Oatland*, and *Yarrington* to Priſon. The Militia of the County was raiſed, and the City of *Worceſter* put into a Poſture of Defence; but the Sham was ſo notorious, that the Earl of *Briſtol*, tho' a Papiſt, was aſhamed of it; and after ſome Time the Priſoners, for want of Evidence, were releaſed. The Members for *Oxfordſhire*, *Herefordſhire*, and *Staffordſhire*, informed the Commons, that they had Rumours of the like Conſpiracies in their Counties. Biſhop *Burnet* ſays, "That p. 148.
"many were taken up, but none tried; that this was
"done to faſten an Odium on the Preſbyterians, and
"to help to carry the Penal Laws thro' the Houſe; and
"t ere were Appearances of foul Dealing (ſays he)
"among the fiercer Sort." Mr. *Locke* adds, that Reports of a general Inſurrection were ſpread over the whole Nation, by the very Perſons that invented them; and tho' Lord *Clarendon* could not but be acquainted with the *Farce*, he kept it on foot to facilitate the paſſing the Penal Laws that were now coming Rapin, p. 289.

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upon the Carpet. The Government could not with Decency attack the *Non-Conformists* purely on account of their Religion; the Declaration from *Breda* was too expreſs on that Article; they were therefore to be accuſed right or wrong of raiſing Diſturbances in the State. But ſuppoſing the Fact to be true, that ſome few Malecontents had been raiſing Diſturbances, which yet was never made appear, what Reaſon can be given why it ſhould be charged upon the Principles of a whole Body of Men, who were willing to be quiet.

K. Chron. p. 602.

It was nevertheleſs on this baſe and diſhonourable Foundation, that the firſt Penal Law which paſſed againſt the Non-Conformiſts this Seſſion was founded, entitled,

Corporation Act. Stat. 13. Car. II. Seſſ. 2. Cap. 1.

An Act for the well-governing and regulating Corporations; which enacts, "That within the ſeveral "Cities, Corporations, Burroughs, Cinque Ports, "and other Port Towns within the Kingdom of *England*, Dominion of *Wales*, and Town of *Berwick* "on *Tweed*, all Mayors, Aldermen, Recorders, Bailiffs, Town-Clerks, Common-Council-Men, and "other Perſons, bearing any Office or Offices of Magiſtracy, or Places, or Truſts, or other Imployment relating to, or concerning the Government of "the ſaid reſpective Cities, Corporations, and Burroughs, and Cinque Ports, and their Members, "and other Port-Towns, ſhall take the *Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy*, and this Oath following,

"I *A. B.* do declare and believe, that it is not Lawful upon any Pretence whatſoever to take Arms "againſt the King; and that I do abhor that traiterous "Poſition of taking Arms by his Authority againſt "his Perſon, or againſt thoſe that are commiſſioned "by him."

They

They ſhall alſo ſubſcribe the following Declaration, *King* Charles II. 1661.

"I *A. B.* do declare, that there lies no Obligation upon me from the Solemn League and Covenant, and that the ſame was an unlawful Oath impoſed on the Subject againſt the Laws and Liberties of the Kingdom."

"Provided alſo, and be it enacted by the Authority aforeſaid, that no Perſon ſhall hereafter be elected, or choſen into any of the Offices or Places aforeſaid, that ſhall not have within one Year next before ſuch Election or Choice taken the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, according to the Rights of the Church of *England*; and that every Perſon ſo elected ſhall take the aforeſaid Oaths, and ſubſcribe the ſaid Declaration at the ſame Time when the Oath for the due Execution of the ſaid Places and Offices ſhall be reſpectively adminiſter'd."

Thus all Non-Conformiſts were turned out of all the Branches of Magiſtracy at once, and render'd incapable of ſerving their Country in the meaneſt Offices of a Common-Council-Man, or a Burgeſs or Bailiff of a Corporation. The Oath impoſed in this Act robb'd them of their Right as *Subjects*; Mr. *Eachard* confeſſes that it ſeems at once to give up the whole Conſtitution; and no wonder (ſays he) if many of the Clergy as well as Laity on the Account of this Act, eſpouſed a Doctrine which if rigidly taken, was hard to be reconciled to the *great Deliverance* afterwards. Mr. *Rapin* adds, That to ſay that it *is not Lawful on any Pretence whatſoever to reſiſt the King*, is properly ſpeaking to deliver up the Liberties of the Nation into his Hands. The High Churchmen had then extraordinary Ideas of the Royal Authority, but even this *Remarks.* p. 287, 310.

King Charles II. 1661.

Parliament afterwards did not think fit to admit the dangerous Conſequences of their own Maxims.

Commiſſioners were appointed, and employed all this and the next Year to viſit the ſeveral Corporations in *England*, and to turn out of Office ſuch as were never ſo little ſuſpected; who executed their Commiſſions with ſuch Rigor, that the Corporations had not one Member left who was not entirely devoted to the King and the Church.

CHAP. VI.

From the Conference at the Savoy, *to the Act of Uniformity.*

King Charles II. 1661.

According to his Majeſty's Declaration of *October* 25. 1660. concerning Eccleſiaſtical Affairs, twelve Biſhops and nine Aſſiſtants were appointed on the Part of the Epiſcopal Church of *England*, and as many Miniſters on the Side of the Preſbyterians, to aſſemble at the Biſhop of *London*'s Lodgings at the *Savoy*, "to review the Book of Common-Prayer, com-"paring it with the moſt ancient and pureſt Litur-"gies; and to take into their ſerious and grave Con-"ſiderations the ſeveral Directions and Rules, Forms "of Prayer, and Things in the ſaid Book of Common-"Prayer contained, and to adviſe and conſult upon the "ſame, and the ſeveral Objections and Exceptions which "ſhall now be raiſed againſt the ſame; and if Occa-"ſion be, to make ſuch reaſonable and neceſſary Al-"terations, Corrections and Amendments as ſhall be "agreed upon to be needful and expedient for giving "Satisfaction to tender Conſciences, and the Reſtoring "and Continuance of Peace and Unity in the Churches "under his Majeſty's Government and Direction." They were to continue four Months from the 25th of *March* 1661. and then preſent the Reſult of their Conferences to his Majeſty under their ſeveral Hands.

Conference at the Savoy.

The Names of the Epiſcopal Divines on the Side of the Eſtabliſhment at the Savoy Conference *were*,

The Moſt Rev. Dr. *Accepted Frewen*, Abp. of *York*,
The Rt. Rev. Dr. *Gilbert Sheldon*, Bp. of *London*,
——— Dr. *John Coſins*, Biſhop of *Durham*,
——— Dr. *John Warner*, Biſhop of *Rocheſter*,
——— Dr. *Henry King*, Biſhop of *Chicheſter*,

King Charles II. 1661.

The Rt. Rev. Dr. *Humphrey Henchman*, Bp. of *Sarum*,
——— Dr. *George Morley*, Bp. of *Worceſter*,
——— Dr. *Robert Saunderſon*, Bp. of *Lincoln*,
——— Dr. *Benjamin Laney*, Bp. of *Peterborough*,
——— Dr. *Bryan Walton*, Biſhop of *Cheſter*,
——— Dr. *Richard Sterne*, Biſhop of *Carliſle*,
——— Dr. *John Gauden*, Biſhop of *Exeter*.

Their Aſſiſtants,

John Earle, D. D. Dean of *Weſtm.*
Peter Heylin, D. D.
John Hacket, D. D.
John Barwick, D. D.
Peter Gunning, D. D.
John Pearſon, D. D.
Thomas Pierce, D. D.
Antony Sparrow, D. D.
Herbert Thorndike, B. D.

The Names of the Preſbyterian Divines, or thoſe who were for Alterations in the Hierarchy of the Church at the *Savoy Conference* were,

The Rt. Rev. *Edward Reynolds*, Biſhop of *Norwich*,
The Rev. *Antony Tuckney*, D.D. M. St. *John's Col. Cam.*
——— *John Conant*, D. D. Reg. Prof. *Oxon*,
——— *William Spurſtow*, D. D. Vicar, *Hackney*,
——— *John Wallis*, D. D. Sav. Prof. Geom.
——— *Thomas Manton*, D. D. Maſt. of *Cov. Garden*,
——— *Edmund Calamy*, B. D. of *Aldermanbury*,
——— Mr. *Richard Baxter*, Cl. late of *Kidderminſter*,
——— Mr. *Arthur Jackſon*, Clerk, of St. *Faith's*,
——— Mr. *Thomas Caſe*, Clerk, Rect. of St. *Giles*,
——— Mr. *Sam. Clarke*, Clerk, of St. *Bennet Fink*,
——— Mr. *Matth. Newcomen*, Clerk, of *Dedham*.

Their Aſſiſtants.

The Rev. *Thomas Horton*, D. D.
——— *Thomas Jacomb*, D. D.
——— *Will. Bates*, D. D.
——— *Will. Cooper*, D. D.

The

The Rev. *John Lightfoot*, D. D. *King* Charles II. 1661.
——— *John Collins*, D. D.
——— *Benj. Woodbridge*, D. D.
——— Mr. *John Rawlinſon*, Clerk,
——— Mr. *Will. Drake*, Clerk.

When the Commiſſioners were aſſembled the firſt Time, *April* 15. the Archbiſhop of *York* ſtood up and ſaid, He knew but little of the Buſineſs they were met about, and therefore referr'd it to Dr. *Sheldon*, Biſhop of *London*, who gave it as his Opinion, that the *Presbyterians* having deſired this Conference, they [the Biſhops] ſhould neither ſay nor do any Thing till the others had brought in all their Exceptions and Complaints againſt the Liturgy in writing, with their additional Forms and Amendments. The Preſbyterians humbly moved for a *Conference* according to the Words of the Commiſſion, but the Biſhop of *London* inſiſting peremptorily upon his own Method, the others conſented to bring in their *Exceptions* at one Time, and their *Additions* at another. For this Purpoſe Biſhop *Reynolds*, Dr. *Wallis*, and the reſt of the Preſbyterian Party, met from Day to Day to collect their Exceptions; but the Additions, or drawing up a new Form, was intruſted with Mr. *Baxter* alone. " Biſhop *Sheldon* ſaw well enough (ſays *Burnet*) what " the Effect would be of obliging them to make " all their Demands at once, that the Number would " raiſe a mighty Outcry againſt them as a People " that could never be ſatisfied." On the other Hand, the Preſbyterians were divided in their Sentiments; ſome were for inſiſting only on a few important Things, reckoning that if they were gained, and an Union followed, it might be eaſier to obtain other Things afterwards. But the Majority, by the Influence of Mr. *Baxter*, were for extending their Deſires to the utmoſt, and thought themſelves bound by the Words of the Commiſſion to offer every Thing they thought might conduce to the Peace of the Church, with-

Opening of the Conference. Baxter's *Life*, Part II. p. 305. Ibid. Part II. p. 306. p. 180.

King Charles II. 1661.

without conſidering what an Aſpect this would have with the World, or what Influence their numerous Demands might have upon the Minds of thoſe who were now their Superiors in Numbers and Strength; but when they were put in mind that the *King's Commiſſion* gave them no Power to alter the Government of the Church, nor to inſiſt upon Archbiſhop *Uſher*'s Model, nor ſo much as to claim the Conceſſions of his Majeſty's late Declaration, they were quite heartleſs; for they now ſaw that all they were to expect was a few Amendments in the Liturgy and Common-Prayer Book. This was concluded before-hand at Court, and nothing more intended than to drop the Preſbyterians with ſome plauſible Decency.

Hardſhips of the Preſbyterians.

The Miniſters were under this further Hardſhip, that they were to tranſact for a Body of Men from whom they had no Power, and therefore could not be obliged to abide by their Deciſions; they told the King and the *Prime Miniſter*, that they ſhould be glad to conſult their abſent Brethren, and receive from them a Commiſſion in Form, but this was denied, and they were required only to give in their own Senſe of Things, to which they conſented, provided the Biſhops at the ſame Time would bring in their Conceſſions; but Theſe being content to abide by the Liturgy as it then ſtood, had nothing to offer, nor would they admit of any Alterations but what the Preſbyterians ſhould make appear to be neceſſary. With this dark and melancholy Proſpect the Conference was opened. * It would interrupt the Courſe of this Hiſtory too much, to inſert all the Exceptions of the Preſbyterians to the preſent Liturgy, and the Papers that paſſed between the

* N. B. *All the Papers relating to the Conference at the* Savoy *are collected in a Book, entituled,* THE HISTORY OF NON-CONFORMITY, as it was argued and ſtated by Commiſſioners on both Sides appointed by his Majeſty King *Charles* II. in the Year 1661. *Octavo. Edit. 2d.* 1708.

Com-

Commiſſioners, with the Letter of the Preſbyterian Miniſters to the Archbiſhop and Biſhops, and the Account they gave of the Whole to the King. I ſhall only take Notice in this Place, that inſtead of drawing up a few ſupplemental Forms, and making ſome Amendments to the old Liturgy, Mr. *Baxter* compoſed an entire new One in the Language of Scripture, which he called the *Reformed Liturgy*; not with a Deſign entirely to ſet aſide the old One, but to give Men Liberty to uſe either as they thought fit. It was drawn up in a ſhort Compaſs of Time, and after it had been examined, and approved by the Brethren, was preſented to the Biſhops in the Conference, together with their Exceptions to the *Old Liturgy*. This gave great Offence, as preſuming that a Liturgy drawn up by a ſingle Hand in fourteen Days, was to be preferr'd, or ſtand in Competition with *One* had been approved by the Church for a whole Century. Beſides, it was inconſiſtent with the Commiſſion and the Biſhops Declaration of varying no further from the *old Standard* than ſhould appear to be neceſſary, and therefore the *Reformed Liturgy*, as it was called, was rejected at once without being examined.

King Charles II. 1661.

When the Preſbyterians brought in their Exceptions to the Liturgy, they preſented at the ſame Time a PETITION FOR PEACE, beſeeching the Biſhops to yield to their Amendments; to free them from the Subſcriptions and Oaths in his Majeſty's late Declaration, and not to inſiſt upon the *Re-Ordination* of thoſe who had been ordained without a Dioceſan Biſhop, nor upon the *Surplice*, the *Croſs in Baptiſm*, and other *indifferent Ceremonies*; for this Purpoſe they make uſe of various Motives and Arguments, ſufficient, in my Judgment, to influence all that had any Concern for the Honour of God, and the Salvation of Souls. The Biſhops gave a particular Anſwer to theſe Exceptions; to which the Preſbyterians made ſuch a Reply, as in the Opinion of their Adverſaries, ſhewed them to be Men of Learning, and well verſed in the Practice of the

Proceedings of the Commiſſioners.

King Charles II. 1661.

the antient Church; however, the Biſhops would indulge nothing to their Prejudices; upon which they ſent them a large expoſtulatory Letter, wherein, after having repeated their Objections, they lay the Wounds of the Church at their Door.

A Diſputation propoſed. Baxter's *Life*, Part II. p. 337.

The Time of Treaty being almoſt ſpun out in a Paper Controverſy, about ten Days before the Commiſſion expired, a Diſputation was agreed on, to argue the *Neceſſity* of Alterations in the preſent Liturgy. Three of each Party were choſe to manage the Argument; Dr. *Pearſon*, *Gunning*, and *Sparrow*, on one Side; and Dr. *Bates*, *Jacomb*, and Mr. *Baxter*, on the other. The reſt were at liberty to withdraw if they pleaſed. Mr. *Baxter* was Opponent, and began to prove the Sinfulneſs of Impoſitions; but through want of Order, frequent Interruptions, and perſonal Reflections, the Diſpute turned to no Account; a number of young Divines interrupting the Preſbyterian Miniſters and laughing them to ſcorn. At length Biſhop *Coſins* produced a Paper, containing an Expedient to ſhorten the Debate, which was, to put the Miniſters on diſtinguiſhing between *thoſe Things which they charged as* SINFUL, *and thoſe which were only* INEXPEDIENT. The three Diſputants on the Miniſters ſide were deſired to draw up an Anſwer to this Paper, which they did, and charged the Rubrick and Injunctions of the Church with eight Things flatly *ſinful*, and contrary to the Word of God.

K. Chr. p. 504.

Baxter's *Life*, Part II. p. 341.

1. That no Miniſter be admitted to baptize without uſing the *Sign of the Croſs*.

2. That no Miniſter be admitted to officiate without wearing a *Surplice*.

3. That none be admitted to the Lord's Supper without he receive it *kneeling*.

4. That Miniſters be obliged to pronounce all baptized Perſons *regenerated by the Holy Ghoſt*, whether they be the Children of Chriſtians or not.

5. That Miniſters be obliged to deliver the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Chriſt to the *Unfit both*

in

in Health and Sickneſs, and that, by perſonal Application, putting it into their Hands, even thoſe who are forced to receive it againſt their Wills, through Conſciouſneſs of their Impenitency. *King* Charles II. 1661.

6. That Miniſters are obliged to abſolve the *Unfit*, and that in abſolute Expreſſions.

7. That Miniſters are forced to give Thanks for all whom they bury, as *Brethren whom God has taken to himſelf.*

8. That none may be Preachers who do not ſubſcribe, that *there is nothing in the Common-Prayer Book, Book of Ordination, and the Thirty Nine Articles contrary to the Word of God.*

After a great deal of looſe Diſcourſe it was agreed to debate the third Article, *of denying the Communion to ſuch as could not kneel.* The *Miniſters* proved their Aſſertion thus, that it was denying the Sacrament to ſuch whom the Holy Ghoſt commanded us to receive; *Rom.* xiv. 1, 2, 3. *Him that is weak in the Faith receive ye, but not to doubtful Diſputations: One believes he may eat all Things; another, that is weak, eateth Herbs: Let not him that eateth, deſpiſe him that eateth not; and let not him that eateth not, judge him that eateth, for God has received him.* The Epiſcopal Divines would not underſtand this of the *Communion.* They alſo diſtinguiſhed between Things lawful in themſelves, and Things both lawful in themſelves *and required by lawful Authority.* In the former Caſe they admit a Liberty, but the latter being injoined by *Authority* become neceſſary. The Miniſters replied, that Things about which there is to be a Forbearance ought not to be enjoined by Authority, and made neceſſary; and for Governors to reject Men by this Rule is to defeat the Apoſtle's Reaſoning, and ſo contrary to the Law of God. But when Dr. *Gunning* had read certain Citations and Authorities for the other Side of the Queſtion, Biſhop *Coſins* the Moderator called out to the reſt of the Biſhops and Doctors, and put the Queſtion, *All you that think Dr.* Gunning *has proved that* Romans xiv. *ſpeaketh*

The Subject of the Diſpute.

K. Chron. p. 506.

King Charles II. 1661.

ſpeaketh not of receiving the Sacrament, ſay Ay. Upon which there was a general Cry among the Hearers, *Ay, Ay*; the Epiſcopal Divines having great Numbers of their Party in the Hall; whereas the *Miniſters* had not above two or three Gentlemen and Scholars who had the Courage to appear with them. Nevertheleſs they maintained their Point, and (as Biſhop *Burnet* obſerves) inſiſted upon it, that a *Law which excludes all from the Sacrament who dare not kneel, was unlawful, as it was a Limitation in Point of Communion put upon the Laws of Chriſt, which ought to be the only Condition of thoſe that have a Right to it.*

At length the Epiſcopal Divines became Opponents upon the ſame Queſtion, and argued thus; *That Command which enjoins only an Act in it ſelf lawful is not ſinful.* Which Mr. *Baxter* denied. They then added, *That Command which enjoins only an Act in it ſelf lawful, and no other Act or Circumſtance unlawful, is not ſinful.* This alſo Mr. *Baxter* denied. They then advanced further, *That Command which enjoins only an Act in it ſelf lawful, and no other Act whereby an unjuſt Penalty is enjoined, or any Circumſtance, whence directly or* per Accidens *any Sin is conſequent which the Commander ought to provide againſt, hath in it all Things requiſite to the Lawfulneſs of a Command, and particularly cannot be charged with enjoining an Act* per Accidens *unlawful, nor of commanding an Act under an unjuſt Penalty.* This alſo was denied, becauſe tho' it does not command that which is ſinful, it may reſtrain from that which is lawful, and it may be applied to undue Subjects. Other Reaſons were given; but thus the Diſpute broke off with Noiſe and Confuſion, and high Reflections upon Mr. *Baxter*'s dark and cloudy Imagination, and his perplexed, ſcholaſtick, metaphyſical Manner of diſtinguiſhing, which tended rather to confound than to clear up that which was doubtful; and Biſhop *Saunderſon* being then in the Chair pronounced that Dr. *Gunning* had the better of the Argument.

K. Chr. p. 505.

Biſhop

King Charles II. 1661.

Biſhop *Morley* ſaid, that Mr. *Baxter*'s denying that plain Propoſition was deſtructive of all Authority Human and Divine; that it ſtruck the Church out of all its Claims for making Canons, and for ſettling Order and Diſcipline; nay, that it took away all legiſlative Power from the King and Parliament, and even from God himſelf; for no Act can be ſo good in it ſelf but may lead to a Sin *by Accident*; and if to command ſuch an Act be a Sin, then every Command muſt be a Sin.

Remarks.

Biſhop *Burnet* adds, "that *Baxter* and *Gunning* "ſpent ſeveral Days in logical Arguing, to the Diver- "ſion of the Town, who look'd upon them as a "Couple of *Fencers* engaged in a Diſpute that could "not be brought to any End. The Biſhops inſiſted "*upon the Laws being ſtill in force; to which they* "*would admit of no Exception, unleſs it was proved* "*that the Matter of them was ſinful.* They charged "the Preſbyterians with making a Schiſm for that "which they could not prove to be ſinful. They "ſaid there was no Reaſon to gratify ſuch Men, that "one Demand granted would draw on many more; "that all Authority in Church and State was ſtruck at "by the Poſition they had inſiſted on, namely, *That* "*it was not lawful to impoſe Things indifferent*, ſince "theſe ſeemed to be the only Matters in which Au- "thority could interfere." Thus ended the Diſputation.

The Preſbyterians *deſcend to Entreaties.*

From Arguments the Miniſters deſcended to Entreaties, and prayed the Biſhops to have Compaſſion on ſcrupulous Minds, and not deſpiſe their weaker Brethren. If the Nonconformiſts ſhould be turned out of the Church, they put them in mind, that there would not be Clergymen enough to fill the vacant Pulpits; they urged their peaceable Behaviour in the late Times; what they had ſuffered for the Royal Cauſe, and the great Share they had in reſtoring the King; they pleaded his Majeſty's late Declaration, and the Deſign of the preſent Conference. To all which the Biſhops replied,

King Charles II. 1661.

replied, That they were only commiſſioned *to make ſuch Alterations in the Liturgy as ſhould be neceſſary, and ſuch as ſhould be agreed upon.* The Miniſters replied, That the Word *Neceſſary* muſt refer to the ſatisfying tender Conſciences; but the Biſhops inſiſted, that they ſaw no Alterations *neceſſary*, and therefore were not obliged to make any till they could prove them ſo. The Miniſters prayed them to conſider the ill Conſequence that might follow upon a Separation. But all was to no purpoſe, their Lordſhips were in the Saddle, and if we may believe Mr. *Baxter*, would not abate the ſmalleſt Ceremony, nor correct the groſſeſt Error for the Peace of the Church. Thus the King's Commiſſion expired *July* 25. and the Conferences ended without any Proſpect of Accommodation.

It was agreed at the Concluſion, that each Party might repreſent to his Majeſty, that they were all agreed upon the Ends of the Conference, which was the *Church's Welfare, Unity and Peace*, but ſtill diſagreed as to the Means of procuring it. The Biſhops thought they had no Occaſion to repreſent their Caſe in writing; but the Preſbyterian Commiſſioners met by themſelves, and drew up an Account of their Proceedings, with a Petition for that Relief which they could not obtain from the Biſhops. They preſented it to the King by Biſhop *Reynolds*, Doctor *Bates*, Doctor *Manton*, and Mr. *Baxter*; but received no Anſwer.

Baxter's *Life*, Part II. p. 366.

Behaviour of the Commiſſioners. Baxter's *Life*, Part II. p. 307. K. Chron. p. 507.

Before we leave this famous Conference at the *Savoy* it will not be amiſs to remark the Behaviour of the Commiſſioners on both Sides, ſome of whom ſeldom or never appeared, as Dr. *King* Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, Dr. *Heylin*, *Barwick* and *Earle*; *Sheldon* Biſhop of *London* came but ſeldom, tho' he, with *Henchman* and *Morley*, had the chief Management of Affairs; Others were preſent, but did not much concern themſelves in the Debate, as Dr. *Frewen* Archbiſhop of *York*; *Lucy* of St. *David's*; *Warner* of *Rocheſter*; *Saunderſon* of

Lincoln; *Laney* of *Peterborough*; *Walton* of *Chester*; *Sterne* of *Carliſle*; Dr. *Hacket* and Dr. *Sparrow* —— On the Side of the Preſbyterians Dr. *Horton* never appeared, nor Dr. *Drake*, becauſe of a *Miſnomer* in the Commiſſion; Dr. *Lightfoot*, *Tuckney*, and Mr. *Woodbridge*, were preſent but once or twice. *King Charles II. 1661.*

Among the Biſhops; Dr. *Morley* was the chief Speaker; his Manner was vehement, and he was againſt all Abatements. He frequently interrupted Mr. *Baxter*; and when Dr. *Bates* ſaid, *Pray, my Lord, give him leave to ſpeak*, he could not obtain it. *Doctor Morley.* Baxter's *Life*, Part II. p. 363, &c.

Biſhop *Coſins* was there conſtantly, and tho' he was enclined to moderate Meaſures, ſaid ſome very ſevere Things. When the Miniſters prayed the Biſhops to have ſome Compaſſion on their Brethren, and not caſt ſuch *great Numbers unneceſſarily* out of the Miniſtry, he replied, *What, do you threaten us with Numbers? For my part, I think the King would do well to make you name them all.* Again, when the Miniſters complained, that after ſo many Years Calamity the Biſhops would not yield to that which their Predeceſſors offered before the War, Biſhop *Coſins* replied, *Do you threaten us then with a new War? 'Tis Time for the King to look to you.* *Bp.* Coſins.

Biſhop *Gauden* often took part with the Preſbyterian Divines, and was the only Moderator among the Biſhops, except Biſhop *Reynolds*, who ſpoke much the firſt Day for Abatements and Moderation; but afterwards ſitting among the Biſhops he only ſpoke now and then a qualifying Word, but was heartily grieved for the fruitleſs Iſſue of the Conference. *Bp.* Gauden.

Of the Diſputants, 'tis ſaid, Dr. *Pearſon*, afterwards Biſhop of *Cheſter*, diſputed accurately, ſoberly, and calmly. The Preſbyterian Miniſters had a great Regard for him, and believed, that if he had been an Umpire in the Controverſy his Conceſſions would have gone a great Way. *Of the Diſputants.*

Dr. *Gunning* was the moſt forward Speaker, and ſtuck at nothing. Biſhop *Burnet* ſays, That all the

Arts

King Charles II. 1661.

Arts of Sophiſtry were uſed by him in as confident a Manner as if they had been ſound Reaſoning; that he was unweariedly active to very little Purpoſe, and being very fond of the Popiſh Rituals and Ceremonies, he was much ſet upon reconciling the Church of *England* to *Rome*.

On the Side of the Preſbyterians, Dr. *Bates* and *Manton* behaved with great Modeſty; the moſt active Diſputant was Mr. *Baxter*, who had a very metaphyſical Head and fertile Invention, and was one of the moſt ready Men of his Time for an Argument, but too tenacious of his own Opinions. Next to him was Mr. *Calamy*, who had a great Intereſt among the Preſbyterian Miniſters in City and Country, and for his Age and Gravity was reſpected as their Father.

Of the Auditors.

Life, p. 337.

Among the Auditors Mr. *Baxter* obſerves there was with the Biſhops a Croud of young Divines who behaved indecently; but mentions only two or three Scholars and Laymen, who, as Auditors, came in with the Preſbyterians, as Mr. *Miles*, Mr. *Tillotſon*, &c.

Account of Abp. Tillotſon.

Life of Tillotſon.

This Mr. *Tillotſon* was afterwards the moſt Reverend and Learned Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, one of the moſt celebrated Divines and Preachers of the Age. We ſhall have frequent Occaſion to mention him hereafter, and therefore I ſhall give a ſhort Account of him in this Place: He was born in *Yorkſhire* 1630. and received his firſt Education among the *Puritans*; and tho' he had larger Notions, he ſtill ſtuck to the Strictneſs of Life to which he was bred, and retained a juſt Value, and a due Tenderneſs for Men of that Perſuaſion. He was admitted Student of *Clare Hall* in *Cambridge*, under the Tuition of Mr. *David Clarkſon* in the Year 1647. He was Bachelor of Arts 1650. and within the Compaſs of a Year was elected Fellow. He had then a Sweetneſs of Temper which he retained as long as he lived; and in thoſe younger Years was reſpected as a Perſon of very great Parts and Prudence.

Ath. Ox. p. 968.

In the Year 1661. he continued a Non-Conformiſt, and has a Sermon in the Morning Exerciſes on *Matt.* vii.

vii. 12. He appeared with the Preſbyterians at the *Savoy* Diſputation; and tho' he conformed to the Act of Uniformity in 1662. he was always inclined to the Puritans, never fond of the Ceremonies of the Church, but would diſpenſe ſometimes with ſuch as could not conſcientiouſly ſubmit to them. He owned the Diſſenters had ſome plauſible Objections againſt the Common-Prayer; and in the Opinion of ſome, perſuaded Men rather to bear with the Church, than be zealous for it. In the Year 1663. he was preferr'd to the Rectory of *Keddington* in *Suffolk*, vacant by the Non-Subſcription of Mr. *Samuel Fairclough*. Next Year he was choſen Preacher to *Lincoln*'s *Inn*, and Lecturer of St. *Lawrence*'s Church in *London*, where his excellent Sermons, delivered in a moſt graceful Manner, drew the Attention of great Numbers of the Quality, and of moſt of the Divines and Gentlemen in Town. In 1669. he was made Canon of *Chriſt Church* in *Canterbury*; and in 1672. Dean of that Church, and Reſidentiary; but roſe no higher till the Revolution of King *William* and Queen *Mary*, when he was firſt made Clerk of the Cloſet, and at length Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, in the Room of Dr. *Sancroft* a Non-Juror. He was a Divine of low and moderate Principles to the laſt, and always for promoting a Toleration or Comprehenſion of the Diſſenters within the Church. Upon the Whole, he was a ſecond *Cranmer*, and one of the moſt valuable Prelates that this, or, it may be, any other Church has produced.

King Charles II. 1661.

Various Cenſures were paſſed upon the *Savoy* Conference without Doors; the *Independants* were diſguſted, becauſe none of them were conſulted, tho' it does not appear what Concern they could have in it, their Views being only to a Toleration, not a Comprehenſion. Some blamed their Brethren for yielding too much, and others thought they might have yielded more; but when they ſaw the fruitleſs End of the Treaty, and the Papers that were publiſhed, moſt of them were ſatiſ-

Cenſures of the Conference.

King Charles II. 1661.

fied. — Biſhop *Burnet* ſays, the Conference did rather hurt than good, it heighten'd the Sharpneſs that was then on People's Minds to ſuch a Degree, that it needed no Addition to raiſe it higher — Mr. *Robinſon* ſays, " It was notorious that the Buſineſs of the " Epiſcopal Party was not to conſult the Intereſt of " Religion, but to cover a political Deſign, which " was too bad to appear at firſt; nor did they mean " to heal the Church's Wounds, ſo much as to re- " venge their own. When they knew what the " Preſbyterians ſcrupled, they ſaid, now they knew " their Minds they would have Matters ſo fixed that " not one of that ſort ſhould be able to keep his Li- " ving. They did not deſire, but rather fear their " Compliance." Nay, ſo unacceptable was the Publiſhing the Papers relating to the Conference, that Biſhop *Saunderſon* and ſome others cautioned their Clergy againſt reading them. From this Time the Preſbyterians were out of the Queſtion, and the Settlement of the Church referr'd entirely to the Convocation and Parliament.

p. 181.

Anſwer to Bennet of Liturgies. p. 382.

A Convocation.

It had been debated in Council, whether there ſhould be a Convocation while the Conference at the *Savoy* continued; but at the Interceſſion of Dr. *Heylin* and others, the Court was prevailed with to come into it; and ſuch Care was taken in the Choice of Members (as Biſhop *Burnet* obſerves) that every Thing went among them as was directed by Biſhop *Sheldon* and *Morley*. If a Convocation had been called with the Convention Parliament the Majority would have been againſt the Hierarchy; but 'tis not to be wonder'd they were otherwiſe now, when ſome Hundreds of the Preſbyterian Clergy, who were in Poſſeſſion of ſequeſter'd Livings, were turned out; and the Neceſſity of Ordination by a Biſhop being urged upon thoſe who had been ordained by Preſbyters only, great Numbers were denied their Votes in Elections. Nevertheleſs the Preſbyterian Intereſt carried it in *London* for Mr. *Baxter* and *Calamy* by three Voices; but the Biſhop of

of *London* having a Power of chooſing two out of four, or four out of ſix within a certain Circuit, left them both out; ſo that the City of *London* had no Clerks in the Convocation. The Author of the *Conformiſts Plea* ſays, "That to frame a Convocation to their Mind "great Care and Pains were uſed to keep out, and to "get Men in, by very undue Proceedings; and that "Proteſtations were made againſt all Incumbents not "ordained by Biſhops." *King* Charles II. 1661. P. 35.

The *Savoy* Conference having broke up without Succeſs, the King ſent a Letter to the *Convocation*, *Nov.* 20. commanding them *to review the Book of Common-Prayer, and make ſuch Additions and Amendments* as they thought neceſſary. Letters to the ſame Purpoſe were ſent to the Archbiſhop of *York*, to be communicated to the Clergy of his Province, who for the greater Expedition ſent Proxies with procuratorial Letters to thoſe of *Canterbury*, and obliged themſelves to abide by their Votes under Forfeiture of their Goods and Chattels. *They are ordered to review the Liturgy.*

"It is inconceivable, ſays Dr. *Nichols*, what Diffi- "culties the Biſhops had to contend with, about ma- "king theſe *Alterations*; they were not only to con- "quer their own former Reſentments, and the unrea- "ſonable Demands of the Preſbyterians, but they had "the Court to deal with, who puſhed them on to all "Acts of Severity." Whereas on the contrary, the Tide was ſtrong on their Side, the Biſhops puſhed on the Court, who were willing to give them the Reins, that when the Breach was made as wide as poſſible a Door might be opened for the Toleration of Papiſts. The Review of the Common-Prayer Book took up the Convocation about a Month; for on the 20th of *December* it was ſigned, and approved by all the Members of each Houſe. Kennet, P. 574.

The Alterations were theſe, *Alterations in the Liturgy.*

1. The Rubrick for *Singing of Leſſons*, &c. was omitted, the diſtinct reading of them being thought more proper. K. Chron. p. 585.

2. Seve-

King Charles II. 1661.

2. Several Collects for Sundays and Holy Days complained of, were omitted, and others ſubſtituted in their Room.

3. Communicants at the Lord's Supper were enjoined to ſignify their Names to the Curate ſome Time the Day before.

4. The Preface to the Ten Commandments was reſtored.

5. The Exhortations to the holy Communion were amended.

6. The general Confeſſion in the Communion Office was appointed to be read by one of the Miniſters.

7. In the Office for *Chriſtmas Day* the Words *this Day* were changed for *as at this Time.*

8. In the Prayer of Conſecration the *Prieſt* is directed to break the Bread.

9. The Rubrick for explaining the Reaſon of Kneeling at the Sacrament was reſtored.

10. Private Baptiſm is not to be adminiſter'd but by a lawful Miniſter.

11. The Anſwer to the Queſtion in the Catechiſm, *Why then are Children baptized?* is thus amended, *Becauſe they promiſe them both by their Sureties; which Promiſe, when they come to Age, Themſelves are bound to perform.*

12. In the laſt Rubrick before the Catechiſm theſe Words are expunged, *And that no Man ſhall think that any Detriment ſhall come to Children by deferring of their Confirmation*, &c.

13. It is appointed that the Curate of every Pariſh ſhall either bring or ſend in writing, with his Hand ſubſcribed thereunto, the Names of all ſuch Perſons within his Pariſh, as he ſhall think fit to be preſented to the Biſhop to be confirmed.

14. The Rubrick after Confirmation was thus ſoftned; *None ſhall be admitted to the Communion till ſuch Time as he be confirmed; or be ready and deſirous to be confirmed.*

15. In

King Charles II. 1661.

15. In the Form of Matrimony, inſtead of, *till Death us depart*, it is, *till Death us do part*.

16. In the Rubricks after the Form of Matrimony, it is thus alter'd. *After which, if there be no Sermon declaring the Duties of Man and Wife, the Miniſter ſhall read as followeth*— And inſtead of the ſecond Rubrick, it is adviſed *to be convenient*, that the new Married Perſons ſhould receive the Communion at the Time of Marriage, or at the firſt Opportunity afterwards.

17. In the Order for Viſitation of the Sick it is thus amended; *Here the ſick Perſon ſhall be moved to make ſpecial Confeſſion of his Sins, if he feel his Conſcience troubled with any weighty Matter; after which the Prieſt ſhall abſolve him, if he humbly and heartily deſire it, after this ſort* ——

18. In the Communion for the Sick the Miniſter is not enjoined to adminiſter the Sacrament to every ſick Perſon that ſhall deſire it, but only as he ſhall judge expedient.

19. In the Order for the Burial of the Dead it is thus altered: The Prieſts and Clerks meeting the Corps at the Entrance of the Church-Yard, and going before it either into the Church, or towards the Grave, ſhall ſay or ſing, —— In the Office it ſelf, theſe Words, *In ſure and certain Hope of Reſurrection to eternal Life*, are thus alter'd, In ſure and certain Hope of *the* Reſurrection to eternal Life; and to leſſen the Objection of *God's taking to himſelf the Soul of this our dear Brother departed*, &c. the following Rubrick is added: *Here is to be noted, that the Office enſuing is not to be uſed for any that die unbaptized, or excommunicate, or who have laid violent Hands upon themſelves.*

20. In the *Churching of Women* the new Rubrick directs, That the Woman, at the uſual Time after her Delivery, ſhall come into the Church decently apparelled, and there ſhall kneel down in ſome convenient Place, *as has been accuſtomed, or as the Ordinary ſhall direct*, and the cxvith or cxxviith Pſalm ſhall be read,

King Charles II. 1661.

Dr. *Teniſon*, afterwards Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, ſays, "They made about ſix hundred ſmall Alterations "or Additions; but then adds, If there was Reaſon for "theſe Changes, there was equal, if not greater Rea- "ſon for ſome further Improvements. If they had "foreſeen what is ſince come to paſs, I charitably be- "lieve they would not have done all they did, and "juſt ſo much and no more; and yet I alſo believe, "if they had offered to move much further, *A Stone "would have been laid under their Wheel, by a ſecret "but powerful Hand*; for the Myſtery of Popery did "even then work." Biſhop *Burnet* confeſſes, That no Alterations were made in favour of the Preſbyteri- ans, for it was reſolved to gratify them in nothing.

Compl. Hiſt. p. 252. *in Marg.*

Other Additions. Burnet.

But beſides the Alterations and Amendments alrea- dy mentioned, there were ſeveral additional Forms of Prayer, as for the thirtieth of *January* and the twenty ninth of *May*. Forms of Prayer to be uſed at Sea; and a new Office for the Adminiſtration of Baptiſm to grown Perſons. Some Corrections were made in the Kalendar. Some new Holy Days were added, as *the Converſion of St.* Paul, and St. *Barnabas*. More new Leſſons were taken out of the *Apocrypha*, as *the Story of* Bel *and the* Dragon, *&c.* But it was agreed, that no Apocryphal Leſſons ſhould be read on Sundays. Theſe were all the Con- ceſſions the Convocation would admit; and this was all the Fruit of the Conference at the *Savoy*, by which, according to Mr. *Baxter* and Biſhop *Burnet*, the Com- mon-Prayer Book was render'd more exceptionable, and the Terms of Conformity much harder than before the Civil War.

Liturgy a- mended ſent up to the King and Coun- cil and H. of Peers.

The Common-Prayer Book thus alter'd and amend- ed was ſent up to the King and Council, and from thence tranſmitted to the Houſe of Peers, *Feb.* 24. with this Meſſage, That his Majeſty had duly conſidered of the Alterations, and does with the Advice of his Council fully approve and allow the ſame; and doth recommend it to the Houſe of Peers, that the ſaid

Books

Books of Common-Prayer, and of the Forms of Ordination, and Conſecration of Biſhops, Prieſts and Deacons, with thoſe Additions and Alterations that have been made, and preſented to his Majeſty by the Convocation, be the Book which in and by the intended Act of Uniformity ſhall be appointed to be uſed by all that officiate in all Cathedral and Collegiate Churches and Chapels, &c. and in all Pariſh Churches of England *and* Wales, *under ſuch Sanctions or Penalties as the Parliament ſhall think fit.* When the *Lords* had gone through the Book, the Lord Chancellor *Hyde*, by Order of the Houſe, gave the Biſhops Thanks, *March* 15. for their Care in this Buſineſs; and deſired their Lordſhips to give the like Thanks to the Lower Houſe of Convocation, and acquaint them, that their Amendments were well received and approved, tho' ſome of them met with a conſiderable Oppoſition. From the Lords they were ſent down to the Commons, and inſerted in the Act of Uniformity, as will be ſeen the next Year.

King Charles II. 1661. Kennet, p. 631.

But before this famous Act had paſſed either Houſe the Preſbyterians were reduced to the utmoſt Diſtreſs, for in the Month of *March*, 1661-62. the grand Jury at *Exeter* found above forty Bills of Indictment againſt ſome eminent Non-Conformiſt Miniſters for not Reading Common-Prayer according to Law. They likewiſe preſented the Travelling about of divers itinerant Preachers, ejected out of ſequeſter'd Livings, as dangerous to the Peace of the Nation. They complained of their teaching Sedition and Rebellion in private Houſes, and other Congregations, tending to foment a new War. They alſo preſented ſuch as neglected their own Pariſh-Churches, and run abroad to hear factious Miniſters; and ſuch as walked in the Church-Yards, or other Places, while Divine Service was reading; all which were the certain Forerunners of a general Perſecution.

Preſbyterians *in diſtreſs.* K. Chron. p. 641.

In *Scotland* the Court carried Things with a high Hand, for having got a Parliament to their Mind, the Earl of *Middleton*, a moſt vicious Debauchee, open'd

Epiſcopacy reſtored in Scotland. Burnet, p. 113, &c.

King Charles II. 1661.

Burnet, p. 116.

it, with preſenting a Letter of his Majeſty to the Houſe; after which they paſſed an Act, declaring all *Leagues not made with the King's Authority illegal*: This ſtruck at the Root of the *Covenant made with* England *in* 1643. They paſs'd another Act reſcinding all Acts made ſince the late Troubles, and another impowering the King to ſettle the Government of the Church *as he ſhould pleaſe*. It was a mad, roaring Time (ſays the Biſhop) and no Wonder it was ſo, when the Men of Affairs were almoſt perpetually drunk. The King upon this directed that the Church ſhould be governed by Synods, Preſbyters, and Kirk Seſſions, till he ſhould appoint another Government, which he did by a Letter to his Council of *Scotland*, bearing Date *Aug.* 14. 1661. in which he recites the Inconveniencies which had attended the Preſbyterian Government for the laſt twenty three Years, and its Inconſiſtency with Monarchy. —— "Therefore (ſays "he) from our Reſpect to the Glory of God, the "Good and Intereſt of the Proteſtant Religion, and "the better Harmony with the Government of the "Church of *England*, *We declare our firm Reſolution* "*to interpoſe our Royal Authority for reſtoring the* "*Church of* Scotland *to its right Government by Bi-* "*ſhops, as it was before the late Troubles* —— And "our Will and Pleaſure is, that you take effectual "Care to reſtore the Rents belonging to the ſeveral "Biſhopricks; that you prohibit the aſſembling of "Miniſters in their ſynodical Meetings till our further "Pleaſure; and that you keep a watchful Eye over "thoſe, who by Diſcourſe or Preaching endeavour to "alienate the Affections of our People from us or our "Government—" Purſuant to theſe Directions the Lords of the Council ordered the Heralds to make publick Proclamation at the *Market Croſs* in *Edinburgh*, *Sept.* 6. of this his Majeſty's Royal Will and Pleaſure. In the Month of *December* a Commiſſion was iſſued out to the Biſhops of *London* and *Worceſter* to ordain and conſecrate according to the Rites and Cere-

Ib. p. 133, 134.

Ceremonies of the Church of *England*, Mr. *James Sharp*, Archbiſhop of St. *Andrews*, Mr. *Andrew Fairfoul*, Archbiſhop of *Glaſgow*, Mr. *Robert Leighton*, Biſhop of *Dunblain*, and Mr. *James Hamilton*, Biſhop of *Galloway*. A very bad Choice, ſays Biſhop *Burnet*; *Sharp* was one of the falſeſt and vileſt Diſſemblers in the World. *Fairfoul* was next akin to a Natural. *Leighton* was an excellent Prelate; but *Hamilton*'s Life was ſcarce free from Scandal: He had ſworn to the Covenant, and when One objected to him, that it went againſt his Conſcience, he ſaid, *Such Medicines as could not be chewed muſt be ſwallowed whole.* The *Engliſh* Biſhops inſiſted upon their renouncing their Preſbyterian Orders, which they conſented to, and were in one and the ſame Day ordained firſt Deacons, then Prieſts, and laſt of all Biſhops, according to the Rites of the Church of *England*.

King Charles II. 1661.

Burnet, p. 139, 140.

Biſhop *Burnet* ſays, that tho' the King had a natural Hatred to Preſbytery, he went very coldly into this Deſign; nay, that he had a viſible Reluctancy againſt it, becauſe of the Temper of the *Scots* Nation, and his Unwillingneſs to involve his Government in new Troubles; but the Earl of *Clarendon* puſhed it forward with great Zeal; and the Duke of *Ormond* ſaid, that Epiſcopacy could not be eſtabliſhed in *Ireland* if Preſbytery continued in *Scotland*. The Earls of *Lauderdale* and *Crawford* indeed were againſt it, but the Council of *Scotland* not proteſting, it was determined upon; but it was a large Strain of the Prerogative for a King by a Royal Proclamation to alter the Government of a Church eſtabliſhed by Law, without Conſent of Parliament, Convocation, or Synod of any kind whatſoever; for it was not till *May* the next Year that this Affair was decided in Parliament.

Againſt the King's Mind.

Hiſt. p. 130, 131.

Kennet, p. 557.

Some of the *Scots* Miniſters preach'd boldly againſt this Change of Government; and among others, Mr. *James Guthrie*, Miniſter of *Stirlin*, for which, and ſome other Things, he was convicted of Sedition and Treaſon. Biſhop *Burnet*, who ſaw him ſuffer, ſays, that

Mr. Guthrie *executed.*

Hiſt. Stuarts, p. 144.

King Charles II. 1661.

that he expreſs'd a Contempt of Death; that he ſpoke an Hour upon the Ladder with the Compoſedneſs of a Man that was delivering a Sermon rather than his laſt Words; that he juſtified all he had done, exhorting all People to adhere to the Covenant, which he magnified highly. He was executed *June* 14. 1661. and concluded his dying Speech with theſe Words, "I "take God to record upon my Soul, that I would "not exchange this Scaffold with the Palace or Mitre "of the greateſt Prelate in *Britain*. Bleſſed be God, "who hath ſhewed Mercy to ſuch a Wretch, and has "revealed his Son in me, and made me a Miniſter "of the everlaſting Goſpel; and that he has deſigned, "in the Midſt of much Contradiction from Satan and "the World, to ſeal my Miniſtry upon the Hearts of "not a few of this People, and eſpecially in the Con-"gregation and Preſbytery of *Stirlin*." There died with him on the ſame Scaffold, young Captain *Govan*, whoſe laſt Words were theſe, "I bear Witneſs with "my Blood to the perſecuted Government of this "Church, by Synods and Preſbyteries. I bear Wit-"neſs to the Solemn League and Covenant, and ſeal "it with my Blood. I likewiſe teſtify againſt all Po-"pery, Prelacy, Idolatry, Superſtition, and the Ser-"vice Book, which is no better than a Relick of the "*Romiſh* Idolatry——" Soon after this the Rights of Patronages were reſtored, and all the Preſbyterian Miniſters ſilenced, tho' the Court had not a Supply of Men of any ſort to fill up their Vacancies.

K. Chr. p. 459. Burn. p. 126, 127.

Ib. p. 152, 153.

Character of the old Scots Preſbyterians.

The Account that Biſhop *Burnet* gives of the old *Scots* Preſbyterian Miniſters, who were poſſeſſed of the Church Livings before the Reſtoration, is very remarkable, and deſerves a Place in this Hiſtory. "They were (ſays he) a brave and ſolemn People; "their Spirits were eager, and their Tempers ſower, "but they had an Appearance that created Reſpect; "they viſited their Pariſhes much, and were ſo full of "Scripture, and ſo ready at extempore Prayer, that "from that they grew to practiſe extempore Ser-"mons;

Ib. p. 156, 157.

" mons; for the Cuſtom in *Scotland* was, after Din- *King*
" ner or Supper, to read a Chapter in the Bible, and Charles II.
" when they happened to come in, if it was accepta- 1661.
" ble, they would on a ſudden expound the Chapter;
" by this means the People had ſuch a vaſt Degree
" of Knowledge, that the poor Cottagers could pray
" extempore. Their Preachers went all in one Tract
" in their Sermons, of Doctrine, Reaſon, and Uſe;
" and this was ſo methodical, that the People could
" follow a Sermon quite through every Branch of it.
" It can hardly be imagined to what a Degree theſe
" Miniſters were loved, and reverenced by their Peo-
" ple. They kept ſcandalous Perſons under ſevere
" Diſcipline; for Breach of the Sabbath, for an Oath,
" or Drunkenneſs, they were cited before the Kirk
" Seſſions, and ſolemnly rebuked for it; for Fornica-
" tion they ſtood on the Stool of Repentance in the
" Church, at the Time of Worſhip, for three Days,
" receiving Admonition, and making Profeſſions of
" Repentance, which ſome did with many Tears, and
" Exhortations to others to take Warning by them;
" for Adultery they ſat in the ſame Place ſix Months
" covered with Sackcloth. But with all this (ſays
" the Biſhop) they had but a narrow Compaſs of
" Learning, were very affected in their Deportment,
" and were apt in their Sermons to make themſelves
" popular, by preaching againſt the Sins of Princes
" and Courts, which the People delighted to hear,
" becauſe they had no ſhare in them."

The Biſhops and Clergy that ſucceeded theſe Preſ- *And of the Scots Bps. and new Clergy.*
byterians were of a quite different Stamp; moſt of them were very mean Divines, vicious in their Morals, idle and negligent of their Cures; by which means they became obnoxious to the whole Nation, and were hardly capable of ſupporting their Authority through the Reign of King *Charles* II. even with the Aſſiſtance of the Civil Power. Biſhop *Burnet* adds, that they p. 158.
were mean and deſpicable in all Reſpects; the worſt Preachers he ever heard; Ignorant to a Reproach, and

many

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many of them openly vicious; that they were a Diſgrace to their Order, and to the ſacred Functions, and were indeed the Dregs and Refuſe of the Northern Parts. The few that were above Contempt or Scandal were Men of ſuch violent Tempers, that they were as much hated as the others were deſpiſed.

Epiſcopacy reſtor'd in Ireland.

Ken. p 440, 441.

In *Ireland* the Hierarchy was reſtored after the ſame Manner as in *Scotland*; the King by his Letters Patents in Right of his Power to appoint Biſhops to the vacant Sees, iſſued his Royal Mandate to Dr. *Bramhall*, Archbiſhop of *Armagh*, and Dr. *Taylor*, Biſhop of *Down* and *Conor*, by virtue of which they laid Hands on two Archbiſhops, and ten Biſhops, in one Day. His Grace inſiſted on the Re-Ordination of thoſe who had been ordained in the late Times without the Hands of a Biſhop, but with this ſoftning Clauſe in their Orders. *Non annihilantes priores Ordines (ſi quos habuit) nec validitatem, aut invaliditatem eorundem determinantes, multo minus omnes Ordines ſacros Eccleſiarum forinſecarum condemnantes, quos proprio Judicio relinquimus: Sed ſolummodo ſupplentes quicquid prius defuit per Canones Eccleſiæ* Anglicanæ *requiſitum* —— i. e. "Not "annihilating his former Orders (if he had any) nor "determining concerning their Validity or Invalidity, "much leſs condemning all the ſacred Ordinations of "foreign Churches whom we leave to their own "Judge, but only ſupplying what was wanting ac-"cording to the Canons of the Church of *England*—"

Ib. p. 449.

Without ſuch an Explication as this few of the Clergy of *Ireland* would have kept their Stations in the Church. On the 17th of *May* the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Commons in Parliament aſſembled in *Ireland*, declared their Approbation and high Eſteem of Epiſcopal Government, and of the Book of Common-Prayer, according to the Uſe of the Church of *England*; and thus the old Conſtitution in Church as well as State, was reſtored in the three Kingdoms.

Conduct of the French *Proteſtants.*

The *French* Miniſters, who had been Tools to perſuade the *Engliſh* Preſbyterians to reſtore the King *with-*

without a Treaty, went along with the Torrent, and complimented the Church of *England* upon her Re-Eſtabliſhment; they commended the Liturgy, which they formerly treated with reproachful Language. Some few of them pretended to bemoan the Want of Epiſcopacy among themſelves, and to wonder that any of the *Engliſh* Preſbyterians ſhould ſcruple Conformity. The *French* Church at the *Savoy* ſubmitted to the Rites and Ceremonies of the *Engliſh* Hierarchy; and Mr. *Du Boſc*, Miniſter of *Caen*, writes to the Miniſter of the *Savoy*, that he was as dear to him under the *Surplice* of *England*, as under the *Robe* of *France*. So complaiſant were theſe mercenary Divines towards thoſe who diſallowed their Orders, diſowned their Churches, and the Validity of all their Adminiſtrations.

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Lord *Clarendon* and the Biſhops having got over the *Savoy* Conference, and carried the Service-Book with the Amendments through the Convocation, were now improving the preſent Temper of the Parliament to give it the Sanction of the Legiſlature; for this Purpoſe the King, *tho' a Papiſt*, is made to ſpeak the Language of a zealous Churchman. In his Speech to the Parliament, *Feb.* 28. he has theſe Words;

King's pretended Zeal for the Hierarchy.

" Gentlemen, I hear you are zealous for the Church, " and very ſolicitous, and even jealous, that there is " not Expedition enough uſed in that Affair. I thank " you for it, ſince I preſume it proceeds from a good " Root of Piety and Devotion; but I muſt tell you, " that I have the worſt Luck in the World, if after " all the Reproaches of being a *Papiſt*, while I was " abroad, I am ſuſpected of being a *Presbyterian* " now I am come home. I know you will not take " it unkindly if I tell you, I am as zealous for the " Church of *England* as any of you can be, and am " enough acquainted with the Enemies of it on all " Sides. I am as much in love with the Book of " Common-Prayer as you can wiſh, and have Preju-" dices enough againſt thoſe who do not love it; who

Rapin, p. 290.

" I

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" I hope, in Time, will be better informed, and " change their Minds. And you may be confident, " I do as much deſire to ſee an Uniformity ſettled as " any among you; and pray truſt me in that Affair, " I promiſe you to haſten the Diſpatch of it with all " convenient Speed; you may rely upon me in it. " I have tranſmitted the Book of Common-Prayer " with the Amendments, to the Houſe of Lords —— " but when we have done all we can, the well ſettling " that Affair will require great Prudence and Diſcre- " tion, and the Abſence of all Paſſion and Precipi- " tation."

In favour of the Papiſts, who declare their Principles.

The Reaſon of the King's requiring *Diſcretion* in the Parliament, and the Abſence of Paſſion, was not in favour of the Preſbyterians, but the Papiſts, who went all the Lengths of the Prerogative, and publiſhed a Remonſtrance about this Time, " where- " in they acknowledge his Majeſty to be God's Vice- " gerent upon Earth in all temporal Affairs; that they " are bound to obey him under pain of Sin, and that " they renounce all foreign Power and Authority, as " incapable of abſolving them from this Obligation."

Comp. Hiſt. p. 252. *in Marg.* K. Chron. p. 495.

It was given out, that they were to have forty Chapels in and about the City of *London*, and much more was underſtood by them (ſays Archbiſhop *Teniſon*) who penetrated into the Deſigns of a certain Paper, commonly called the *Declaration of Somerſet Houſe*; but the Deſign miſcarried, partly by their Diviſions among themſelves, and partly by the Reſoluteneſs of the prime Miniſter, who charged them with Principles inconſiſtent with the Peace of the Kingdom. Father *Orleans* ſays, " There were great Debates in this Parliament " about Liberty of Conſcience —— The Catholick " Party was ſupported by the Earl of *Briſtol*, a Man " in great Repute; the Proteſtant Party by Chancel- " lor *Hyde*, chief of an oppoſite Faction, and a Per- " ſon of no leſs Conſideration, who putting himſelf at " the Head of the prevailing Church of *England* Par- " ty in that Parliament, declared not only againſt the

Kennet, p. 498.

" *Roman* Catholicks, but againſt the Preſbyterians, " and all thoſe the Church of *England* calls Non-Con- " formiſts. The King, *who was no good Chriſtian in* " *his Actions, but a Catholick in his Heart*, did all " that could be expected from his eaſy Temper, to " maintain the common Liberty, *that ſo the Catholicks* " *might have a ſhare in it*; but the Church of *England*, " and Chancellor *Hyde*, were ſo hot upon that Point, that " his Majeſty was obliged to yield rather to the Chan- " cellor's Importunity than to his Reaſon." However, by the Favour of the Queen-Mother ſwarms of Papiſts came over into *England*, and ſettled about the Court; they ſet up private Seminaries for the Education of Youth; and tho' they could not obtain an open Toleration, they multiplied prodigiouſly, and laid the Foundation of all the Dangers that threaten'd the Conſtitution and Proteſtant Religion in the latter part of this and the next Reign.

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Towards the latter End of this Year, the Court and Biſhops not content with their Triumphs over the living Preſbyterians, deſcended into the Grave, and dug up the Bodies of thoſe that had been buried in *Weſtminſter Abbey* in the late Times, leſt their Duſt ſhould one Time or other mix with the Loyaliſts; for beſides the Bodies of *Cromwel*, and others already mentioned, his Majeſty's Warrant to the Dean and Chapter of *Weſtminſter* was now obtained, to take up the Bodies of ſuch Perſons who had been unwarrantably buried in the Chapel of King *Henry* VII. and in other Chapels and Places within the Collegiate Church of *Weſtminſter* ſince the Year 1641. and to bury them in the Church-Yard adjacent; by which Warrant they might have taken up all the Bodies that had been buried there for twenty Years paſt. Purſuant to theſe Orders, on the 12th and 14th of *September* they went to work, and took up about twenty, among whom were,

Dead Bodies of the moſt conſiderable Perſons in the late Times dug up.

The Body of ELIZABETH CROMWEL, Mother of OLIVER, Daughter of Sir *Richard Stewart*, who died *Nov.* 18. 1654. and was buried in *Henry* the Seventh's Chapel. K. Chron. p. 536.

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The Body of ELIZABETH CLAYPOLE, Daughter of OLIVER, who died *Aug.* 7. 1658. and was buried in a Vault made for her in *Henry* the Seventh's Chapel.

The Body of ROBERT BLAKE, the famous *Engliſh* Admiral, who after his victorious Fight at *Santa Cruz*, died in *Plimouth Sound*, *Aug.* 7. 1657. and was buried in *Henry* the Seventh's Chapel: A Man, whoſe great Services to the *Engliſh* Nation deſerved a Monument as laſting as Time it ſelf.

The Body of the Famous Mr. JOHN PYM, a *Corniſh* Gentleman, and Member of the Long Parliament, who was buried in the Year 1643. and attended to his Grave by moſt of the Lords and Commons in Parliament.

The Body of Dr. DORISLAUS, employed as an Aſſiſtant in drawing up the Charge againſt the King, for which he was murdered by the Royaliſts, when he was Ambaſſador to the States of *Holland* in 1649.

The Body of Sir WILLIAM CONSTABLE, one of the King's Judges, Governor of *Glouceſter*, and Colonel of a Regiment of Foot, who died 1655.

The Body of Colonel EDWARD POPHAM, one of the Admirals of the Fleet, who died 1651.

The Body of WILLIAM STROUD, *Eſq*; one of the five Members of Parliament demanded by King *Charles* I.

The Body of Colonel HUMPHRY MACKWORTH, one of *O. Cromwel*'s Colonels, buried in *Henry* the Seventh's Chapel, 1654.

The Body of DENNIS BOND, *Eſq*; one of the Council of State, who died *Aug.* 8. 1658.

The Body of THOMAS MAY, *Eſq*; who writ the Hiſtory of the Long Parliament with great Integrity, and in a beautiful Stile. He died in the Year 1650.

The Body of Colonel JOHN MELDRUM, a *Scots* Man, who died in the Wars.

The Body of Colonel BOSCAWEN, a *Corniſh* Man.

To theſe may be added, ſeveral eminent Preſbyterian Divines; as,

The

The Body of Dr. *William Twiſſe*, Prolocutor of the Aſſembly of Divines, buried in the South Croſs of the Abbey Church, *July* 24. 1645. *King* Charles II. 1661.

The Body of Mr. *Stephen Marſhal*, buried in the South Iſle, *November* 23. 1655.

The Body of Mr. *William Strong*, Preacher in the Abbey Church, and buried there *July* 4. 1654. Theſe, with ſome others of leſſer Note, both Men and Women, were thrown together into one Pit in St. *Margaret's* Church-Yard, near the Back-Door of one of the Prebendaries: But the Work was ſo indecent, and carried with it ſuch a popular Odium, that a Stop was put to any further Proceedings.

Among others who were obnoxious to the Government, were the People called QUAKERS, who having declared openly againſt the Lawfulneſs of making Uſe of carnal Weapons, even in Self-Defence, had the Courage to petition the Houſe of Lords for a *Toleration* of their Religion, and for a Diſpenſation from taking the Oaths, which they held unlawful, not from any Diſaffection to the Government, or a Belief that they were leſs obliged by an *Affirmation*, but from a Perſuaſion that all Oaths were unlawful; and that *Swearing* upon the moſt ſolemn Occaſions was forbidden in the New Teſtament. The Lords in a Committee rejected their Petition, and inſtead of giving them Relief paſſed the following Act, *May* 2. the Preamble to which ſets forth, "That whereas ſundry Perſons have taken up "an Opinion, that an Oath, even before a Magi- "ſtrate, is unlawful, and contrary to the Word of "God. And whereas under Pretence of Religious "Worſhip, the ſaid Perſons do aſſemble in great "Numbers in ſeveral Parts of the Kingdom, ſepara- "ting themſelves from the reſt of his Majeſty's Sub- "jects, and from the publick Congregations and "uſual Places of Divine Worſhip; be it therefore "enacted, That if any ſuch Perſons after the 24th of "*March*, 1661-62. ſhall refuſe to take an Oath when "lawfully tender'd, or perſuade others to do it, or "main- *Of the* Quakers. *Act againſt* Quakers. 13 Car. II. Cap. 1.

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" maintain in writing, or otherwiſe, the Unlawfulneſs " of taking an Oath; or if they ſhall aſſemble for Re- " ligious Worſhip to the Number of five or more, of " the Age of fifteen, they ſhall for the firſt Offence " forfeit five Pounds; for the ſecond ten Pounds; and " for the third ſhall abjure the Realm, or be tranſport- " ed to the Plantations: And the Juſtices of Peace at " their open Seſſions may hear and finally determine " in the Affair." This Act was paſſed by Commiſſion, and had a dreadful Influence upon that People, tho' it was notorious they were far from Sedition or Diſaffection to the Government. *G. Fox*, in his Addreſs to the King, acquaints his Majeſty, that three thouſand and ſixty eight of their Friends had been impriſoned ſince his Majeſty's Reſtoration; that their Meetings were daily broken up by Men with Clubs and Arms, and their Friends thrown into the Water, and trampled under Foot till the Blood guſhed out, which gave riſe to their meeting in the open Streets. Another Relation was printed, ſigned by twelve Witneſſes, which ſays, that more than four thouſand two hundred Quakers were impriſoned; and of them five hundred were in and about *London*, and the Suburbs; ſeveral of whom were dead in the Gaols. But theſe were only the Beginnings of Sorrows.

Sewel, p. 346. K. Chron. p. 651.

State of Religion.

RELIGION, which had been the Faſhion of the late Times, was now univerſally diſcountenanced; the Name of it was hardly mentioned but with Ridicule, in a Health or a Play. Thoſe who obſerved the Sabbath, and ſcrupled prophane Swearing and drinking Healths, were expoſed under the opprobrious Names of Puritans, Fanaticks, Preſbyterians, Republicans, Seditious Perſons, *&c.* The Preſbyterian Miniſters were every where ſuſpended or deprived for ſome unguarded Expreſſions in their Sermons or Prayers. Lord *Clarendon* was at the Head of all this Madneſs, and declared in Parliament, " That the King could di- " ſtinguiſh between *Tenderneſs* of Conſcience and " *Pride* of Conſcience; that he was a Prince of ſo " excel-

" excellent a Nature, and of *ſo tender a Conſcience* " *himſelf*, that he had the higheſt Compaſſion for all " Errors of that kind, and would never ſuffer the " Weak to undergo the Puniſhment ordained for the " Wicked." Such was the deep Penetration of the Chancellor; and ſuch the Reward the Preſbyterians were to expect for their paſt Services! *King* Charles II. 1661.

The exorbitant Vices of the Court, at the ſame Time, ſpread over the whole Nation, and occaſioned ſuch a general Licentiouſneſs, that the King took notice of it in his Speech at the End of this Seſſion of Parliament. " I cannot but obſerve (ſays his Maje- " ſty) that the whole Nation ſeems to be a little cor- " rupted in their Exceſs of Living; ſure all Men " ſpend much more in their Clothes, in their Diet, " and all other Expences, than they have been uſed " to do; I hope it has been only the Exceſs of Joy " after ſo long Suffering that has tranſported us to " theſe other Exceſſes, but let us take heed that the Con- " tinuance of them does not indeed corrupt our Na- " tures. I do believe I have been faulty my ſelf; I " promiſe you I will reform, and if you will join " with me in your ſeveral Capacities, we ſhall by our " Examples do more good both in City and Country " than any new Laws would do." But it was not in the King's Nature to retrench his Expences, or intermit his Pleaſures for the publick Good. *Extravagancies of the Court and Nation.*

Tho' the Revenues of the Crown were augmented above double what they had been at any Time ſince the Reformation; and tho' the King had a vaſt Portion with his Queen, whom he married this Spring, yet all was not ſufficient to ſupport the Profuſeneſs of the Court; for beſides the King's own Expences, the Queen-Mother kept a ſplendid Court of *Roman* Catholicks at *Somerſet Houſe*, and might have done ſo as long as ſhe had lived, if ſhe could have kept within Bounds; but her Conduct was ſo imprudent and burdenſome, that ſhe was obliged to return to *France* after three or four Years, where ſhe died in the Year 1669. 1662. *Q. Mother at* Somerſet Houſe.

King Charles II. 1662.

1669. A Lady of ſuch Bigotry in Religion, and Intrigue in Management, that her Alliance to this Nation was little leſs than a Judgment from Heaven.

Sale of Dunkirk. Rapin, p. 300, 301, 302, 303.

To procure more ready Money for theſe Extravagancies, it was reſolved to ſell the Town of *Dunkirk* to the *French*, for five hundred thouſand Pounds. The Lord Chancellor *Clarendon* was the Projector of this vile Bargain, as appears by the Letters of Count *D'Eſtrades*, publiſhed ſince his Death, in one of which his Lordſhip acknowledges, that the *Thought came from himſelf*. Several mercenary Pamphlets were publiſhed to juſtify this Sale; but the late War with *France* in the Reigns of King *William* and Queen *Anne*, have ſufficiently convinced the Nation, that it was a fatal Bargain to their Trade and Commerce; inſomuch that her Majeſty's laſt Miniſtry durſt not venture to make Peace with *France* till the Fortifications of it were demoliſhed.

Execution of more of the King's Judges.

But to divert the People's Eyes to other Objects, it was reſolved to go on with the Proſecution of State Criminals, and with cruſhing the Non-Conformiſts: Three of the late King's Judges being apprehended in *Holland*, by the forward Zeal of Sir *G. Downing* (viz.) Colonel *Okey*, *Corbet* and *Berkſtead*, were brought over to *England* by Permiſſion of the States, and executed on the Act of Attainder, *April* 19. They died with the ſame Reſolution and Courage as the former, declaring they had no Malice againſt the late King, but apprehended the Authority of Parliament ſufficient to juſtify what they had done.

Trials of Col. Lambert, *and Sir* H. Vane.

Before the Parliament roſe the Houſe addreſſed the King to bring Colonel *Lambert* and Sir *Henry Vane*, Priſoners in the *Tower*, to their Trial; and accordingly, *June* 4. they were arraigned at the *King's Bench Bar*; the former for levying War againſt the King; and the latter for compaſſing his Death. *Lambert* was convicted, but for his ſubmiſſive Behaviour was pardoned as to Life, but confined in the Iſle of *Guernſey*, where he remained a patient Priſoner till his Death, which

which happened about thirty Years after. Sir *Harry Vane* had ſuch an Intereſt in the Convention Parliament that both Lords and Commons petitioned for his Life, which his Majeſty promiſed; and yet after this, at the Interceſſion of the preſent Houſe of Commons, he was tried and executed. Sir *Harry* made a brave Defence, but it was determined to ſacrifice him to the Ghoſt of the Earl of *Strafford*; and when his Friends would have had him petition for his Life, he refuſed, ſaying, *If the King had not a greater Regard for his Word and Honour than he had for his Life, he might take it.* Nevertheleſs Biſhop *Burnet* ſays, "He was naturally a fearful Man, and had a Head "as dark in the Notions of Religion; but when he "ſaw his Death was determined, he compoſed himſelf "to it with a Reſolution that ſurprized all that knew "how little of that was natural to him — He was "beheaded on *Tower Hill*, *June* 14. where a new "and very indecent Practice was begun; it was ob"ſerved that the dying Speeches of the *Regicides* had "left Impreſſions on the Hearers that were not at all "to the Advantage of the Government; and Strains "of a peculiar Nature being expected from him, "Drummers were placed under the Scaffold, who, as "ſoon as he began to ſpeak of the Publick, upon a "Sign given, ſtruck up with their Drums. But this "put him into no Diſorder; he deſired they might be "ſtopt, for he knew what was meant by it. Then "he went to his Devotion; and as he was taking leave "of thoſe about him he happen'd to ſay ſomething again "with relation to the Times, when the Drums ſtruck "up a ſecond Time; ſo he gave over, ſaying, *It "was a ſorry Cauſe that would not bear the Words of "a dying Man*; and died with ſo much Compoſed"neſs, that it was generally thought the Government "loſt more than it gained by his Death." The *Oxford* Hiſtorian ſays, He appeared on the Scaffold like an old *Roman*, and died without the leaſt Symptoms of Concern or Trouble.

King Charles II. 1662.

Execution of Sir H. Vane. Burnet, p. 163, 164.

King Charles II. 1662.

But the grand Affair that employed the Parliament this Spring, was the famous *Act of Uniformity of Publick Prayers*, &c. deſigned for the Incloſure of the Church, and the *only Door of Admiſſion* to all Eccleſiaſtical Preferments. It had been in Convocation three or four Months, and was brought into Parliament, with their Alterations and Amendments, before *Chriſtmas*; it was read the firſt Time in the Houſe of Commons *Jan.* 14. and paſt after ſundry Debates but by ſix Voices, *Yeas* 186; *No's* 180; but it met with greater Obſtacles among the Lords, who made ſeveral Amendments to the Bill, which occaſioned Conferences between the two Houſes. The Lords would have exempted *School-Maſters, Tutors, and thoſe who had the Education of Youth*; and in the diſabling Clauſe would have included only *Livings with Cure.* But the Commons being ſupported by the Court would abate nothing, nor conſent to any Proviſion for ſuch as ſhould be ejected. They would indulge no Latitude in the *Surplice, or Croſs in Baptiſm*, for fear of eſtabliſhing a Schiſm, and weakening the Authority of the Church, as to her Right of impoſing indifferent Rites and Ceremonies. And the Court were willing to ſhut out as many as they could from the Eſtabliſhment, to make a *general Toleration* more neceſſary. When the Lords urged the King's Declaration from *Breda*, the Commons replied, that it would be ſtrange to call a ſchiſmatical Conſcience a tender one; but ſuppoſe this had been meant (ſay they) his Majeſty can be guilty of no Breach of Promiſe, becauſe the Declaration had theſe two Limitations, *A Reference to Parliament*; — and *ſo far as was conſiſtent with the Peace of the Kingdom.* *May* 8. the Reſult of the Conference with the Houſe of Commons being reported to the Lords, the Houſe laid aſide their Objections, and concurr'd with the Commons, ſo the Bill paſt; but as Biſhop *Burnet* obſerves, with no great Majority. *May* 19. it received the Royal Aſſent, and was to take Place from the 24th of *Auguſt* following.

The Act of Uniformity brought into Parliament.

K. Chr. p. 604.

Ib. p. 677.

Ib. p. 679.

And paſſed.

ing. This Act being prefixed to the Book of Common-Prayer, and lying open to publick View, I ſhall only give the Reader an Abſtract of it. 'Tis entituled, *King* Charles II. 1662.

" An Act for the Uniformity of publick Prayers, " and Adminiſtration of Sacraments, and other Rites " and Ceremonies, and for eſtabliſhing the Forms of " making, ordaining, and conſecrating Biſhops, Prieſts " and Deacons in the Church of *England*. *Abſtract of it.*

The Preamble ſets forth, " That from the firſt of " Queen *Elizabeth* there had been one uniform Order " of Common Service and Prayer enjoined to be uſed " by Act of Parliament, which had been very com- " fortable to all good People, till a great Number of " People in divers Parts of the Realm, living without " Knowledge and the due Fear of God, did wilfully, " and ſchiſmatically, refuſe to come to their Pariſh " Churches, upon Sundays, and other Days appointed " to be kept as Holy Days. And whereas, by the " ſcandalous Neglect of Miniſters in uſing the Litur- " gy during the late unhappy Troubles, many People " have been led into Factions and Schiſms, to the De- " cay of Religion, and the Hazard of many Souls; " therefore, for preventing the like for Time to come, " the King had granted a Commiſſion, to review the " Book of Common-Prayer, to thoſe Biſhops and Di- " vines who met at the *Savoy*; and afterwards his Ma- " jeſty required the Clergy in Convocation to reviſe it " again; which Alterations and Amendments having " been approved by his Majeſty, and both Houſes of " Parliament; therefore for ſettling the Peace of the " Nation, for the Honour of Religion, and to the " Intent that every Perſon may know the Rule to " which he is to conform in publick Worſhip, it is " enacted by the King's moſt excellent Majeſty, *&c.*

" That all and ſingular Miniſters ſhall be bound to " ſay and uſe the Morning Prayer, Evening Prayer, " and all other Common-Prayers, in ſuch Order and " Form as is mentioned in the Book; and that every

King Charles II. 1662.

" Parſon, Vicar, or other Miniſter whatſoever, ſhall " before the Feaſt of St. *Bartholomew* which ſhall be " in the Year of our Lord 1662. openly and publick- " ly, before the Congregation aſſembled for Religious " Worſhip, declare his unfeigned *Aſſent* and *Conſent* " to the Uſe of all Things contained and preſcribed " in the ſaid Book, in theſe Words, and no other."

" *I* A. B. *do here declare my unfeigned Aſſent and* " *Conſent to all and every Thing contained and pre-* " *ſcribed in and by the Book, entitled, the Book of* " *Common-Prayer, and Adminiſtration of Sacraments,* " *and other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, ac-* " *cording to the Uſe of the Church of* England, *toge-* " *ther with the Pſalter, or Pſalms of* David, *pointed* " *as they are to be ſung or ſaid in Churches; and the* " *Form and Manner of making, ordaining, and conſe-* " *crating of Biſhops, Prieſts and Deacons.*"

" The Penalty for neglecting or refuſing to make " this Declaration, is Deprivation *ipſo facto* of all his " ſpiritual Promotions.

" And it is further enacted, that every Dean, Ca- " non, Prebendary; all Maſters, Heads, Fellows, " Chaplains, and Tutors, in any College, Hall, " Houſe of Learning, or Hoſpital; all publick Pro- " feſſors, Readers in either Univerſity, and in every " College and elſewhere; and all Parſons, Vicars, " Curates, Lecturers; and every School-Maſter keep- " ing any publick or private School; and every Per- " ſon inſtructing Youth in any private Family, ſhall " before the Feaſt of St. *Bartholomew*, 1662. ſubſcribe " the following Declaration (*viz.*)

" *I* A. B. *do declare, that it is not lawful upon any* " *Pretence whatſoever, to take Arms againſt the King;* " *and that I do abhor that traiterous Poſition of ta-* " *king Arms by his Authority, againſt his Perſon, or* " *againſt thoſe that are commiſſioned by him; and that* " *I will conform to the Liturgy of the Church of* Eng- " land, *as it is now by Law eſtabliſhed. And I do* " *hold, that there lies no Obligation upon me, or on*

" *any*

" *any other Perſon, from the Oath commonly called the* " Solemn League and Covenant, *to endeavour any* " *Change or Alteration of Government either in Church* " *or State; and that the ſame was in it ſelf an unlaw-* " *ful Oath, and impoſed upon the Subjects of this* " *Realm, againſt the known Laws and Liberties of this* " *Kingdom.*" *King* Charles II. 1662.

" This Declaration is to be ſubſcribed by the Per- " ſons abovementioned before the Archbiſhop, Bi- " ſhop, or Ordinary of the Dioceſe, on Pain of De- " privation, for thoſe who were poſſeſſed of Livings; " and for School-Maſters and Tutors three Months " Impriſonment, for the firſt Offence; and for every " other Offence three Months Impriſonment, and " the Forfeiture of five Pounds to his Majeſty. Pro- " vided that after the 25th of *March* 1682. the Re- " nouncing of the *Solemn League and Covenant* ſhall " be omitted.

" It is further enacted, that no Perſon ſhall be ca- " pable of any Benefice, or preſume to conſecrate and " adminiſter the holy Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, " before he be ordained a Prieſt by Epiſcopal Ordi- " nation, on pain of forfeiting for every Offence " one hundred Pounds.

" No Form, or Order of Common-Prayer, ſhall " be uſed in any Church, Chapel, or other Place of " publick Worſhip, or in either of the Univerſities, " than is here preſcribed and appointed.

" None ſhall be received as Lecturers, or be per- " mitted to preach, or read any Sermon or Lecture in " any Church or Chapel, unleſs he be approved and " licenſed by the Archbiſhop or Biſhop, and ſhall " read the Thirty Nine Articles of Religion, with a " Declaration of his *unfeigned Aſſent* and *Conſent* to " the ſame: And unleſs the firſt Time he preaches " any Lecture or Sermon, he ſhall openly read the " Common-Prayer, and declare his Aſſent to it; " and ſhall on the firſt Lecture-Day of every Month " afterwards before Lecture, or Sermon, read the

" Com-

King Charles II. 1662.

" Common-Prayer and Service, under pain of being diſabled to preach; and if he preach while ſo diſabled, to ſuffer three Months Impriſonment for every Offence.

" The ſeveral Laws and Statutes formerly made for Uniformity of Prayer, &c. ſhall be in force for confirming the preſent Book of Common-Prayer, and ſhall be applied for puniſhing all Offences contrary to the ſaid Laws, with relation to the ſaid Book, and no other.

" A true printed Copy of the ſaid Book is to be provided in every Pariſh Church, Chapel, College and Hall, at the Coſt and Charge of the Pariſhioners, or Society, before the Feaſt of St. *Bartholomew*, on pain of forfeiting three Pounds a Month, for ſo long as they ſhall be unprovided of it."

Remarks. It was certainly unreaſonable in the Legiſlature to limit the Time of Subſcription to ſo ſhort a Period, it being next to impoſſible that the Clergy all over the Kingdom ſhould read and examine the Alterations within that Time. The Dean and Prebendaries of *Peterborough* declared, that they could not obtain Copies before *Auguſt* 17. the *Sunday* immediately preceding the Feaſt of St. *Bartholomew*; ſo that it was not poſſible for all the Members of that Cathedral to read the Service in Manner and Form as the Act directs, and therefore they were obliged to have Recourſe to the Favour of their Ordinary to admit of the Impediment; however, their Preferments were then forfeited by Law, as appears by the Act of the 15th of *Charles* II. Chap. 6. entituled, *An Act for the Relief of ſuch as by Sickneſs, or other Impediments, were diſabled from ſubſcribing the Declaration of the Act of Uniformity*; which ſays, that thoſe who did not ſubſcribe within the Time limited were utterly diſabled, and *ipſo facto* deprived, and their Benefices void, as if they were naturally dead. And if this was the Caſe at *Peterborough*, what muſt be the Condition of the Clergy in the more North-

Northern Counties? In fact, there was not one Divine in ten that lived at any conſiderable Diſtance from *London* that did peruſe it within that Time; but the Matter was driven on with ſo much Precipitancy (ſays Biſhop *Burnet*) that it ſeems implied, that the Clergy ſhould ſubſcribe implicitly to a Book they had never ſeen; and this was done by too many, as the Biſhops themſelves confeſſed. *King Charles II. 1662.* p. 185.

The Terms of Conformity now were,

(1.) *Re-Ordination*, if they had not been Epiſcopally ordained before. *Terms of Conformity.*

(2.) *A Declaration of their unfeigned Aſſent and Conſent to all and every Thing preſcribed and contained in the Book of Common-Prayer, and Adminiſtration of Sacraments, and other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church of* England, *together with the Pſalter, and the Form and Manner of making, ordaining, and conſecrating of Biſhops, Prieſts and Deacons.*

3. *To take the Oath of Canonical Obedience.*

4. *To abjure the* Solemn League and Covenant, *which many conſcientious Miniſters could not diſentangle themſelves from.*

5. *To abjure the Lawfulneſs of taking Arms againſt the King, or any commiſſioned by him, on any Pretence whatſoever.*

It appears from hence, that the Terms of Conformity were higher than before the Civil Wars; and the Common-Prayer Book more exceptionable, for inſtead of ſtriking out the *Apocryphal* Leſſons, more were inſerted, as the Story of *Bel and the Dragon*; and ſome new Holy Days were added, as St. *Barnabas*, and the *Converſion* of St. *Paul*; a few Alterations, and new Collects were made by the Biſhops themſelves, but Care was taken (ſays *Burnet*) that nothing ſhould be altered, as was moved by the Preſbyterians — The Validity of Preſbyterian Ordination was renounced, by which the Miniſtrations of the foreign Churches were diſowned — Lecturers and School-Maſters were put upon the ſame foot with Incumbents as to Oaths and Sub- *Higher than before the Civil Wars.* p. 182.

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Subſcriptions — A new Declaration was invented, which none who underſtood the Conſtitution of *England* could ſafely ſubſcribe — and to terrify the Clergy into a Compliance, no ſettled Proviſion was made for thoſe who ſhould be deprived of their Livings, but all were referr'd to the Royal Clemency — A Severity (ſays Biſhop *Burnet*) neither practiſed by Queen *Elizabeth* in enacting the Liturgy, nor by *Cromwel* in ejecting the Royaliſts, in both which a Fifth of the Benefice was reſerved for their Subſiſtence.

Rapin's *Remarks.* p. 293.

Mr. *Rapin* has ſeveral Remarks on this Act: If we compare it with the King's Declaration from *Breda* (ſays he) it will eaſily be ſeen what Care the Miniſters about the King, who were the real Authors or Promoters of this Act, had for his Honour and Promiſe; tho' ſome therefore may look upon this Act as the great Support and Bulwark of the Church, Others no leſs attached to its Intereſts, will perhaps look upon it as her Diſgrace and Scandal — His ſecond Remark is, for the Reader to take Notice of the Amount of the Promiſes made to the Preſbyterians by the King's Party, upon the Aſſurance of which they had ſo chearfully laboured for his Reſtoration, and followed the Directions tranſmitted by his Friends — His third Remark is, that by an Artifice, the moſt groſs Conſpiracies were invented which had no manner of Reality; or ſuppoſing they had, could no ways be charged on the Preſbyterians, who were not to anſwer for the Crimes of other Sects.

Remarks of Biſhop Kennet.

On the other hand, Biſhop *Kennet* ſays, "the World "has Reaſon to admire not only the Wiſdom of this "Act, but even the Moderation of it, as being effectually made for *miniſterial Conformity alone*, and "leaving the People unable to complain of any Impoſition. And it would certainly have had the deſired, and moſt happy Effect, of Unity and Peace (ſays his Lordſhip) if the Government had been in "earneſt in the Execution of it." Muſt the Bleſſings of Unity and Peace then be built on the Foundation of Per-

p. 262. *Remarks.*

Perſecution, Plunder, Perfidy, and the Waſtes of Conſcience? If his Majeſty's Declaration concerning Eccleſiaſtical Affairs breathed the Spirit of true Wiſdom and Charity, and ought to ſtand for a Pattern to Poſterity, whenever they are diſpoſed to heal the Breaches of the Church (as the Biſhop has elſewhere declared) where could be the Wiſdom and Moderation of this Act, which turn'd out two thouſand Miniſters into the World to beg their Bread upon ſuch ſevere Terms? And whereas the Biſhop ſays, the People had no Reaſon to complain of Impoſition, was it no Hardſhip to be obliged to go to Church, and join in a Form of Worſhip that went againſt their Conſciences? Does not the Act revive and confirm all the Penal Laws of Queen *Elizabeth* and King *James*, in theſe Words, "Be it farther enacted, that the ſeveral "good Laws and Statutes of this Realm, which have "been formerly made, and are now in Force for the "Uniformity of Prayers, and Adminiſtration of the "Sacraments within this Realm of *England*, and Pla-"ces aforeſaid, ſhall ſtand in full Force and Strength "to all Intents and Purpoſes whatſoever, and ſhall be "applied, practiſed, and be put in Uſe for the pu-"niſhing all Offences contrary to the ſaid Law." Surely this muſt affect the Laity! 'Tis more to be admired in my Opinion, that the Clergy of *England*, and all Officers both Civil and Military, could ſubſcribe a Declaration that gave up the whole Conſtitution into the Hands of an arbitrary Prince; for if the King had aboliſhed the Uſe of Parliaments, and commanded his Subjects to embrace the Popiſh Religion, which Way could they have relieved themſelves, when they had ſworn, that *it was not lawful to take up Arms againſt the King, or any commiſſioned by him, on any Pretence whatſoever, on pain of High Treaſon?* 'Tis hard to reconcile theſe Things with the late REVOLUTION of King WILLIAM and Queen MARY. I ſhall only add, That many of the moſt learned and judicious Divines of the Church have wiſhed,

King Charles II. 1662.

Kennet, p. 246.

King Charles II. 1662.

ed, for their own ſakes, that the Act might be amended and altered.

Of Mr. Collyer.

Mr. *Collyer*, a Non-Juring Clergyman, who ſuffered for his Principles, ſpeaks more like a Gentleman and a Chriſtian than the Biſhop; "The Misfortune "of the Preſbyterians (ſays he) cannot be remem- "ber'd without Regret; thoſe who quit their Intereſts "are certainly in earneſt, and deſerve a charitable "Conſtruction. Miſtakes in Religion are to be ten- "derly uſed, and Conſcience ought to be pitied when "it can't be relieved."

Authors or Promoters of this Act. *Lord* Clarendon.

'Tis fit the Authors and Promoters of this memorable Act, which broke the Peace of the Church, and eſtabliſhed a Separation, ſhould ſtand upon Record; Among theſe the Earl of *Clarendon* deſerves the firſt Place, who was once for moderate Meaſures, but afterwards

p. 185.

alter'd his Conduct (ſays Biſhop *Burnet*) out of reſpect to the Biſhops. The Rhetorick and Intereſt of this great Miniſter (ſays *Collyer*) might poſſibly make an

Collyer, p. 888.

Impreſſion upon both Houſes, and occaſion the paſſing the Act of Uniformity in the Condition it now ſtands; he entertained the Preſbyterians with Hopes, while he was cutting away the Ground from under their Feet. Strange! that one and the ſame Hand could conſiſtently with *Conſcience* and *Honour* draw up the King's Declaration from *Breda*, and his late Declaration concerning Eccleſiaſtical Affairs, and this ſevere Act of Uniformity.

Biſhop Sheldon.

Next to Chancellor *Hyde* was Dr. *Sheldon*, Biſhop of *London*, and afterwards Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, of whom Notice has been already taken; he was a facetious Man (ſays *Burnet*) but of no great Religion.

p. 177.

When the Earl of *Mancheſter* told the King, he was afraid the Terms of Conformity were ſo hard that many Miniſters would not comply; the Biſhop replied, he was afraid they would, *but now we know their Minds* (*ſays he*) *we will make them all Knaves if they conform.* And when Dr. *Allen* ſaid, 'tis pity the Door is ſo ſtrait; he anſwer'd, *'Tis no pity at all; if we had thought*

thought ſo many of them would have conformed we would have made it ſtraiter. And Mr. *Baxter* adds, That as far as he could perceive it was by ſome deſigned it ſhould be ſo. *King* Charles II. 1662.

Next to Biſhop *Sheldon* was Biſhop *Morley*, a pious Man (ſays *Burnet*) but extreamly paſſionate and very obſtinate. *Morley* was thought the honeſter Man, but *Sheldon* the abler Stateſman. To theſe may be added, Dr. *Gunning*, Biſhop of *Ely*; *Henchman* of *London*; *Dolben* of *Rocheſter*; *Stern* of *York*; Dr. *Pierce*, *Sparrow*, and *Barwick*, all Creatures of the Court, and Tools of the Prerogative. *Other Biſhops and Clergymen.*

But neither the Courtiers nor Biſhops could have accompliſhed their Deſigns without tampering with the Parliament. Care was therefore taken of the beſt Speakers, and Men of Influence among the Commons. The Parliament was undoubtedly acted by a Spirit of Revenge (ſays *Rapin*) and being of Principles directly oppoſite to the Preſbyterians, who were for reducing the Royal Power within certain Limits, they reſolved to put it out of their Power for ever to reſtrain the Prerogative, or alter the Government of the Church; and the King being in continual Want of Money, was content to ſacrifice the Preſbyterians for a large Supply of the Nation's Money, eſpecially when he knew he was ſerving the Cauſe of Popery at the ſame Time, by making Way for a general Toleration. *The Parliament.* P. 306, &c.

The Preſbyterian Miniſters had but three Months to conſider what to do with themſelves, and their Families. There were ſeveral Conſultations both in City and Country to know each others Sentiments; and it happen'd here, as it did afterwards about taking the Oaths to King *William* and Queen *Mary*; ſome that perſuaded their Brethren to diſſent, complied themſelves and got the others Livings. 'Tis not to be ſuppoſed they had all the ſame Scruples. Biſhop *Kennet* ſays, that *renouncing the Covenant* was the greateſt Obſtacle of Conformity to the Preſbyterians. But his Lordſhip is miſtaken; for if abjuring the Covenant had been omit- *Conduct of the* Preſbyterians. Cal. Cont. P. 471.

King Charles II. 1662.

ted they could not have taken the *Corporation Oath*. Some could not in Conſcience comply with the very Form of the Hierarchy. Great Numbers ſcrupled the Buſineſs of *Re-Ordination*, which implied a Renouncing the Validity of their former Miniſtrations. But that which the Diſſenters of all Denominations refuſed, was *giving their Aſſent and Conſent to all and every Thing contained in the Book of Common-Prayer*. This they apprehended to be more than was due to any human Compoſure.

Their Difficulties.

Mr. *Eachard* repreſents them as under great Difficulties; "Some (ſays he) were poſitive againſt any "Compliance, but great Numbers were doubtful and "uncertain, and had great Struggles between the At"tractions of Conſcience and Honour, Intereſt and "Humour. The Act was ſtrictly penn'd, and preſ"ſed hard upon late Principles and Practices. A "continual Intercourſe of Letters paſſed between thoſe "in the City, and the reſt in the Countries, how to "proceed in this nice Affair. Sometimes the chief of "them were for Compliance, as I have been aſſured "(ſays he) by the beſt Hands, and then upon further "Conſideration they changed their Minds. They "were under conſiderable Temptations on both Sides; "on one Side their Livings and Preferments were no "ſmall Inducement towards their Compliance; on "the other Side, beſides their Conſciences, they were "much encouraged by the Greatneſs of their Num"bers, and were made to believe, that if they unani"mouſly ſtood out the Church muſt come to them, "ſince the People would never bear ſo ſhocking a "Change —— Beſides, they had great Expectations "from ſeveral Friends at Court, and particularly the "Popiſh Party, who gave them great Encourage"ment, not only by a Promiſe of Penſions to ſome, "but alſo by a Toleration, and a Suſpenſion of the "Act it ſelf, which not long after was partly made "good. No doubt but the Non-Compliance of ſe"veral proceeded purely from a tender Conſcience, "and

" and in that Caſe ought not only to be pitied, but " rather applauded than condemned." Biſhop *Burnet* adds, That the Leaders of the Preſbyterian Party took great Pains to have them all ſtick together: They ſaid, that if great Numbers ſtood out it was more likely to produce new Laws in their Favour; ſo it was thought (ſays his Lordſhip) that many went out in the Croud to keep their Friends Company. *King* Charles II. 1662.

'Tis poſſible ſome Noblemen, and others who were in the Intereſt of the Preſbyterians, might adviſe them to ſtick by one another; but it is hardly credible, that Men of Abilities and good Senſe ſhould throw up their Livings, deſtroy their Uſefulneſs, and beggar their Families, for the ſake of good Company. *Remarks.*

Some of the Non-Conformiſts quitted their Stations in the Church before the 24th of *Auguſt*, as Mr. *Baxter*, and others, who did it with an Intent to let all the Miniſters over *England* know their Reſolution beforehand. Others about *London* preached their Farewel Sermons the *Sunday* before *Bartholomew Day*; ſeveral of which were afterwards collected into a Volume, and printed with their Effigies in the Title Page; as the Reverend Dr. *Manton*, *Bates*, *Jacomb*, *Calamy*, *Matth. Mead*, and others. The like was done in ſeveral Counties of *England*; and ſuch a paſſionate Zeal for the Welfare of their People ran through their Sermons as diſſolved their Audiences into Tears. *Some of them quit their Livings.* Baxter's *Life*, Part II. P. 384.

At length the fatal St. *Bartholomew* Day came, when about two thouſand quitted their Preferments in the Church, or refuſed to accept of any upon the Terms of the Act of Uniformity: An Example hardly to be parallel'd in the Chriſtian World! This raiſed a grievous Cry over the Nation, for here were many Men much valued (ſays Biſhop *Burnet*) and diſtinguiſhed by their Abilities and Zeal, now caſt out ignominiouſly, reduced to great Poverty, provoked by much ſpiteful Uſage, and caſt upon thoſe popular Practices, which both their Principles and their Circumſtances ſeemed to juſtify, of forming ſeparate Congregations, and of diverting *Miniſters ejected by the Act of Uniformity.* P. 185, 192.

King Charles II. 1662.

verting Men from the publick Worſhip. This begot Eſteem, and raiſed Compaſſion, as having a fair Appearance of ſuffering Perſecution for Conſcience. Mr. *Locke* calls them worthy, learned, pious, orthodox Divines, who did not throw themſelves out of Service, but were forcibly ejected. Nor were they caſt out becauſe there was a Supply of Miniſters to carry on the Work of Religion, for there was room for the Employment of more Hands, if they were to be had.

Their Hardſhips greater than the Papiſts at the Reformation.

At the Reformation from Popery by Queen *Elizabeth* there were not above two hundred deprived of their Livings; beſides, they were treated with great Mildneſs, and had ſome Allowances out of the Church, whereas theſe were treated with the utmoſt Severity, being caſt entirely upon Providence to beg or ſtarve, or get their Bread how they could. They were driven from their Houſes, from the Society of their Friends; and what was yet more killing, from all their Uſefulneſs, tho' they had merited much of the King, and laboured indefatigably for his Reſtoration. The former were Men of another Faith, and owned a foreign Head of the Church; whereas theſe were of the ſame Faith with the eſtabliſhed Church, and differ'd only about Rites and Ceremonies. It has been ſaid, that greater Numbers were ejected in the late Times upon the Foot of the Covenant; but if this were true, it was in a Time of War, when the Civil and Religious Differences between the King and Parliament were ſo intermixed, that it was impoſſible to ſeparate one from the other; the whole Nation was in Confuſion, and thoſe that ſuffered by the *Covenant* ſuffered more for their Loyalty, than their Religion; for when the War was over the Covenant was relaxed, and ſuch as would live peaceably returned to their vacant Cures, or were admitted to others.

And than the Loyaliſts in Time of the Civil War.

Beſides, the *Ingratitude* of the High Churchmen upon this Occaſion ought to be taken Notice of. "Who can anſwer for the Violence and Injuſtice "Actio

" Actions in a Civil War (ſays a Divine of the Church " of *England?*) Thoſe Sufferings were in a Time of " general Calamity, but theſe were ejected not only in " a Time of Peace, but a Time of Joy to all the " Land, and after an Act of Oblivion, when All pre- " tended to be reconciled and made Friends, and to " whoſe common Rejoicings theſe ſuffering Miniſters " had contributed their earneſt Prayers and great En- " deavours." Another Divine of the ſame Church writes, " I muſt own, that in my Judgment, however " both Sides have been exceſſively to blame, yet that " the Severities uſed by the Church to the Diſſenters " are leſs excuſable than thoſe uſed by the Diſſenters to " the Church. My Reaſon is, that the former were " uſed in Times of Peace, and a ſettled Government, " whereas the latter were inflicted in a Time of Tu- " mult and Confuſion; ſo that the plunderings and ra- " vagings endured by the *Church Miniſters*, were owing " (many of them at leaſt) to the Rudeneſs of the Sol- " diers, and the Chances of War; they were plunder'd " not becauſe they were Conformiſts, but Cavaliers, " and of the King's Party. The Allowing of the ſe- " queſter'd Miniſters a fifth Part of their Livings was " a Chriſtian Act, and what, I confeſs, I ſhould have " been glad to have ſeen imitated at the Reſtoration. " But no Mercy was to be ſhown to theſe unhappy " Sufferers, tho' it was impoſſible on a ſudden to fill " up the Gap that was made by their Removal."

King Charles II. 1662.

Conf. Plea, for Non-Conform. p. 12, 13.

Biſhop *Burnet* ſays, The old Clergy, now much enriched, were deſpiſed, but the young Clergy that came from the Univerſity did good Service. But tho' all the Striplings in both Univerſities were employed, a great many poor Livings in the Country had no Incumbents for a conſiderable Time. The Author of *The five Groans of the Church*, a very ſtrict Conformiſt, complains with great Warmth, of above three thouſand Miniſters admitted into the Church, who were unfit to teach becauſe of their Youth; of fifteen hundred debauched Men ordained; of the Ordination of

Difficulty of filling the Vacancies.

King Charles II. 1662.

many illiterate Men; of one thouſand three hundred forty two factious Miniſters a little before ordained; and that of twelve thouſand Church Livings, or thereabouts, three thouſand or more being impropriate, and four thouſand one hundred ſixty five *fine Cures*, there was but a poor Remainder left for a painful and honeſt Miniſtry.

Compariſon between the old and new Preachers.

Such were the Spoils of Uniformity! And though Mr. *Eachard* ſays, there was more Senſe and ſound Doctrine preached in one twelve Months after the Preſbyterian Miniſters were turned out, than in nigh twenty Years before; yet another *Church Writer*, who knew them better, calls the young Clergy "florid "and gentile Preachers, of a more romantick than "true majeſtick and divine Stile, who tickled and "captivated People at firſt, but did little Service to "the Souls of Men, and in proceſs of Time had fewer "Admirers and Friends than at firſt —" He adds, "That in the late Times they all ſpake the ſame "Things, and carried on the ſame Work, which was "the Inſtruction, Converſion, Conſolation, and Edi-"fication of Souls, not biting one another, nor grudg-"ing at one another. I never heard (ſays he) in many "hundreds of Sermons, Diverſities of Opinions either "ſet up by ſome, or pulled down by others; we "heard indeed that ſome were *Independants*, others "*Presbyterians*, and others *Epiſcopal*, but we heard "no ſuch Things from the Pulpits. Some Men think "that the Preaching of thoſe Days was meer Fanati-"ciſm, bleſſing the Uſurpation, railing againſt Bi-"ſhops, or deifying *Calvin* with an Infallibility; but "*Calvin* was preached no farther than Chriſt ſpake in "him; *Non* Calvinum *ſed Chriſtum prædicabant*."

Conf. Plea, Part I. *in* Pref. *and* p. 53.

The Truth of this Obſervation will appear further, by mentioning the Names of ſome of thoſe Miniſters whoſe Learning and Piety were univerſally acknowledged, and who were capable of preaching and writing as good Senſe, and to as good Purpoſe, as any of their Succeſſors; as Dr. *Gilpin*, *Bates*, *Manton*, *Ja-*

comb

King Charles II. 1662.

comb, Owen, Goodwin, Collins, Conant, Grew, Burgeſs, and *Anneſly*; Mr. *Bowles, Baxter, Clarkſon, Woodbridge, Newcomen, Calamy, Jackſon, Pool, Caryl, Charnock, Gouge, Jenkins, Gale, Corbet, Cradock, Matth. Mead, Howe, Kentiſh, Alſop, Vincent, Greenhill, S. Clark, Flavel, Phil. Henry,* and others of like Character, "whom I have heard vilified, and "repreſented according to the Fancies, Paſſions, or "Intereſts of Men (ſays a learned Conformiſt) but I "dare not but be juſt to them, as to eminent Profeſ- "ſors of the Chriſtian Faith, and think that common "Chriſtianity has ſuffered much by their ſilencing and "diſparagement. A great Part of the World is made "to believe, that *the Non-Conformiſts* are not fit to "be employed in the Church, nor truſted by the "State; but what they are God knows, and the "World may know, if they pleaſe to conſult their "Writings —— They are not to them that know "them, what they are reported by them that know "them not —— I know them ſufficiently to make "me bewail their Condition, and the vaſt Damage to "Thouſands of Souls by their Excluſion, not only in "the Out-ſkirts, but in the very Heart of *England*, "who are committed in many Parts, to them that "neither can nor will promote their everlaſting Inte- "reſts." Upon the Whole, tho' I do not apprehend that all the ejected Miniſters were equally learned, pious, and deſerving, yet upon a calm and ſedate View of Things I can't help concluding, that in the Main they were a Body of as *eminent Confeſſors* for Truth and Liberty as this or any other Nation has produced.

Conf. Plea, *in* Pref. Part I.

Many complied with the Terms of Conformity, not becauſe they liked them, but for the Sake of their Families, or becauſe they were unwilling to be buried in Silence, as Biſhop *Reynolds, Wilkins, Hopkins, Fowler*, &c. Several young Students, who were deſigned for the Pulpit, applied themſelves to Law or Phyſick, or diverted to ſome ſecular Employment. Biſhop *Kennet*, in order to extenuate their Calamities, has ta-

The Condition of others.

K. Chron. p. 888, &c.

King Charles II. 1662.

ken Pains to point out the Favours the ejected Miniſters received from private Perſons: Some (ſays he) found Friends among the Nobility and Gentry, who relieved their Neceſſities; ſome were taken as Chaplains into good Families, or officiated in Hoſpitals, Priſons, or Chapels of Eaſe; ſome became Tutors, or School-Maſters; ſome who went beyond Sea were well received in foreign Parts; ſome became eminent Phyſicians and Lawyers; ſome had good Eſtates of their own, and others married great Fortunes: But what is this to the Church or Legiſlature, who would have deprived them of theſe Retreats if it had been in their Power? The Biſhop adds, "*Therefore we do Ill to charge the Church* "*with Perſecution, when the Laws were made by the* "*Civil Government with a View to the Peace and* "*Safety of the State, rather than to any Honour or* "*Intereſt of the Church.*" It ſeems therefore the Load of Perſecution muſt lie wholly upon the Legiſlature: But had the Biſhops and other Churchmen no hand in this Affair? Did they not puſh the Civil Government upon theſe Extremities, and not only concur, but proſecute the Penal Laws with unrelenting Rigor throughout the greateſt Part of this Reign? The Church and State are ſaid to be ſo blended together as to make but *one Conſtitution*, and the *Penal Laws* are ſhifted from one to the other till they are quite loſt; whereas in reality both are criminal: But the *Church* can't be charg'd with *Perſecution*, becauſe it makes no Laws; nor can the Civil Government be charged with it, becauſe it makes them not againſt Conſcience, but with a View to the Safety of the State; with ſuch idle Sophiſms are Men to be amuſed, when 'tis to cover a Reproach!

Dr. Bates's Account. Fun. Serm. for Mr. Baxter.

Dr. *Bates* ſays, "they [the Miniſters] fell a Sacri- "fice to the Wrath and Revenge of the old Clergy, "and to the ſervile Compliance of the young Gentry "with the Court, and their Diſtaſte of ſerious Religi- "on. That this is no raſh Imputation upon the ru- "ling Clergy is evident (ſays the Doctor) not only "from their Concurrence in paſſing theſe Laws (for

"Actions

" Actions have a Language as convincing as thoſe of " Words) but from Dr. *Sheldon* their great Leader, " who expreſſed his Fears to the Earl of *Manchester*, " leſt the Preſbyterians ſhould comply. The Act " was paſſed after the King had engaged his Faith and " Honour in his Declaration from *Breda* to preſerve " Liberty of Conſcience inviolable; which Promiſe " opened the Way for his Reſtoration; and after the " Royaliſts had given publick Aſſurance, that all " former Animoſities ſhould be laid aſide as Rubbiſh " under the Foundation of univerſal Concord." *King* Charles II. 1662.

Sad were the Calamities of far the greater Part of theſe unhappy Sufferers, who with their Families muſt have periſhed, if private Collections in *London*, and other Places of the Country, had not been made for their Subſiſtence. Biſhop *Burnet* ſays, they caſt themſelves on the Providence of God, and the Charity of Friends, the Legiſlature not allowing them ſo much as the Fifths. The Reverend and Pious Mr. *Thomas Gouge*, late of St. *Sepulchres*, was their Advocate, who with two or three of his Brethren, made frequent Application to ſeveral worthy Citizens, of whom they received conſiderable Sums of Money for ſome Years, till that Charity was diverted into another Channel; but nevertheleſs, " many hundreds of them (according " to Mr. *Baxter*) with their Wives and Children had " neither Houſe nor Bread; the People they left were " not able to relieve them, nor durſt they if they had " been able, becauſe it would have been called a " Maintenance of Schiſm or Faction. Many of the " Miniſters being afraid to lay down their Miniſtry " after they had been ordained to it, preached to ſuch " as would hear them, in Fields and private Houſes, " till they were apprehended and caſt into Goals, " where many of them periſhed —— The People " were no leſs divided, ſome conformed, and others " were driven to a greater Diſtance from the Church, " and reſolved to abide by their faithful Paſtors at all " Events; They murmured at the Government, and

Sufferings of the ejected Miniſters. K. Chron. p. 838. p. 192.

Mr. Baxter's *Account.*

King Charles II. 1662.

" called the Biſhops and Conforming Clergy cruel " Perſecutors; for which, and for their frequenting " the private Aſſemblies of their Miniſters, they were " fined and impriſoned, till many Families left their " native Country, and ſettled in the Plantations."

Other Accounts.

The Preſbyterian Miniſters, tho' Men of Gravity, and far advanced in Years, were rallied in the Pulpits under the opprobious Names of *Schiſmaticks* and *Fanaticks*; they were expoſed in the Play-Houſe, and

Part IV. p. 40.

inſulted by the Mob, inſomuch that they were obliged to lay aſide their Habits, and walk in Diſguiſe. " Such " Magiſtrates were put into Commiſſion as executed " the Penal Laws with Severity. Informers were en- " couraged and rewarded. It is impoſſible (ſays the " *Conformiſt Plea for the Non-Conformiſt*) to relate " the Number of the Sufferings both of Miniſters and " People; the great Trials, with Hardſhips upon " their Perſons, Eſtates, and Families, by uncom- " fortable Separations, Diſperſions, Unſettlements and " Removes; Diſgraces, Reproaches, Impriſonments, " chargeable Journies, Expences in Law, tedious " Sickneſſes, and incurable Diſeaſes ending in Death; " great Diſquietments and Frights to the Wives and " Families, and their doleful Effects upon them —— " Their Congregations had enough to do, beſides a " ſmall Maintenance, to help them out of Priſons, " or maintain them there. Tho' they were as frugal " as poſſible they could hardly live; ſome lived on " little more than brown Bread and Water; many " had but eight or ten Pounds a Year to maintain a " Family, ſo that a Piece of Fleſh has not come to " one of their Tables in ſix Weeks Time; their Al- " lowance could ſcarce afford them Bread and Cheeſe. " One went to Plow ſix Days and preached on the " Lord's Day. Another was forced to cut Tobacco

Ibid. Part IV. P. 43.

" for a Livelihood —— The zealous Juſtices of Peace " knew the Calamities of the *Miniſters*, when they " iſſued out Warrants upon ſome of the *Hearers*, be- " cauſe of the Poverty of the Preachers. Out of Re-

" ſpect

"ſpect to the Worth and Modeſty of ſome of them "(ſays my Author) I forbear their Names." Upon theſe Foundations, and with theſe Circumſtances, was the preſent Conſtitution of the Church of *England* reſtored. I ſhall make no further Remarks upon it, but freely leave it to the Cenſure of the Reader. *King Charles II. 1662.*

Among the Preſbyterian Divines that died this Year was Mr. *John Ley*, M.A. born at *Warwick*, *Feb.* 4. 1583. and educated in *Chriſt Church*, *Oxford*, where he took the Degrees in Arts, and was preſented to the Living of *Great Budworth* in *Cheſhire*. He was afterwards Prebendary of *Cheſter*, and Subdean, and Clerk of the Convocation once or twice. In the Year 1641. he took part with the Parliament, was one of the Aſſembly of Divines, Chairman of the Committee for Examination of Miniſters, and Preſident of *Sion College*. In the Year 1645. he ſucceeded Dr. *Hyde* in the rich Parſonage of *Brightwell*, *Berks*. In 1653. he was one of the *Tryers*, and at length obtained the Rectory of *Golyhull*, in *Com. Warw.* but having broken a Vein by over-ſtraining himſelf in ſpeaking, he reſigned his Living, and retired to *Sutton Colfield*, where he died, *May* 16. 1662. in the Seventy ninth Year of his Age. He was a very learned Perſon, well read in the Fathers and Councils, a popular Preacher, a pious and devout Chriſtian, and one of the main Pillars (ſays Mr. *Wood*) of the Preſbyterian Cauſe. *Death of Mr. Ley, Ath. Ox. Vol. II. p. 199.*

Mr. *Henry Jeanes*, M.A. was born in *Somerſetſhire* about the Year 1611. and educated in *New Inn*, and afterwards in *Hart Hall*, *Oxon*, where he took the Degrees in Arts, and enter'd into Holy Orders. He was an admired Preacher in the Univerſity, and was quickly preferr'd to the Rectory of *Beercrocomb*, and the Vicarage of *Kingſton* in *Somerſetſhire*. In the Year 1641. he cloſed with the Parliament, and became Rector of *Chedſey* near *Bridgewater*. Here he took into his Family ſeveral young Perſons, and inſtructed them in the liberal Arts and Sciences; he was a moſt excellent Philoſopher, a noted Metaphyſician, and well verſed in Pole- *Of Mr. Jeanes.*

King Charles II. 1662.

Polemical Divinity. With all theſe Qualifications (ſays Mr. *Wood*) he was a Contemner of the World, Generous, Free-hearted, Jolly, Witty, and Facetious. He writ many Books, and died in the City of *Wells* a little before the fatal Day of St. *Bartholomew*, and was buried in the Cathedral Church there. *Ætatis* 52.

Of Dr. Chambers.

Dr. *Humphrey Chambers* was born in *Somerſetſhire*, and educated in *Univerſity College*, *Oxon*. In the Year 1623. he was made Rector of *Claverton* in *Somerſetſhire*, but was afterwards ſilenced by his Dioceſan, Biſhop *Piers*, for preaching up the Morality of the Sabbath, and impriſoned for two Years. He was one of the Aſſembly of Divines. In the Year 1648. he was created *D. D.* and had the rich Rectory of *Peuſey* given him by the Earl of *Pembrook*. After the King's Reſtoration he kept his Living till the very Day the Act of Uniformity took Place, when having preached his Farewel Sermon on *Pſal.* cxxvi. 6. he went home, fell ſick and died, and was buried in his Church at *Peuſey*, *Sept.* 8. without the Service of the Church, which had juſt then taken Place.

Of Mr. Aſh.

Mr. *Simeon Aſh* was educated in *Emanuel College*, *Cambridge*. His firſt Employment in the Church was in *Staffordſhire*, where he contracted an Acquaintance with the moſt eminent Puritans. He was diſplaced from his Living for refuſing to read the *Book of Sports*, and not conforming to the Ceremonies of the Church. After ſome Time he got Liberty to preach in an exempt Church at *Wroxhall*, under the Protection of Sir *John Burgoign*; and elſewhere, under the Lord *Brook*, in *Warwickſhire*. Upon the Breaking out of the Civil War he became Chaplain to the Earl of *Mancheſter*, and had a conſiderable Part in the *Cambridge* Viſitation. After the King's Death he vigorouſly oppoſed the new Commonwealth, and declaimed publickly againſt the *Engagement*. He was concerned in all the Deſigns for bringing in the King, and went with other *London* Divines to congratulate his Majeſty at *Breda*. He was a Chriſtian of Primitive Simplicity,

plicity, and a Non-Conformiſt of the old Stamp, being eminently ſincere, charitable, holy, and of a chearful Spirit. He had a good paternal Eſtate, and was very hoſpitable, his Houſe being much frequented by his Brethren, by whom he was highly eſteemed. He died in an advanced Age on the very Evening before *Bartholomew Day*, in a chearful and firm Expectation of a future Happineſs. *King Charles II. 1662.*

Mr. *Edward Bowles*, M. A. born 1613. and educated in *Katherine Hall*, *Cambridge*, under Dr. *Sibbes* and Dr. *Brownrigge*. He was firſt Chaplain to the Earl of *Mancheſter*, and upon the Reduction of *York* to the Parliament ſettled in that City. He was a wiſe and prudent Man, having a clear Head and a warm Heart; an excellent Scholar, and an uſeful Preacher. He attended Lord *Fairfax* when General *Monk* paſs'd thro' *Yorkſhire*, and preſented an Addreſs to the General for a Free Parliament. He was very zealous and active in the Affair of the King's Reſtoration, and waited on his Majeſty with Lord *Fairfax* at *Breda*. 'Tis credibly reported that the Deanry of *York* was offered him, but not being ſatisfied with Conformity, he was firſt excluded the *Minſter*, but continued preaching at *All-hallows*, and afterwards at St. *Martins*, as he had Opportunity. When the fatal *Bartholomew Day* approached he grew ſick of the Times, and died in the Flower of his Life, aged Forty nine, and was buried on the Eve of St. *Bartholomew*, 1662. *Of Mr. Edward Bowles.*

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

From the Act of Uniformity to the Baniſhment of the Earl of Clarendon *in the Year* 1667.

King Charles II. 1662.

AT this Time, ſays Biſhop *Burnet*, the Name of PURITANS was changed into that of PROTESTANT NON-CONFORMISTS, who were ſubdivided into *Presbyterians*, *Independants*, *Anabaptiſts*, and *Quakers*; theſe being ſhut out of the Eſtabliſhment had nothing now in view but a Toleration, which the credulous Preſbyterians ſaid they had ſtrong Aſſurances of before the Act of Uniformity paſſed into a Law; but in this they were diſappointed as well as in every Thing elſe; for which the *Independants* told them they might thank themſelves, becauſe their *Managers* had proteſted againſt including the Papiſts, whereas the Legiſlature and the Biſhops were to look to them, but it was none of their Buſineſs. Some obſerving how much the Court and Parliament were ſet againſt them, were for ſettling in *Holland* with their Miniſters; and others propoſed *New England*; but the Papiſts, at a Meeting at the Earl of *Briſtol*'s Houſe, agreed to do whatever they could to keep the Non-Conformiſts in *England*, and buoy them up with Hopes of a Toleration.

Views of the ſeveral Parties.

Of the Non-Conformiſts.

Burnet, p. 193.

Of the King and Court.

The King was a concealed *Roman* Catholick, and had Swarms of thoſe Creatures about his Perſon and Court, who had fought for his Father in the Wars, or been civil to him in his Exile; their Deſign was to introduce a Toleration of their Religion, by the Royal Indulgence, in common with other Diſſenters from the Eſtabliſhment; and the King was ſo far in their Meaſures, that he declared openly, *He would give Liberty to All or None.* The Court was therefore content that the Act of Uniformity ſhould paſs in the ſevereſt Terms, on purpoſe *to make the Number of Diſſenters*

more

more conſiderable; and when this was objected, it was replied, *The more Diſſenters the better*, becauſe it will make a Toleration more neceſſary, in which the Papiſts will have a Share. The Papiſts had two Maxims from which they never departed; one was, *to keep themſelves united, and promote a general Toleration, or a general Proſecution.* The other, *To divide the Proteſtants as much as poſſible among themſelves.* For this Reaſon the Sword was put into the Hands of ſuch Magiſtrates as would inflame the Differences, and exaſperate their Spirits one againſt the other. Nor were there wanting ſome hot-headed young Clergymen, who run greedily into the Snare, and became the Tools of Popery and arbitrary Power, till the Proteſtant Religion was expiring, and muſt inevitably have been loſt, if it had not been reſcued almoſt by a Miracle. With a like View the Laws againſt Prophaneneſs and Immorality were relaxed, Mens Morals were neglected, Interludes, Maſquerades, promiſcuous Dancing, prophane Swearing, Drunkenneſs, and an univerſal Diſſolution of Manners, was connived at, and the very Name of Godlineſs became a Reproach.

King Charles II. 1662.

Burnet.

The Parliament being made up of a mercenary Set of Penſioners went into all the Court Meaſures, and made more Penal Laws for Religion, than, it may be, all the Parliaments put together ſince the Reformation. They preſſed the Act of Uniformity with unrelenting Rigour, and enforced it with ſo many other Penal Laws, that under their Wings Popery grew to ſuch a Height as to threaten the Extirpation of the *Northern Hereſy*. At length many of the Members being dead, and others grown Fat with the Spoils of the Publick, they would have retrieved their Errors, and diſtinguiſhed between *Proteſtant Non-Conformiſts* and *Popiſh Recuſants*, but it was too late; and the King having found Ways and Means to live without Parliaments, reſolved to abide by his ſtanding Maxim, *to give Eaſe to all Diſſenters, or to none.*

Of the Parliament.

'Tis

King Charles II. 1662.

Of the Clergy.

'Tis impoſſible to excuſe the Clergy from their Share in the Troubles of this Reign. If the Convocation of 1662. in their Review of the Liturgy, had made any Amendments for the Relief of the Preſbyterians, they would undoubtedly have paſſed both Houſes of Parliament, and healed in ſome Meaſure the Diviſions of the Church; but they were full of Revenge, and not only promoted the enacting ſuch Laws as might put it out of the Power of the Preſbyterians to hurt them for the future; but aſſiſted in putting them in Execution. None had a greater Share in inflaming the Minds of the People, and in ſounding the Trumpet to Perſecution. But here the Reader muſt diſtinguiſh between thoſe furious Zealots, who from Reſentment, or other private Views, ſet themſelves to encourage and promote all the Methods of Oppreſſion and Tyranny; and thoſe, who though they complied with the Times, were for an Accommodation with the Proteſtant Non-Conformiſts upon moderate Terms.

The Biſhops.

The Biſhops were generally of the former Sort; they were old and peeviſh, fond of their perſecuting Principles, and fearful of every Thing that tended to relieve the Preſbyterians. They went with Zeal into all the ſlaviſh Doctrines of the Prerogative, and voted with the Court in every Thing they required; nay, they puſhed them forward to execute the Penal Laws againſt the Preſbyterians with unrelenting Rigour. But even ſome of theſe Biſhops, who had been very zealous to throw the Preſbyterians out of the Church, afterwards grew more temperate; Dr. *Laney*, Biſhop of *Peterborough*, who made a great Buſtle in the *Savoy* Conference, was willing afterwards to wipe his Hands of the dirty Work, and (to uſe his own Expreſſion) could look through his Fingers, and ſuffer a worthy Non-Conformiſt to preach publickly near him for Years together —— Biſhop *Saunderſon* had a Roll of Non-Conformiſt Miniſters under his angry Eye, deſigned for Diſcipline, but when he was near his End he ordered the Roll to be burnt, and ſaid, He would die

die in Peace —— And moſt remarkable is the Paſſage in the laſt Will and Teſtament of Dr. *Coſins*, Biſhop of *Durham*, a zealous Enemy of the Preſbyterians, and who had met with ill Uſage in the late Times. —— "I take it to be my Duty (ſays he) and that of "all the Biſhops and Miniſters of the Church, to do "our utmoſt Endeavour, that at laſt an End may be "put to the Differences of Religion, or at leaſt, that "they may be leſſen'd." Such was the different Temper of this learned Prelate in the Vigour of Life, and when he came to review Things calmly on his dying Bed. To theſe might be added Biſhop *Gauden*, *Wilkins*, *Reynolds*, and a few others, who are ſaid to carry the Wounds of the Church in their Hearts to the Grave; but the far greater Majority of the Bench of Biſhops, eſpecially thoſe that frequented the Court, were of a different Stamp.

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The like may be obſerved of the inferior Clergy, who were divided a few Years after, into thoſe of the *Court* and the *Country*; the former were of an angry ſuperſtitious Spirit, and far more zealous for a few indifferent Ceremonies, than for the Peace of the Church, or its more important Articles; their Sermons were filled with the Reverence due to their *Holy Mother*, with the ſacred Dignity of their own indelible Characters, with the ſlaviſh Doctrines of Paſſive-Obedience and Non-Reſiſtance, and with the moſt bitter Raillery and Invectives againſt the poor routed Preſbyterians; they encouraged the enacting ſevere Laws, and carried them into Execution as long as their Superiors would permit, without any Regard to Mercy or Merit; but took little or no Care, by their Doctrine or Example, of the Morals of the People, which were ſhamefully neglected throughout the Nation. The Clergy of this Character were by far the more numerous for twenty Years after the Reſtoration; the Tide of Church Preferments ran in this Channel, and their Doctrines were the moſt faſhionable.

The Inferior Clergy. High Church.

The

King Charles II. 1662. *And Low Church.*

The *Country* Clergy were of a quite different Spirit; they were zealous Proteſtants and true Churchmen, but more diſpoſed to an Accommodation with Proteſtant Diſſenters than with Papiſts: Among theſe were the *Tillotſons*, *Stillingfleets*, *Whitchcots*, *Wilkins*, *Cudworths*, &c. Men of the firſt Rank for Learning, Sobriety and Virtue; they were the moſt eminent Preachers of the Age, whoſe Sermons and Writings did Honour to the Church of *England*, and ſupported its Character in the Worſt of Times. They lamented the Corruptions and Vices of the People, and ſtood in the Gap againſt an Inundation of Popery and Tyranny; but their Numbers were ſmall, becauſe the Road to Preferment lay another Way: But when the High Church Clergy had betrayed the Liberties of their Country, and the Proteſtant Religion, into the Hands of the Papiſts, theſe appeared boldly in their Defence, diſarmed their Adverſaries, and ſaved the Nation.

Remarks.

When therefore we ſpeak of the furious Proceedings of the Biſhops and Clergy, it muſt not be underſtood of the whole Body, but only of thoſe who were Tools of a corrupt Court and Miniſtry, and who out of Ignorance, or other private and perſonal Motives went blindfold into all their deſtructive Meaſures. If the Reader will keep in mind theſe general Remarks, he will more eaſily account for all the Springs of publick Actions throughout the Courſe of this Reign, eſpecially thoſe which relate to the *Church* and *Diſſenters*, and readily diſcover to whoſe Account the Severities againſt them ought to be placed.

Biſhop Burnet's *Remarks.*

Biſhop *Burnet*, in his Book againſt the Author of *Parliamentum Pacificum*, has the following remarkable Paſſage: "It is well known, that thoſe who were "ſecretly Papiſts, and diſguiſed their Religion, as the "King himſelf did, animated the chief Men of the "Church to carry the Points of Uniformity as high as "poſſible —— That there might be many Non-Con"formiſts, and great Occaſion for a Toleration, under "which Popery might creep in; for if the King's De-

" claration from *Breda* had took place, of two thou- *King*
" ſand Miniſters that were turned out, above ſeven- Charles II.
" teen hundred had ſtay'd in; but the Practices of the 1662.
" Papiſts had too great an Influence on the Church-
" men, whoſe Spirits were too much ſower'd by their
" ill Uſage during the War; nor were they without
" Succeſs on the Diſſenters, who were ſecretly encou-
" raged to ſtand out, and were told, that *the King's*
" *Temper and Principles, and the Conſideration of*
" *Trade, would certainly procure them a Toleration.*
" Thus they tamper'd with both Parties; Liberty of
" Conſcience was their Profeſſion, but when a Seſſion
" of Parliament came, and the King wanted Money,
" then a new ſevere Law againſt the Diſſenters was of-
" fered to the angry Men of the Church Party as the
" Price of it; and this ſeldom failed to have its Ef-
" fect; ſo that they were like the Jewels of the
" Crown, pawned when the King needed Money, but
" redeemed at the next Prorogation."

The ſame Prelate obſerves in another Performance, " That the firſt Spirit of Severity was heighten'd by " the Practices of the Papiſts — That many Church- " men who underſtood not the Principles of human " Society, and the Rules of the *Engliſh* Government, " writ ſeveral extravagant Treatiſes about the *Mea-* " *ſures of Submiſſion*; that the Diſſenters were put " to great Hardſhips in many Parts of *England*." But concludes, that " He muſt have the Brow of a Jeſuit " that can caſt this *wholly* upon the Church of *England* " and *free the Court of it*. Upon the whole Matter " (ſays his Lordſhip) it is evident, that the Paſſions and " Infirmities of ſome of the Church of *England* being " unhappily ſtirred up by the Diſſenters, they were " fatally conducted by the Popiſh Party to be the In- " ſtruments of doing a great deal of Miſchief."

But to go on with the Hiſtory: Three Days after Nonconf. *Petition for Indulgence.* K. Chr. Mr. p. 753.
the Act of Uniformity took Place the ſilenced Mini-
ſters preſented a Petition to his Majeſty for a Tolera-
tion, by the Hands of Dr. *Manton*, Dr. *Bates*, and

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Mr. *Calamy*, to this Effect; that "having had former Experience of his Majeſty's Clemency and Indulgence, ſome of the *London* Miniſters, who are like to be deprived of all future Uſefulneſs by the late Act of Uniformity, humbly caſt themſelves at his Majeſty's Feet, deſiring him of his princely Wiſdom to take ſome effectual Courſe, that they may be continued in their Miniſtry, to teach his People Obedience to God and his Majeſty; and they doubt not but by their dutiful and peaceable Behaviour, they ſhall render themſelves not altogether unworthy of ſo great a Favour." The Matter being debated next Day in Council, his Majeſty gave his Opinion for an Indulgence if it was feaſible. Others were for Conniving at the more eminent Divines, and putting Curates into their Churches to read the Service, till they ſhould die off: This was the Opinion of the Earl of *Mancheſter*, who urged it with a great deal of Zeal; but Lord *Clarendon* was for the ſtrict Execution of the Law; "Surely (ſays he) there cannot be too intent a Care in Kings and Princes to preſerve and maintain all decent Forms and Ceremonies both in Church and State, which keeps up the Reverence due to Religion, as well as the Duty and Dignity due to the Government and the Majeſty of Kings." Biſhop *Sheldon* was of the ſame Side, and declared That if the Act was ſuſpended he could not maintain his Epiſcopal Authority; that this would render the Legiſlature ridiculous, and be the Occaſion of endleſs Diſtractions. *England* is accuſtomed to obey Laws (ſays he), ſo that while we ſtand on that Ground we are ſafe. And to anſwer all Objections, he undertook to fill the vacant Pulpits more to the People's Satisfaction than before. By ſuch Arguments, delivered with great Earneſtneſs and Zeal, they prevailed with the Council to let the Law take Place for the preſent.

K. Chron. p. 730, 742.

Parker's Hiſt. p 29.

Burnet, p. 192.

King's Declaration concerning Indulgence.

Nevertheleſs, about four Months after his Majeſty publiſhed a Declaration to all his loving Subjects, by Advice of his Privy Council, dated *December* 2

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1662. in which, after reciting those Words of his Declaration from *Breda*, relating to his giving Liberty to tender Consciences, and his Readiness to consent to an Act of Parliament for that Purpose, his Majesty adds, "As all these Things are fresh in our Memory, so "are we still firm in the Resolution of performing "them to the full. But it must not be wonder'd at, "since that Parliament to which those Promises were "made, never thought fit to offer us an Act to that "Purpose, that *we being so zealous as we are (and by "the Grace of God shall ever be) for the Maintenance "of the true Protestant Religion*, should give its Esta- "blishment the Precedency before Matters of Indul- "gence to Dissenters from it; but that being done, "we are glad to renew to all our Subjects concerned "in those Promises of Indulgence this Assurance. "That as for what concerns the Penalties upon those, "who (living peaceably) do not conform to the "Church of *England* through Scruple, or Tender- "ness of misguided Conscience, but modestly, and "without Scandal, perform their Devotions in their "own Way, we shall make it our special Care, as far "as in us lies, without invading the Freedom of Par- "liament, to incline their Wisdom at the next ap- "proaching Sessions, to concur with us in making "some Act for that Purpose, as may enable us to ex- "ercise with a more universal Satisfaction, *that Pow- "er of dispensing which we conceive to be inherent in "us*; nor can we doubt of their chearful co-operating "with us in a Thing wherein we conceive our selves "so far engaged both in Honour, and in what we "owe to the Peace of our Dominions, which we pro- "fess we can never think secure whilst there shall be a "Colour left to disaffected Persons to inflame the "Minds of so many Multitudes upon the Score of "Conscience, with despair of ever obtaining any Ef- "fect of our Promises for their Ease."

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His Majesty then proceeds to obviate the Objection of his favouring Papists; and after having avowed to

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the World, the due Senſe he had of their having deſerved well from his Royal Father, and from himſelf, and even from the Proteſtant Religion, in adhering to them with their Lives and Fortunes, for the Maintenance of their Crown in the Religion eſtabliſhed, he declares, that "it is not in his Intention to exclude "them from all Benefit from ſuch an Act of Indul-"gence, but that they are not to expect an open To-"leration; but refers the Manner to the approaching "Seſſions of Parliament, which he doubts not will "concur with him in the Performance of his Promi-"ſes —" He concludes, "with hoping that all his "Subjects, with Minds happily compoſed by his Cle-"mency, and Indulgence (inſtead of taking up "Thoughts of deſerting their Profeſſions, or tranſ-"planting) will apply themſelves comfortably, and "with redoubled Induſtry, to their ſeveral Vocations, "in ſuch manner as the private Intereſt of every one "in particular may encourage him to contribute chear-"fully to the general Proſperity.

"Given at our Court at *Whitehall*, this 26th of *De-*"*cember*, in the 14th Year of our Reign."

Supported by his Maj. Speech to the Parliament. Burnet, p. 193.

This Declaration was thought to be framed at *Somerſet Houſe*, where the Queen-Mother kept Court, without the Knowledge of Lord *Clarendon* or Biſhop *Sheldon*; and according to *Burnet* was the Reſult of a Council of Papiſts at the Earl of *Briſtol*'s (who were under an Oath of Secrecy) and of the King himſelf. It is modeſtly expreſſed; and tho' it carries in it a Claim of the *diſpenſing Power*, and of good Will to Popery, yet it refers all to the Parliament. Accordingly his Majeſty, in his Speech at the Opening the next Seſſions, *Feb.* 28. ſupported his Declaration in the following Words, "That tho' he was in his Nature an Enemy to all Seve-"rity in Religion, he would not have them infer from "thence, that he meant to favour Popery, tho' ſeveral "of that Profeſſion, who had ſerved him and his Father "well, might juſtly claim a Share in that Indulgence,

"he

" he would willingly afford to other Diſſenters; not " that I intend them to hold any Places in the Govern- " ment (ſays his Majeſty) for *I will not yeild to any, " no not to the Biſhops themſelves, in my Zeal for the " Proteſtant Religion, and my liking the Act of Uni- " formity*; and yet if the Diſſenters will behave them- " ſelves peaceably and modeſtly under the Govern- " ment, *I could heartily wiſh I had ſuch a Power of " Indulgence to uſe upon all Occaſions, as might not " needleſly force them out of the Kingdom, or ſtaying " here, give them cauſe to conſpire againſt the Peace of " it.*" This was the firſt open Claim of a *diſpenſing Power*, which the Reader will obſerve did not propoſe a *Law for Liberty of Conſcience*, but that his Majeſty might have a legal Power of *Indulgence* veſted in himſelf, which he might uſe or recal as he thought fit. This alarmed the Houſe of Commons, who voted the Thanks of the Houſe for his Majeſty's Reſolution to maintain the Act of Uniformity; but that it was the Opinion of the Houſe, that *no Indulgence be granted to Diſſenters from it*; and an Addreſs was appointed to be drawn up, and preſented to his Majeſty, with the following Reaſons:

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" We have conſidered (ſay they) your Majeſty's " *Declaration from* Breda, and are of Opinion, that " it was not a *Promiſe*, but a gracious Declaration " to comply with the Advice of your Parliament, " whereas no ſuch Advice has been given. They " who pretend a Right to the ſuppoſed Promiſe, put " the Right into the Hands of their Repreſentatives, " who have paſt the Act of Uniformity — If any " ſhall ſay, a Right to the Benefit of the Declaration " ſtill remains, it tends to diſſolve the very Bond of " Government, and to ſuppoſe a Diſability in the " whole Legiſlature, to make a Law contrary to your " Majeſty's Declaration — We have alſo conſidered " the Nature of the *Indulgence* propoſed, and are of " Opinion — 1. That it will eſtabliſh Schiſm by a " Law, and make the Cenſures of the Church of no

Addreſs of the Commons againſt it. Rapin, p. 316.

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" Conſideration — 2. That it is unbecoming the Wiſ-
" dom of Parliament to paſs a Law in one Seſſion for
" Uniformity, and in another Seſſion to paſs a Law to
" fruſtrate or weaken it, the Reaſons continuing the
" ſame — 3. That it will expoſe your Majeſty to the
" reſtleſs Importunities of every Sect who ſhall diſſent
" from the eſtabliſhed Church — 4. That it will en-
" creaſe Sectaries, which will weaken the Proteſtant
" Profeſſion, and be troubleſome to the Government;
" and in Time ſome prevalent Sect may contend for
" an Eſtabliſhment which may end in Popery —
" 5. That it is unprecedented, and may take away
" the Means of convicting Recuſants — 6. That the
" Indulgence propoſed will not tend to the Peace, but
" to the Diſturbance of the Kingdom; the beſt Way
" therefore to produce a ſettled Peace is to preſs vigo-
" rouſly the Act of Uniformity."

Remarks. The Reader will judge of the Force of theſe Reaſons, which, in my Opinion, would juſtify the ſevereſt Perſecution in the World; However the King was convinced with a Sum of Money, and therefore made no other Reply, but that *he had been ill underſtood*. The Houſe then addreſſed him to put the Laws in Execution againſt Papiſts; and a Proclamation was iſſued out for that Purpoſe, but little regarded. However, this Oppoſition to the King and the *Roman* Catholicks, by Lord *Clarendon*, and his Friends in the Houſe of Commons, laid the Foundation of his Impeachment the next Year, and of his Ruin ſome Time after. Biſhop *Kennet* admits, That the King was inclined to a general Indulgence, " but whether it was from his good Nature,
" or a ſecret Inclination to introduce Popery, is not very
" decent to determine;" but both he and *Eachard* are of Opinion, " That the King's Clemency harden'd the
" Diſſenters againſt the Church; whereas, if they had
" loſt all Dependance on a Court Intereſt, and had
" found the King and his Miniſtry intent upon the
" ſtrict Execution of the Act of Uniformity, moſt of
" them (ſay they) would at this Juncture have con-
" formed."

p. 258.

Eachard, p. 806.

"formed." A notorious Miſtake! the contrary to which will be evident to a Demonſtration throughout the Courſe of this Reign. The Conformity of honeſt Men does not depend upon the Will, but the Underſtanding and Judgment; and 'tis very ungenerous at this Time a Day to impeach Men's Integrity, who underwent a long Courſe of the ſevereſt Trials to retain it. *King* Charles II. 1662.

Some of the ejected Preſbyterians, who were Men of Piety and Learning, went as far as they could, and made a Diſtinction between *Lay-Conformity*, and *Miniſterial*; they practiſed the former, and went ſometimes to their Pariſh Churches before or after the Exerciſe of their Miniſtry in ſome private Houſes; and this they did, not for Intereſt or Advantage, but to all Appearance, for Charity and Brotherly Love. Here was the Riſe of *Occaſional Conformity*, practiſed by Dr. *Bates*, Mr. *Baxter*, and others, to their Death; but this, inſtead of being well taken, was the Occaſion of bringing ſome of them into Trouble; for Mr. *Calamy*, late Miniſter of *Aldermanbury*, being at his Pariſh Church *December* 28. the Preacher happen'd to diſappoint them; upon which, at the Importunity of the Pariſhioners, Mr. *Calamy* went up into the Pulpit and preached a Sermon upon *Eli's Concern for the Ark of God*; a Subject much upon their Thoughts at that Time: But this was ſo highly reſented at Court that he was ſent to *Newgate* next Week for Sedition, in breaking the King's Laws. It was done *in Terrorem*, ſays my Author, but there was ſuch a Clamour among the People, and ſuch a Reſort of Perſons of Quality to the Priſoner, that his Majeſty thought fit to releaſe him in a few Days, which not being done by Courſe of Law, the Commons reſented it, and preſented an Addreſs, that the Laws for the future might have their free Courſe. This diſpleaſed the King, who was willing to ſupport his Prerogative, and ſhew ſome Favour to the Preſbyterians, that he might cover the Papiſts; but Lord *Clarendon*, who was their implacable

Riſe of Occaſional Conformity. Baxter's *Life*, Part II. P. 435. Compl. Hiſt. p. 267.

The Rev. Mr. Calamy *ſent to* Newgate.

Calamy, Vol. II. p. 6.

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cable Enemy, and at the Head of that Party which contrived their Ruin, oppoſed the Court Meaſures, and encouraged his Friends in both Houſes to abide by the Laws.

Rapin, p. 312, 313.

The following Summer there was a freſh Diſcourſe of Liberty for the ſilenced Miniſters; and the Court were ſo far in the Deſign as to encourage them to petition for a *general Toleration*, inſinuating this to be the only way of Relief, and that the Legiſlature would go on to encreaſe their Burdens, and lay them in Gaols till they complied. The *Independants* went up to Court to ſpeak for themſelves, but the *Presbyterians* refuſed; upon which Mr. *Baxter* ſays, the Independant Brethren thought it long of them that they miſſed of their intended Liberty. The Court being diſpleaſed, Lord *Clarendon* and his Friends took the Opportunity to ſtir them up againſt the Non-Conformiſts, by fathering upon them ſome new Plots againſt the Government. There was ſaid to be a Conſpiracy in the North among the Republicans and Separatiſts, to reſtore the Long Parliament, and put *Lambert* and *Ludlow* at their Head, tho' the former was ſhut up in Priſon in a remote Iſland, and the other in Baniſhment. There had been ſome unadviſed and angry Converſation among the meaner Sort of People of republican Principles, but it was not pretended that any Gentlemen of Character, much leſs that the Body of the *Engliſh* Non-Conformiſts were acquainted with it; however, about twenty were tried and condemned at *York* and *Leeds*, and ſeveral executed. Some very mean Perſons were tried at the *Old Baily* for a Branch of the ſame Deſign, as *Tongue*, *Philips*, *Stubbes*, *Hind*, *Sellars*, and *Gibbes*: They were not tried ſeparately, but ſet at the Bar together, and condemned in the Lump. It was pretended that the Fifth Monarchy Men, Anabaptiſts, Independants, and ſome Quakers, were conſenting to ſome deſperate Deſigns, but the Authors were never diſcovered; however, four of theſe pretended Conſpirators were executed, who confeſſed at the Place of Execu-

1663. *Sham Plot in the North.*

Baxter's *Life*, Part II. p. 430, 433.

K. Chr. p. 840, 841. Calamy, p. 305. Rapin, p. 310.

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Execution, that they had heard ſome treaſonable Expreſſions in Company, but denied to the laſt that they were acquainted with any Conſpiracy againſt the King; and whoever reads their Trials will be enclined to think, that it was a Deſign of thoſe who were at the Head of Affairs, to enflame the Populace againſt the Non-Conformiſts, in order to bring them under greater Severities.

Act for Relief of Non-Subſcribing Loyaliſts. 15 Car. II. Chap. 6.

An Act was paſſed this Summer *for the Relief of ſuch Perſons as by Sickneſs, or other Impediments, were diſabled from ſubſcribing the Declaration in the Act of Uniformity, and Explanation of the ſaid Act.* The Preamble ſets forth, "That divers Perſons of eminent Loyalty, "and known Affection to the Liturgy of the Church "of *England*, were out of the Kingdom; and others, "by reaſon of Sickneſs, Diſability of Body, or other-"wiſe, could not ſubſcribe within the Time limited, "and were therefore diſabled, and *ipſo facto* deprived "of their Prebendaries, or other Livings, therefore "further Time is given them to the Feaſt of the *Na-"tivity of our Lord* next enſuing; or if out of *Eng-"land*, forty Days after their Return:" Which ſhews, that the Time limitted by the Act of Uniformity was not ſufficient. The Journal of the Houſe of Lords mentions a Clauſe inſerted by their Lordſhips, explaining the *Subſcription* and *Declaration* to relate only to *Practice*, and *Obedience to the Law*, which paſſed the Upper Houſe, tho' ſeveral Lords proteſted againſt it, as deſtructive to the Church of *England*, but none of the Biſhops; however, when it came down to the Commons, the Clauſe was rejected, and the Lords did not think fit to inſiſt upon it.

1664. *Conventicle Act.* 16 Car. II. Chap. 4.

While the Parliament were relieving the Loyaliſts they encreaſed the Burdens of the Non-Conformiſts, for, taking Advantage of the late pretended Plots, they paſſed an Act for *ſuppreſſing ſeditious Conventicles*; the Preamble to which having ſet forth, that the Sectaries, under Pretence of tender Conſciences, at their Meetings had contrived Inſurrections, the Act declares

King Charles II. 1664.

clares the 35th of Queen *Elizabeth* to be in full force, which condemns all Perſons refuſing peremptorily to come to Church, after Conviction, to Baniſhment, and in caſe of Return, to Death, without Benefit of Clergy. It enacts further, "That if any Perſon "above the Age of ſixteen, after the firſt of *July*, "1664. ſhall be preſent at any Meeting, under Co- "lour or Pretence of any Exerciſe of Religion, in "other manner than is allowed by the Liturgy or "Practice of the Church of *England*, where ſhall be "five or more Perſons than the Houſhold, ſhall for "the firſt Offence ſuffer three Months Impriſonment, "upon Record made upon Oath under the Hand and "Seal of a Juſtice of Peace; or pay a Sum not ex- "ceeding five Pounds; for the ſecond Offence ſix "Months Impriſonment, or ten Pounds; and for the "third Offence the Offender to be baniſhed to ſome "of the *American* Plantations for ſeven Years, or pay "one hundred Pounds, excepting *New England* and "*Virginia*; and in caſe they return, or make their "Eſcape, ſuch Perſons are to be adjudged Felons, "and ſuffer Death without Benefit of Clergy. She- "riffs, or Juſtices of Peace, or others commiſſioned "by them, are empowered to diſſolve, diſſipate, and "break up all unlawful Conventicles, and to take in- "to Cuſtody ſuch of their Number as they think fit. "They who ſuffer ſuch Conventicles in their Houſes or "Barns are liable to the ſame Forfeitures as other Offen- "ders. The Proſecution is to be within three Months. "Married Women taken at Conventicles are to be "impriſoned for twelve Months, unleſs their Huſ- "bands pay forty Shillings for their Redemption. "This Act to continue in force for three Years after "the next Seſſion of Parliament."

Sad Conſequences of it to Miniſters and People.

This was a terrible Scourge upon the *Laity*, put into the Hands of a ſingle Juſtice of Peace, without the Verdict of a Jury, the Oath of the *Informer* being ſufficient. The Deſign of the Parliament (ſays *Rapin*) was to drive them to Deſpair, and to force them into real

real Crimes againſt the Government. By virtue of this Act the Gaols in the ſeveral Counties were quickly filled with diſſenting Proteſtants, while the Papiſts had the good Fortune to be covered under the Wing of the Prerogative. Some of the Miniſters who went to Church in Sermon Time, were diſturbed for preaching to a few of their Pariſhioners after the publick Service was over; their Houſes were broke open, and their Hearers taken into Cuſtody; Warrants were iſſued out for levying twenty Pounds on the Miniſter, twenty Pounds upon the Houſe, and five Shillings upon each Hearer. If the Money was not immediately paid there was a Seizure of their Effects, the Goods and Wares were taken out of the Shops; and in the Country, Cattle were driven away and ſold for half the Value. If the Seizure did not anſwer the Fine the Miniſter and People were hurried to Priſon, and put under cloſe Confinement for three or ſix Months. The Trade of an *Informer* began to be very gainful, by the Encouragement of the Spiritual Courts. At every Quarter Seſſions ſeveral were fined for not coming to Church, and others excommunicated; nay, ſome have been ſentenced to abjure the Realm, and fined in a Sum much larger than all they were worth in the World.

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Before the Conventicle Act took place the People were couragious, and exhorted their Miniſters to preach till they went to Priſon; but when it came home to themſelves, and they had been once in Gaol, they began to be more cautious, and conſulted among themſelves, how to avoid the Edge of the Law in the beſt manner they could; for this Purpoſe their Aſſemblies were frequently held at Midnight, and in the moſt private Places; and yet, notwithſtanding all their Caution, they were frequently diſturbed; but 'tis remarkable, that under all their Hardſhips they never made the leaſt Reſiſtance, but went quietly along with the Soldiers or Officers, when they could not fly from them. The Diſtreſs of ſo many Families made ſome confine themſelves

Their cautious Conduct. Baxter, p. 436.

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themſelves within their own Houſes, ſome remove to the Plantations, and others have recourſe to *Occaſional Conformity*, to avoid the Penalty for not coming to Church; but the *Independants*, *Anabaptiſts*, and *Quakers*, declined the Practice, for they ſaid, If *Perſecution* was the Mark of a falſe Church, it muſt be abſolutely unlawful to join with One that was ſo notoriouſly guilty.

Sufferings of the Quakers. Sewel, p. 445.

Indeed the *Quakers* gloried in their Sufferings, and were ſo reſolute as to aſſemble openly at the *Bull* and *Mouth* near *Alderſgate*, from whence the Soldiers and other Officers, drag'd them to Priſon, till *Newgate* was filled, and Multitudes died by cloſe Confinement in the ſeveral Gaols. The Account publiſhed about this Time ſays, there were ſix hundred of them in Priſon, *merely for Religion ſake*, of whom ſeveral were baniſhed to the Plantations. Sometimes the *Quakers* met and continued ſilent, upon which it was queſtioned, whether ſuch an Aſſembly was a *Conventicle for Religious Exerciſe*; and when ſome were tried for it in order to Baniſhment, they were acquitted of the Baniſhment, and came off with a Fine, which they ſeldom paid, and were therefore continued in Priſon. In ſhort, the Quakers about *London* gave ſuch full Employment to the *Informers* that they had leſs leiſure to attend the Meetings of other Diſſenters.

And Others.

So great was the Severity of theſe Times, and the arbitrary Proceedings of the Juſtices, that many were afraid to pray in their Families, if above four of their Acquaintance who came only to viſit them were preſent. Some ſcrupled aſking a Bleſſing on their Meat, if five Strangers beſides the Family were at Table. In *London*, where the Houſes join, it was thought the Law might be evaded if the People were in ſeveral Houſes, and heard the Miniſter through a Window or Hole in the Wall; but it ſeems this was over-ruled, the Determination being (as has been obſerved) in the Breaſt of a ſingle mercenary Juſtice of Peace. And while conſcientious People were thus oppreſſed, the com-

common People gave themſelves up to Drunkenneſs, prophane Swearing, Gaming, Lewdneſs, and all kinds of Debauchery, which brought down the Judgments of Heaven upon the Nation. *King* Charles II. 1665.

The firſt general Calamity that befel the Kingdom, was a War with the *Dutch*, which the King enter'd into this Winter, by the Inſtigation of the young *French* Monarch, *Lewis* XIV. who being grown rich by a long Peace, ſought for an Opportunity to make new Conqueſts in the *Spaniſh Flanders*; for this Purpoſe he engaged the maritime Powers in a War, that by weakening each others Hands they might not be at leiſure to aſſiſt the *Spaniards* whom he intended to aſſault. The *Engliſh* made Complaints of the Encroachments of the *Dutch* upon their Trade, and Indignities offered to his Majeſty's Subjects in *India*, *Africa*, and elſewhere; the *French* promoted theſe Miſunderſtandings, and promiſed to ſupply the King with what Sums of Money he wanted; till at length War was proclaimed *Feb.* 22. 1664-65. in the Courſe of which ſundry bloody Engagements happened at Sea; the two Nations were drained of their Blood and Treaſure, and the Proteſtant Intereſt almoſt ruined, while the *French* did little more than look on. The War continued about two Years and a half, and then ended with no manner of Advantage to either Nation. *War with the* Dutch.

The next Judgment which befel the Nation was the moſt dreadful *Plague* that had been known within the Memory of Man. This was preceded by an unuſual Drought; the Meadows were parched and burnt up like the Highways, inſomuch that there was no Food for the Cattle, which occaſioned firſt a Murrain among them, and then a general Contagion among Mankind, which encreaſed in the City and Suburbs of *London* till eight or ten Thouſand died in a Week. The richer Inhabitants fled into the remoter Counties; but the Calamities of thoſe who ſtay'd behind, and of the poorer Sort, are not to be expreſſed. Trade was at a full ſtand; all Commerce between *London* and the 1665. *The Plague.*

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Country was entirely cut off; no body would receive their Wares. Nay, the Country Houſe-Keepers and Farmers durſt not entertain their City Friends or Relations till they had performed Quarentine in the Fields or Out-Houſes. If a Stranger paſſed through the Neighbourhood they fled from him as an Enemy. In *London* the Shops and Houſes were quite ſhut up, and many of them marked with a red Croſs, and an Inſcription over the Door, *Lord have Mercy upon us!* Graſs grew in the Streets; and every Night the Bell-Man went his Rounds with a Cart, crying, *Bring out your Dead.* From *London* the Plague ſpread into the neighbouring Towns and Villages, and continued near three Quarters of a Year, till it had ſwept away almoſt one hundred thouſand of the Inhabitants.

Ejected Miniſters venture to preach publickly. Baxter's *Life*, Part III. p. 2.

Some few of the eſtabliſhed Clergy, with a commendable Zeal, ventured to continue in their Stations, and preach to their Pariſhioners throughout the Courſe of the Plague, as Dr. *Walker*, Dr. *Horton*, Dr. *Meriton*, and a few others; but moſt of them fled, and deſerted their Pariſhes at a Time when their Aſſiſtance was moſt wanted; upon this ſome of the ejected Miniſters ventur'd to preach in the vacant Pulpits, imagining that ſo extraordinary a Caſe would juſtify their Diſregard to the Penal Laws. The Miniſters who ventur'd on this Undertaking were the Reverend Mr. *Thomas Vincent*, Mr. *Cheſter*, Mr. *Janeway*, Mr. *Turner*, *Grimes*, *Franklin*, and others. The Face of Death, and the Arrows that fled among the People in Darkneſs at Noon-Day, awakened both Preachers and Hearers: Many who were at Church one Day were thrown into their Graves the next; the Cry of great Numbers was, *What ſhall we do to be ſaved?* Such an awful Time *England* never ſaw!

Which brings them under further Hardſhips. Baxter's *Life*, Part III. p. 3.

But it will amaze all Poſterity, that in a Time both of War and of the Plague, and when the Non-Conformiſt Miniſters were hazarding their Lives in the Service of the poor diſtreſſed Citizens of *London*, that the prime Miniſter and his Creatures, inſtead of Mourning for the Nation's Sins, and meditating a Reformation of

of Manners, ſhould pour out all their Vengeance upon the Non-Conformiſts, in order to make their Condition more inſufferable. One would have thought ſuch a Judgment from Heaven, and ſuch a Behaviour of the ejected Miniſters, ſhould have ſoften'd the Minds of their moſt cruel Enemies; but the Preſbyterians muſt be cruſhed, let God or Providence ſay what they will to the contrary. Biſhop *Kennet* and Mr. *Eachard* would excuſe the Miniſtry by alledging, that ſome of the old *Oliverian Officers* were liſted in the *Dutch* Service; which, if true, was nothing to the Preſbyterians, tho' Lord *Clarendon* did what he could to incenſe the Parliament, and make them believe they were in Confederacy with the Enemies to the Government. In his Harangue to the Houſes he ſays, "their Countenances "were more erect, and more inſolent ſince the begin- "ing of the War than before; that they were ready, "if any Misfortune had befallen the King's Fleet, to "have brought the War into our Fields and Houſes. "The horrid Murderers of our late Royal Maſter have "been received into the moſt ſacred Councils in *Hol-* "*land*; and other infamous Perſons of our Nation "are admitted to a Share in the Conduct of their Af- "fairs with liberal Penſions. Too many of his Maje- "ſty's Subjects have been liſted in their Service for a "Maintenance —— Their Friends at home made no "doubt of doing the Buſineſs themſelves, if they could "pitch upon a lucky Day to begin the Work —— If "you carefully provide for ſuppreſſing your Enemies "at home, you will find your Enemies abroad more "enclined to Peace ——" Is it poſſible that ſuch a Speech could proceed from the Lips of a faithful Counſellor who was to aſk for Money to carry on the War? Could the Chancellor think, that the Way to conquer abroad was to divide and oppreſs the King's Subjects at home, in the midſt of a terrible Plague? He confeſſed afterwards, that he was moſt averſe to this War, and abhor'd it from his very Soul, and yet he makes a handle of it to rain down Vengeance on the Preſbyterians, who

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Eachard, p. 824.

Lord Clarendon's *Speech for it.*

Ib. p. 846.

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who had no Concern in it; but it happen'd to them as in Popiſh Countries, when any general Calamity befals the People, it is imputed to too great an Indulgence to *Hereticks*, and the Vengeance falls upon their Heads. Biſhop *Burnet* is of Opinion, that the *Oxford Act* was rather owing to the Liberty the Non-Conformiſts took in their Sermons to complain of their own Hardſhips, and to lament the Vices of the Court, as the Cauſes of the preſent Calamities. And if this were true, it was not without juſt Reaſon.

The Oxford *five Mile Act.* 17 Car. II. Chap. 2.

However, the Load was to lie on the Diſſenting Miniſters, and therefore an Act was brought into the Houſe to baniſh them from their Friends, which had the Royal Aſſent, *October* 31. 1665. It was entituled, *An Act to reſtrain Non-Conformiſts from inhabiting Corporations*; the Preamble to which ſets forth, "That "divers Parſons, and others in Holy Orders, not ha- "ving ſubſcribed the Act of Uniformity, have taken "upon them to preach in unlawful Aſſemblies, and to "inſtil the poiſonous Principles of Schiſm and Rebel- "lion into the Hearts of his Majeſty's Subjects, to "the great Danger of the Church and Kingdom. "Be it therefore enacted, that all ſuch Non-Confor- *The Oath.* "miſt Miniſters ſhall take the following Oath: *I* A.B. "*do ſwear, that it is not lawful upon any Pretence* "*whatſoever, to take Arms againſt the King; and* "*that I do abhor that traiterous Poſition of taking* "*Arms by his Authority, againſt his Perſon, or againſt* "*thoſe that are commiſſioned by him, in purſuance of* "*ſuch Commiſſions; and that I will not at any Time* "*endeavour any Alteration of Government either in* "*Church or State.* And all ſuch Non-Conformiſt "Miniſters ſhall not after the 24th of *March*, 1665. "unleſs in paſſing the Road, come, or be within five "Miles of any City, Town Corporate, or Borough "that ſends Burgeſſes to Parliament; or within five "Miles of any Pariſh, Town, or Place wherein they "have ſince the Act of Oblivion been Parſon, Vicar "or Lecturer, *&c.* or when they have preached in

"any

" any Conventicle on any Pretence whatſoever, be- *King*
" fore they have taken and ſubſcribed the aboveſaid Charles II.
" Oath before the Juſtices of Peace at their Quarter 1665.
" Seſſions for the County, in open Court; upon For-
" feiture for every ſuch Offence of the Sum of Forty
" Pounds, one third to the King, another third to
" the Poor, and a third to him that ſhall ſue for it.
" And it is further enacted, That ſuch as ſhall refuſe
" the Oath aforeſaid ſhall be incapable of teaching any
" publick or private Schools, or of taking any Board-
" ers or Tablers to be taught or inſtructed, under pain
" of Forty Pounds, to be diſtributed as above. Any
" two Juſtices of Peace, upon Oath made before
" them of any Offence committed againſt this Act,
" are empowered to commit the Offender to Priſon
" for ſix Months, without Bail or Mainprize."

The Earl of *Southampton*, Lord *Wharton*, *Aſhley*, Dr. *Earl* Biſhop of *Salisbury*, and others, vehemently oppoſed this Bill, out of Compaſſion to the Non-Conformiſts, and as it enforced an unlawful and unjuſtifiable Oath, which (as the Earl of *Southampton* obſerved) *No honeſt Man could take*; but the Madneſs of the Times prevailed againſt all Reaſon and Humanity. The Promoters of the Act were Lord Chancellor *Clarendon*, Archbiſhop *Sheldon*, *Ward* Biſhop of *Salisbury*, and their Creatures, with all that were ſecret Favourers of Popery (ſays Biſhop *Burnet*.) It was moved that the Word *legally* might be inſerted in the Oath, before the Word *commiſſioned*; and that before the Words *Endeavour to change the Government*, might be inſerted the Word *unlawfully*, but all was rejected; however, one of the Judges on the Bench declaring, that the Oath muſt be ſo underſtood, Dr. *Bates* and about twenty others took it, to avoid the Imputation of Sedition; but they had ſuch a Lecture afterwards from the Bench for their Scruples, that they repented of what they had done before they went out of Court. Mr. *Howe*, and about twelve in *Devonſhire*, took it, and a few in *Dorſetſhire*, with a Declaration in what

Baxter, Part III. p. 3. Burnet, p. 225.

Baxter, p. 15.

Some few take the Oath. Howe's *Life.*

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what Senſe and with what Limitations they underſtood it.

But the Generality refuſe and go into Baniſhment. Baxter, Part III. p. 4. Burn. p. 226.

But the Body of Non-Conformiſt Miniſters refuſed the Oath, chooſing rather to leave their Habitations, their Relations and Friends and all viſible Support, than deſtroy the Peace of their Conſciences. Thoſe Miniſters who had ſome little Eſtate or Subſtance of their own, retired to ſome remote and obſcure Villages, or ſuch little Market Towns as were not Corporations, and more than five Miles from the Place where they had preached; but in many Counties it was difficult to find ſuch Places of Retirement, for either there were no Houſes untenanted, or they were annexed to Farms which the Miniſters were not capable of uſing; or the People were afraid to admit the Miniſters into their Houſes leſt they ſhould be ſuſpected as Favourers of Non-Conformity. Some took Advantage of the Miniſters Neceſſities, and raiſed their Rents beyond what they were able to give. Great Numbers were thus buried in Obſcurity, but others who had neither Money nor Friends, went on Preaching as they could, till they were ſent to Priſon, thinking it more elegible to periſh in a Goal than to ſtarve out of one; eſpecially when by this Means they had ſome occaſional Relief from their Hearers, and Hopes that their Wives and Children might be ſupported after their Death. Many who lay concealed in diſtant Places from their Flocks in the Day-time, rid thirty or forty Miles to preach to them in the Night, and retired again before Day-light. Theſe Hardſhips tempted ſome few to conform (ſays Mr. *Baxter*) contrary to their former Judgments; but the Body of Diſſenters remained ſtedfaſt to their Principles, and the Church gained neither Reputation nor Numbers. The *Informers* were very diligent in hunting after their Game, and the Soldiers and Officers behaved with great Rudeneſs and Violence: When they miſſed of the Miniſters they went into the Barns and Out-Houſes, and ſometimes thruſt their Swords up to the Hilts in the Hay

Baxter's Life, Part III. p. 15.

and Straw, where they ſuppoſed they might lie concealed; they made Havock of their Goods, and terrified the Women and Children almoſt out of their Lives. Theſe Methods of Cruelty reduced many Miniſters with their Families to the Neceſſity of living upon brown Rye Bread and Water; but few were reduced to publick Beggary (ſays Mr. *Baxter*) the Providence of God appearing wonderfully for their Relief, in their greateſt Extremities. *King* Charles II. 1665.

But as if the Judgments of Heaven upon this Nation were not heavy enough, nor the Legiſlature ſufficiently ſevere, the Biſhops muſt throw their Weight into the Scale; for in the very midſt of the Plague, *July* 7. 1665. Archbiſhop *Sheldon* ſent Orders to the ſeveral Biſhops of his Province to make a Return of the Names of all ejected Non-Conformiſt Miniſters, with their Places of Abode, and Manner of Life; and the Returns of the ſeveral Biſhops are ſtill kept in the *Lambeth* Library; the Deſign of the Scrutiny was to gird the Laws cloſer upon the Diſſenters, and to know by what means they got their Bread; and if this tender-hearted Archbiſhop could have had his Will, they muſt have ſtarved, or gone into foreign Countries for a Livelihood. *Names of* Non-Con. *Miniſters regiſter'd in the Bps. Courts.* Comp. Hiſt. Vol. III. p. 279.

This Year put an End to the Life of Dr. *Cornelius Burges*, a Divine of the Puritan Stamp educated at *Oxford*, and Chaplain to King *Charles* I. He ſuffered much by the High Commiſſion Court, but taking Part with the Parliament he was choſen one of thoſe pacifick Divines that met at the *Jeruſalem Chamber* to accommodate Differences in the Church: He often preached before the Houſe of Commons, and was one of the Aſſembly of Divines, but refuſed to take the Covenant till he was ſuſpended. He was ejected at the Reſtoration from St. *Andrews* in the City of *Wells* in *Somerſetſhire*, but having laid out all his Money in Biſhops Lands, he was reduced to Poverty and Want. He appeared at the Head of the *London* Divines againſt bringing the King to his Trial, and was eſteemed a *Death of Dr.* Burges.

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very learned and judicious Divine. He died at his Houſe at *Watford*, *June* 1665.

And of Dr. Cheynel.

We have already remember'd Dr. *Cheynel* among the *Oxford* Profeſſors, a Man of great Abilities, and a Member of the Aſſembly of Divines. He quitted his Preferments in the Univerſity for refuſing to take the *Engagement*, and was ejected from the rich Living of *Petworth* at the Reſtoration, but never advanced his Fortune by any of his Preferments. 'Tis reported that he was ſometimes diſordered in his Head, but he was perfectly recovered ſome Years before his Death, which happened at his Houſe near *Brighthelmſtone* in *Suſſex*, *September* 1665.

1666. *The Fire of* London.

The Vices and Immoralities of the Nation not being ſufficiently puniſhed by the *War* and *Plague*, it pleaſed Almighty God this Year to ſuffer the City of *London* to be laid in Aſhes by a dreadful *Conflagration*, which began behind the *Monument* in *Pudding-Lane*, *September* 2. and within three or four Days conſumed thirteen thouſand two hundred Dwelling-Houſes, and eighty nine Churches, among which was the Cathedral of St. *Paul*'s; many publick Structures Schools Libraries and ſtately Edifices. Multitudes of People loſt their Eſtates, their Goods and Merchandize, and ſome few their Lives; the King the Duke of *York* and many of the Nobility, were Spectators of the Deſolation, but had not Power to ſtop it, till at length it ceaſed almoſt as wonderfully as it began. *Moorfields* was filled with Houſhold Goods, and the People were forced to lie in Huts and Tents: Many Families who the laſt Week were in large Circumſtances, were now reduced to Beggary, and obliged to begin the World again. The Authors of this *Fire* were ſaid to be the *Papiſts*, as appears by the Inſcription upon the Monument. The Parliament being of this Perſuaſion petitioned the King to iſſue out a Proclamation, requiring all Popiſh Prieſts and Jeſuits to depart the Kingdom within a Month, and appointed a Committee who received Evidence of ſome Papiſts that were ſeen to throw

throw Fire-Balls into Houſes, and of others who had Materials for it in their Pockets; but the Men were gone, and none ſuffered but one *Hubert* a *French* Man by his own Confeſſion. *King* Charles II. 1666.

In this general Confuſion, the Churches being burnt, and many of the Pariſh Miniſters gone, for want of Places of Worſhip, the Non-Conformiſts reſolved again to ſupply the Neceſſities of the People; and it was thought hard to hinder Men from worſhipping God any way they could at this Time; ſome Churches were raiſed of Boards, which they called *Tabernacles*; and the Diſſenters fitted up large Rooms with Pulpits Seats and Galleries, for the Reception of as many as would come. Dr. *Manton* had his Rooms full in *Covent-Garden*; Mr. *Tho. Vincent*, Mr. *Doolittle*, Dr. *Turner*, Mr. *Grimes*, Mr. *Jenkyns*, Mr. *Nath. Vincent*, Dr. *Jacomb*, Mr. *Watſon*, had their ſeparate Meetings in other Places. The Independants alſo, as Dr. *Owen*, Dr. *Goodwin*, Mr. *Griffiths*, *Brooks*, *Caryl*, *Barker*, *Nye*, and others, began the ſame Practice; many Citizens frequented the Meetings, where the Liturgy was not read; tho' the few Pariſh Pulpits that remained were filled with very able Preachers; as Dr. *Tillotſon*, *Stillingfleet*, *Patrick*, *White*, *Gifford*, *Whitchcot*, *Horton*, *Meriton*, &c. But none of theſe Calamities had any further Influence upon the Court Prelates, than that they durſt not at preſent proſecute the Preachers ſo ſeverely as before. *Produces a Sort of Liberty to the* Non-Conformiſts. Baxter's *Life*, p. 19.

Among the Non-Conformiſt Miniſters that died this Year, were the Reverend Mr. *Edmund Calamy*, B. D. the ejected Miniſter of *Aldermanbury*, born in *London*, 1600. and bred in *Pembroke Hall*, *Cambridge*; he was firſt Chaplain to Dr. *Felton*, Biſhop of *Ely*; and afterwards ſettled at St. *Edmundsbury*, from whence after ten Years, he with thirty other Miniſters, were driven out of the Dioceſe by Biſhop *Wren*'s Viſitation Articles and the Book of Sports. Upon the Death of Dr. *Stoughton*, 1639. he was choſen to *Aldermanbury*, where he ſoon gained a vaſt Reputation. He was one *Death of Mr.* Calamy. Abridg. p. 4.

King Charles II. 1666.

of the Divines that met in the *Jeruſalem Chamber* for accommodating Eccleſiaſtical Matters in the Year 1641. He was afterwards a Member of the Aſſembly at *Weſtminſter*, and an active Man in all their Proceedings. He was one of the moſt popular Preachers in the City, and had a great Share in bringing home the King, but ſoon repented his having done it without a previous Treaty. He refuſed a Biſhoprick becauſe he could not have it upon the Terms of the King's Declaration; and ſoon after the *Bartholomew* Act was put into *Newgate* for Preaching an Occaſional Sermon to his Pariſhioners. He afterwards lived pretty much retired till this Year, when being driven in a Coach thro' the Ruins of the City of *London*, it ſo affected him, that he went home and never came out of his Chamber more, but died within a Month, in the 67th Year of his Age.

Of Mr. Jackſon. Calamy's Abridg. p. 3.

Mr. *Arthur Jackſon*, M. A. the ejected Miniſter of St. *Faith*'s was born about the Year 1593. and educated in *Cambridge*. He became Miniſter of St. *Michael*'s *Woodſtreet* in the Year 1625. when the Peſtilence raged in the City; and continued with his Pariſh throughout the whole Courſe of the Diſtemper. He was fined five hundred Pounds for refuſing to give Evidence againſt Mr. *Love*, and committed Priſoner to the *Fleet*, where he continued ſeventeen Weeks. At the Reſtoration he was choſen by the Provincial Aſſembly of *London* to preſent a Bible to the King at his publick Entrance. He was afterwards one of the Commiſſioners of the *Savoy*; and when the Uniformity Act took place, being old, he retired to a private Life, and died with great Satisfaction in his Non-Conformity, *Aug.* 5. 1665. in the Seventy fourth Year of his Age.

Dr. Spurſtow.

Dr. *William Spurſtow*, the ejected Miniſter of *Hackney*, was ſometime Maſter of *Katherine Hall*, *Cambridge*, but turned out for refuſing the *Engagement*. He was one of the Authors of *Smectymnuus*, a Member of the Aſſembly of Divines, and afterwards

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one of the Commiſſioners of the *Savoy*; a Man of great Learning Humility and Charity, and of a chearful Converſation: He lived through the *Sickneſs* Year, but died the following in an advanced Age. *King* Charles II. 1667.

This Year was memorable for the Fall of the great Earl of *Clarendon* Lord High Chancellor of *England*, who attended the King in his Exile, and upon his Majeſty's Reſtoration was made a Peer, and advanced to the high Dignity of Chancellor of *England*. He governed with a ſovereign and abſolute Sway as prime Miniſter for about two Years; but in the Year 1663. he was impeached of High Treaſon by the Earl of *Briſtol*; and tho' the Impeachment was dropt for want of ſome Form, his Intereſt at Court declined from that Time, and after the *Oxford* Parliament in 1665. his Lordſhip was out of all Credit. This Summer the King took the Seals from him, and on the 12th of *November* Sir *Edward Seymour* impeached him at the Bar of the Houſe of Lords, in the Name of all the Commons of *England* of High Treaſon, for ſundry arbitrary and tyrannical Proceedings contrary to Law, by which he had acquired a greater Eſtate than could be honeſtly gotten in that Time — For procuring Grants of the King's Lands to his Relations, contrary to Law —— For correſponding with *Cromwel* in his Exile —— For adviſing and effecting the Sale of *Dunkirk* —— For iſſuing out *Quo Warranto's* to obtain great Sums of Money from the Corporations — For determining Peoples Title to their Lands at the Council Table, and ſtopping Proceedings at Law, *&c.* The Earl had made himſelf obnoxious at Court by his magiſterial Air towards the King, and was grown very unpopular by his new and ſtately Palace at St. *James's*, built in a Time of War and Peſtilence, which coſt him fifty thouſand Pounds: Some called it *Dunkirk* Houſe, as being built with his Share of the Price of that Fortreſs; and others *Holland* Houſe, as if he had received Money from the King's Enemies in Time of War. The King's Marriage, which pro- 1667. *The Fall of the Earl of* Clarendon. Burnet, p. 251, 252.

King Charles II. 1667.

ved barren was laid to his Charge, and ſaid to be contrived for the Advancement of his Grand-Children by the Dutcheſs of *York*. When his Majeſty enclined to get rid of his Queen, and if poſſible to legitimate his Addreſſes to Miſs *Steward*, the Chancellor got her married privately to the Duke of *Richmond*, without the King's Knowledge, which his Majeſty was told was to ſecure the Succeſſion of the Crown to his Family. Theſe Things together with his high Oppoſition to the Roman Catholicks, and to all that were not of his Principles in Religion, procured him a great many Enemies, and ſtruck him quite out of the King's Favour. The Earl did not think fit to abide the Storm, but withdrew to *France*, leaving a Paper behind him, in which he denies almoſt every Article of his Charge; but the Parliament voted it ſcandalous, and ordered it to be burnt by the Hands of the common Hangman. *December* 18. his Lordſhip was baniſhed the King's Dominions for Life by Act of Parliament; he ſpent the remaining ſeven Years of his Life at *Roan* in *Normandy*, among Papiſts and Preſbyterians, whom he would hardly ſuffer to live in his own Country, and employed the chief of his Time in writing the Hiſtory of the grand Rebellion, which is in every one's Hands.

His Character.

The Earl of *Clarendon* was a Proteſtant of *Laudean* Principles in Church and State, and was at the Head of all the Penal Laws againſt the Non-Conformiſts to this Time. Biſhop *Burnet* ſays, "He was a good "Chancellor, but a little too rough; that he meddled "too much in foreign Affairs, which he never under- "ſtood well; that he had too much Levity in his "Wit, and did not obſerve the Decorum of his Poſt." Mr. *Rapin* adds, "That from him came all the "Blows aimed at the Non-Conformiſts ſince the Be- "ginning of this Reign. His immoderate Paſſion "againſt Preſbyterianiſm was this great Man's Foible. "He gloried in his Hatred of that People; and, per- "haps, contributed more than any other Perſon to

P. 95.

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" that Exceſs of Animoſity which ſubſiſts againſt them " at this Day among the Followers of his Maxims and " Principles." Mr. *Eachard* ſays, " His Removal " was a great Satisfaction to the Diſſenters;" directly contrary to Mr. *Baxter*, " who obſerves a remarkable " Providence of God, that he who had dealt ſo cruel- " ly by the Non-Conformiſts ſhould be baniſhed *by* " *his own Friends*, while the *others*, whom he had " perſecuted, were moſt moderate in his Cauſe, and " many of them for him. It was a great Eaſe that " befel good Men by his Fall (ſays he) for his Way " was to *decoy Men into Conſpiracies, or pretended* " *Plots, and upon thoſe Rumours innocent People were* " *laid in Priſon, ſo that no Man knew when he was* " *ſafe; whereas ſince his Time, tho' the Laws have* " *been made more ſevere, yet Men are more ſafe.*" His Lordſhip was a Perſon of very conſiderable Abilities, which have been ſufficiently diſplayed by his Admirers, but I have not been able to diſcover any of his great or generous Actions for the Service of the Publick; and how far his Conduct with regard to the Non-Conformiſts was conſiſtent with Honeſty, Religion or Honour, muſt be left with the Reader.

King Charles II. 1667.

Baxter, Part III. P. 20, 21.

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

From the Baniſhment of the Earl of Clarendon *to the King's Declaration of Indulgence in the Year* 1672.

King Charles II. 1667.

UPON the Fall of the great Earl of *Clarendon* the Diſcourſe of a Toleration began to revive: The King in his Speech to his Parliament, *Feb.* 10. has this Paſſage, "One Thing more I hold my ſelf obliged to recommend to you at this preſent, that is, that you would ſeriouſly think of ſome Courſe to beget a better Union and Compoſure in the Minds of my Proteſtant Subjects in Matters of Religion, whereby they may be induced not only to ſubmit quietly to the Government, but alſo chearfully give their Aſſiſtance to the Support of it." Sundry Pamphlets were publiſhed upon this Head; and the Duke of *Buckingham* being now prime Miniſter, the Non-Conformiſts about *London* were connived at, and People went openly to their Meetings without fear.

King moves for a Gen. Tol. Cal. 316.

Parliament petition to put the Penal Laws in Execution. Gazette, N° 242.

But the Houſe of Commons, who were yet govern'd by the pernicious Maxims of the late Chancellor, petitioned the King to iſſue out his Proclamation, for enforcing the Laws againſt Conventicles, and for preſerving the Peace of the Kingdom, againſt unlawful Aſſemblies of Papiſts and Non-Conformiſts. Accordingly his Majeſty iſſued out his Proclamation, that "upon Conſideration of the late Petition, and upon Information that divers Perſons in ſeveral Parts of the Realm (abuſing his Clemency, even while it was under Conſideration to find out a Way for the better Union of his Proteſtant Subjects) have of late frequently and openly, in great Numbers, and to the great Diſturbance of the Peace, held unlawful Aſſemblies and Conventicles, his Majeſty declares, that he will not ſuffer ſuch notorious Contempt of

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" the Laws to go unpuniſhed, but requires, charges, " and commands all Officers to be circumſpect and " vigilant in their ſeveral Juriſdictions, to enforce and " put the Laws in Execution againſt unlawful Con- " venticles, commanding them to take particular Care " to preſerve the Peace." *King* Charles II. 1667.

But the Sufferings of the Diſſenters began to raiſe Compaſſion in the Minds of the People, inſomuch that their Numbers viſibly encreaſed, partly through the Indulgence of the Court, and the Want of Churches ſince the Fire of *London*, and partly through the Poverty of the common People, who having little to loſe, ventur'd to go publickly to *Meetings* in defiance of the Laws. Beſides the Indolence of the eſtabliſhed Clergy, and the Vigilance of the Non-Conformiſt Miniſters, contributed very much to it. Biſhop *Burnet* ſays, " The King was highly offended at the Behavi- " our of moſt of the Biſhops; Archbiſhop *Sheldon* " and *Morley*, who kept cloſe by Lord *Clarendon*, " the great Patron of perſecuting Power, loſt the " King's Favour; the former never recovered it, and " the latter was ſent from Court into his Dioceſe. " When Complaint was made of ſome Diſorders and " Conventicles, the King ſaid the Clergy were chiefly " to blame, for if they had lived well, and gone " about their Pariſhes, and taken Pains to convince " the Non-Conformiſts, the Nation might have been " well ſettled, but they thought of nothing but to get " good Benefices, and keep a good Table." In another Converſation with the Biſhop, about the ill State of the Church, his Majeſty ſaid, " If the Clergy had " done their Parts it had been eaſy to run down the " Non-Conformiſts, but they will do nothing (ſays " the King) and will have me do every Thing; and " moſt of them do worſe than if they did nothing. " I have a very honeſt Chaplain (ſays he) to whom I " have given a Living in *Suffolk*, but he is a very " great Blockhead, and yet has brought all his Pariſh " to Church; I can't imagine what he could ſay to " them, *The ill Behaviour of the Bps. and Clergy.* p. 253, 258.

King Charles II. 1667.

" them, for he is a very ſilly Fellow; but he has been " about from Houſe to Houſe, and I ſuppoſe his " Nonſenſe has ſuited their Nonſenſe; and in reward " of his Diligence I have given him a Biſhoprick in " *Ireland.*" About this Time *Ralph Wallis*, a Cobler of *Glouceſter*, publiſhed an Account of a great Number of ſcandalous Conformiſt Miniſters, and named their Scandals, to the great Diſpleaſure of the Clergy; and I fear (ſays Mr. *Baxter*) to the Temptation of many Non-Conformiſts, who might be glad of any Thing to humble the Prelatiſts.

p. 23.

Death of Dr. Seaman.

The Learned Dr. *Lazarus Seaman*, the ejected Miniſter of *Allhallows Breadſtreet* died this Year, of whom we have given ſome Account among the *Cambridge* Profeſſors; he was educated in *Emanuel College*, and by his indefatigable Induſtry gained an high Reputation in the learned World for his exact Acquaintance with the oriental Languages; he was an able Divine; an active Member of the Aſſembly at *Weſtminſter*, and was taken Notice of by King *Charles* I. at the Treaty of the *Iſle of Wight*, for his ſingular Abilities in the Debates about Church Government. He was alſo Maſter of *Peter Houſe*, *Cambridge*, but loſt all at the Reſtoration; he underwent ſtrong Pains with admirable Patience, and at length died in Peace in the Month of *September*, 1667.

Of Mr. G. Hughes.

Mr. *George Hughes*, B. D. the ejected Miniſter of *Plimouth*, born in *Southwark*, and educated in *Corpus Chriſti College* in *Cambridge*. He was called to a Lecture in *London*, but was ſilenced for Non-Conformity by Archbiſhop *Laud*. After ſome Time he went to *Taviſtock*, and laſt of all ſettled at *Plimouth*, having Inſtitution and Induction from Dr. *Brownrigge* Biſhop of *Exeter*, in the Year 1644. Here he continued till the Year 1662. whence he was ejected a Week before the Act of Uniformity took Place. He was afterwards impriſoned in St. *Nicolas Iſland*, where he contracted an incurable Scurvy and Dropſy, which at length put an End to his Life. He was well read in

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the Fathers, an acute Diſputant, a moſt faithful Paſtor to a large Flock under his Care, and a moſt holy pious and exemplary Chriſtian. He had the greateſt Intereſt and Influence of any Miniſter in the Weſt Country, and was offered a rich Biſhoprick at the Reſtoration, but refuſed it. He was both charitable and hoſpitable when it was in his Power, and died at length in a moſt heavenly Manner, in the Month of *July*, 1667. and in the Sixty fourth Year of his Age. The Reverend Mr. *John Howe*, his Son in Law, compoſed a Latin Epitaph for him, which is inſcribed on his Tomb. *King* Charles II. 1667.

The Kingdom was at this Time full of Factions and Diſcontents, ariſing from the late Calamities of Fire and Plague, as well as the Burden of the War with the *Dutch*: Trade was at a Stand, and great Numbers of his Majeſty's Subjects were impoveriſhed by the Penal Laws; but that which ſtruck all conſiderate Men with a Panick, was the Danger of the Proteſtant Intereſt, and the Liberties of *Europe*, from the formidable Armies of the *French*, which this very Summer overran the *Spaniſh Flanders*, and took the ſtrong Towns of *Charleroy*, *Binch*, *Aeth*, *Douay*, *Tournay*, *Audenard*, *Liſle*, *Courtray*, *Furnes*, &c. which, with their Dependencies, were yielded in full Sovereignty to *France* by the Treaty of *Aix la Chapel*. The *Engliſh* Court ſeemed unconcerned at the *French* Conqueſts till they were awakened by the Clamours of the whole Nation; upon this Sir *William Temple* was ſent into *Holland*, who in a few Weeks concluded a tripple Alliance between *England*, *Holland*, and *Sweden*, which ſtrengthened the Proteſtant Intereſt while it ſubſiſted; but the *French* Miſtreſſes and Money could diſſolve the ſtrongeſt Bonds. 1668. *Unhappy State of the Nation.*

In this critical Situation of Affairs abroad, ſome Attempts were made to quiet the Minds of his Majeſty's Proteſtant Subjects at home, for Men began to think it high Time for Proteſtants to put a Stop to the pulling down their Neighbours Houſes, when the *Project of a Compreheſion.* Burnet, p. 259.

King Charles II. 1668.

the common Enemy was threatning the Deſtruction of them all; therefore Lord Keeper *Bridgman*, Lord Chief Juſtice *Hales*, Biſhop *Wilkins*, *Reynolds*, Dr. *Burton*, *Tillotſon*, *Stillingfleet*, and others, ſet on foot a *Comprehenſion* of ſuch as could be brought into the Church by ſome Abatements, and a *Toleration* for the reſt. But the Project was blaſted by the Court Biſhops, and Lord *Clarendon*'s Friends, who took the Alarm, and raiſed a mighty Out-cry of the Danger of the Church. No body (ſay they) knows where the Demands of the Preſbyterians will end; the Cauſe of the Hierarchy will be given up if any of thoſe Points are yielded, which have been ſo much conteſted; beſides, it is unworthy of the Church to court, or even treat with her Enemies, when there is ſo little Reaſon to apprehend that we ſhould gain much by it. But to this it was replied, that the prodigious Increaſe of Popery and Infidelity was a loud Call of Providence, to attempt every Thing that could be done without Sin for healing our Diviſions. That tho' the Non-Conformiſts could not legally meet together to bring in their Conceſſions in the Name of the Body, it was well enough known what they ſcrupled, and what would bring moſt of them into the Church. That a Compliance in ſome leſſer Matters of Indifference would be no Reproach, but an Honour to her, how much ſuperior ſoever the Church might be in point of Argument and Power.

Abſtract of the Propoſals. Baxter's *Life*, Part III. p. 25.

The Propoſals were drawn up by Biſhop *Wilkins* and Dr. *Burton*, and communicated by the Lord Keeper to Dr. *Bates*, *Manton*, and *Baxter*, and by them to their Brethren, under the following Particulars;

1. That ſuch Miniſters who in the late Times had been ordained only by Preſbyters, ſhould have the Impoſition of the Hands of a Biſhop, with this Form of Words, *Take thou Authority to preach the Word of God, and adminiſter the Sacraments in any Congregation of the* CHURCH of ENGLAND, *when thou ſhalt be lawfully appointed thereunto.*

2. That

2. That inſtead of all former Subſcriptions, after the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, they ſubſcribe the following Declaration: I *A. B.* do hereby profeſs and declare, that I approve the Doctrine, Worſhip, and Government eſtabliſhed in the Church of *England*, as containing all Things neceſſary to Salvation; and that I will not endeavour by my ſelf, or any other, directly or indirectly, to bring in any Doctrine contrary to that which is ſo eſtabliſhed. And I do hereby promiſe, that I will continue in the Communion of the Church of *England*, and will not do any Thing to diſturb the Peace thereof. *King* Charles II. 1668.

3. That the Geſture of Kneeling at the Sacrament, the Croſs in Baptiſm, and Bowing at the Name of Jeſus, be left indifferent, or taken away.

4. That if the Liturgy and Canons be altered in favour of Diſſenters, then every Preacher upon his Inſtitution ſhall declare his Aſſent to the Lawfulneſs of the Uſe of it, and promiſe, that it ſhall be conſtantly uſed at the Time and Place accuſtomed.

The Alterations propoſed to be made in the Liturgy, were theſe; *Alterations in the Liturgy.* Baxter's *Life*, p. 34.

To read the Pſalms in the new Tranſlation.

To appoint Leſſons out of the Canonical Scripture inſtead of the Apocrypha.

Not to enjoin God-Fathers and God-Mothers, when either of the Parents are ready to anſwer for the Child in Baptiſm. To omit that Expreſſion in the Prayer, *By ſpiritual Regeneration.* To change the Queſtion, *Wilt thou be baptized?* into, *Wilt thou have this Child baptized?* To omit thoſe Words in the Thankſgiving, *To regenerate this Infant by thy Holy Spirit, and to receive him for thy Child by Adoption.* And the firſt Rubrick after Baptiſm, *It is certain by God's Word*, &c. In the Exhortation after Baptiſm, inſtead of, *Regenerate and grafted into the Body*, to ſay, *received into the Church of Chriſt.* No Part of the Office of Baptiſm to be repeated in publick when the Child has been lawfully baptized in private.

To

King Charles II. 1668.

To omit this Paſſage in the Office of Confirmation, *After the Example of thy holy Apoſtles, and to certify them by this Sign of thy Favour, and gracious Goodneſs towards them.* And inſtead of, *vouchſafe to regenerate*, read, *vouchſafe to receive into thy Church by Baptiſm.*

To omit the Expreſſion in Matrimony, *with my Body I thee worſhip*; and that in the Collect, *Thou haſt conſecrated*, &c.

In the Viſitation of the Sick, Miniſters to be allowed to make uſe of ſuch Prayers as they judge expedient.

In the Burial of the Dead, inſtead of, *Foraſmuch as it has pleaſed Almighty God, of his great Mercy, to take unto himſelf*, &c. read, *Foraſmuch as it has pleaſed Almighty God to take out of this World the Soul*, &c. Inſtead of, *In ſure and certain Hope*, to read, *In a full Aſſurance of the Reſurrection by our Lord Jeſus Chriſt.* To omit the following Words, *We give thee hearty Thanks, for that it has pleaſed thee to deliver this our Brother out of the Miſeries of this ſinful World*; and theſe other, *As our Hope is this our Brother doth.*

In the Communion Service to change, *That our ſinful Bodies may be made clean by his Body*, into, *Our ſinful Souls and Bodies may be cleanſed by his precious Body and Blood.*

The Commination not to be enjoined.

The Liturgy to be abbreviated, eſpecially as to the Morning Service, by omitting all the Reſponſal Prayers, from, *O Lord, open thou*, &c. to the Litany; and the Litany, and all the Prayers, from, *Son of God, we beſeech thee*, &c. to, *We humbly beſeech thee, O Father.*

The Lord's Prayer not to be enjoined more than once (*viz.*) after the Abſolution, except after the Miniſters Prayer before Sermon.

The *Gloria Patri* to be uſed but once, after reading the Pſalms.

The *Venite Exultemus* to be omitted, unleſs it be thought fit to put any, or all of the firſt Seven among the Sentences at the beginning. *King Charles II. 1668.*

The Communion Service to be omitted when there are no Communion-Days, except the Ten Commandments, which may be read after the Creed; and enjoining the Prayer, *Lord have Mercy upon us, and incline our Hearts to keep theſe Laws*, only once, at the End.

The *Collects*, *Epiſtles*, and *Goſpels*, to be omitted, except on particular Holy Days.

The Prayers for the Parliament to be inſerted immediately after the Prayer for the Royal Family, in this or the like Form, *That it may pleaſe thee to direct and proſper all the Conſultations of the High Court of Parliament to the Advantage of thy Glory, the Good of the Church, the Safety, Honour, and Welfare of our Sovereign and his Kingdoms.*

To omit the two Hymns in the Conſecration of Biſhops, and Ordination of Prieſts.

In the Catechiſm, after the firſt Queſtion, *What is thy Name?* It may follow, *When was this Name given thee?* After that, *What was promiſed for you in Baptiſm?* Anſw. *Three Things were promiſed for me.* In the Queſtion before the Commandments, it may be altered thus, *You ſaid it was promiſed for you.* To the fourteenth Queſtion, *How many Sacraments hath Chriſt ordained?* The Anſwer may be, *Two only, Baptiſm and the Lord's Supper.*

Mr. *Baxter* propoſed further, That the Subſcription might be only to the Doctrinal Articles of the Church. That the Power of Biſhops, and their Courts, to ſuſpend and ſilence Men, might be limited. That the baptiſmal Covenant might be explicitely owned by all that come to the Sacrament. But it was replied, that more than what was abovementioned would not paſs with the Parliament.

King Charles II. 1668.

The Propoſals for a *Toleration* were communicated by Mr. *Baxter* to the Independants by Dr. *Owen*, and were to the following Effect.

An Indulgence for ſuch as could not be comprehended. Baxter's *Life*, Part III. p. 34, 36.

1. That ſuch Proteſtants who could not accept of the Propoſals for a *Comprehenſion* might have Liberty for the Exerciſe of their Religion in publick, and to build, or to procure Places for their publick Worſhip at their own Charges, either within or near Towns, as ſhall be thought moſt expedient.

2. That the Names of all ſuch Perſons who are to have this Liberty be regiſter'd, together with the Congregations to which they belong; and the Names of their Teachers.

3. That every one admitted to this Liberty be diſabled from bearing any publick Office, but ſhall fine for Offices of Burden.

4. Upon ſhewing a Certificate of being liſted among thoſe that are indulged, they ſhall be freed from ſuch legal Penalties as are to be inflicted on thoſe who do not frequent their Pariſh Churches.

5. Such Perſons ſo indulged ſhall not for their meeting in Conventicles be puniſhed by Confiſcation of Eſtates.

6. Provided they pay all publick Duties to the Pariſh where they inhabit, under penalty of ——

7. This Indulgence to continue three Years.

They are quaſhed by the Bps. Burnet, p. 260.

According to theſe Heads of Agreement a Bill was prepared for the Parliament by Lord Chief Juſtice *Hales*; but Biſhop *Wilkins*, an honeſt open-hearted Man, having diſcloſed the Affair to Biſhop *Ward*, in hopes of his Aſſiſtance, alarmed the Biſhops, who inſtead of promoting the Deſign, conſulted Meaſures to defeat it; for as ſoon as the Parliament met, Notice was taken that there were Rumours without Doors, of an Act to be offered for *Comprehenſion* and *Indulgence*, upon which a Vote was paſſed, that *no Man ſhould bring ſuch an Act into the Houſe.* And to cruſh the Non-Conformiſts more effectually, Archbiſhop *Sheldon*

don writ a circular Letter to the Biſhops of his Province, dated *June* 8. to ſend him a particular Account of the Conventicles in their ſeveral Dioceſes, and of the Numbers that frequented them; and whether they thought *they might be eaſily ſuppreſſed by the Civil Magiſtrate.* When he was provided with this Information he went to the King, and obtained a Proclamation to put the Laws in Execution againſt the Non-Conformiſts, and particularly againſt the *Preachers*, according to the Statute of 17th King *Charles* II. which forbids their inhabiting Corporations. *King* Charles II. 1668.

Thus the Perſecution was revived, and the Parliament ſtill bent on Severities, appointed a Committee to enquire into the Behaviour of the Non-Conformiſts, who reported to the Houſe, that divers Conventicles, and other ſeditious Meetings, were held in their very Neighbourhood, in defiance of the Laws, and to the Danger of the Peace of the Kingdom. General *Monk*, who was near his End, and ſunk almoſt into Contempt, was employed to diſperſe them, and received the Thanks of the Houſe for his Zeal in that important Service, wherein he was ſure to meet with no Oppoſition. They alſo returned his Majeſty Thanks, for his Proclamation for ſuppreſſing Conventicles, deſiring him to take the ſame Care for the future. By this Means the private Meetings of the Diſſenters, which had been held by Connivance, were broken up again. Mr. *Baxter* was committed to *Clerkenwell* Priſon, for preaching to his Neighbours in his own Houſe at *Acton*, and for refuſing the *Oxford* Oath; but upon demanding an *Habeas Corpus*, his *Mittimus* was declared invalid for want of naming the Witneſſes. The Juſtices would have mended their *Mittimus* and ſent him to *Newgate*, but Mr. *Baxter* being releaſed wiſely kept out of the way. Mr. *Taverner* of *Uxbridge* was ſentenced to *Newgate* for teaching a few Children at *Brentford*. Mr. *Button*, late Univerſity Orator, was ſent to Priſon for teaching two Knights Sons in his own Houſe; and Multitudes in many Counties

And the Perſecution revived.

Burnet, p. 98.

Gazette, N° 415.

Mr. Baxter *and others imprisoned.*

Life, Part III. p. 49.

King Charles II 1668.

had the like Uſage, ſuffering Impriſonment for ſix Months.

Not agreeable to the King's Inclinations. Baxter's *Life*, Part III. p. 37, 87.

But this was contrary to the King's Inclinations, who was only for playing the Diſſenters againſt the Parliament for a Sum of Money; when the Houſe therefore was up, his Majeſty ordered ſome of the Non-Conformiſts to be told, that he was deſirous to make them eaſy, and that if they would petition for Relief they ſhould be favourably heard. Sir *J. Barber*, Secretary of State, acquainted Dr. *Manton* with the King's Intention, upon which an Addreſs was drawn up and preſented to his Majeſty at the Earl of *Arlington*'s Lodgings by Dr. *Jacomb*, *Manton*, and *Bates*; the King received them graciouſly, and promiſed to do his utmoſt to get them comprehended within the Eſtabliſhment. He wiſhed there had been no Bars at all, but that he was forced to comply for Peace ſake, but that he would endeavour to remove them, tho' it was a Work of difficulty. He complained of the Umbrage that their numerous Aſſemblies gave to clamorous People, and adviſed them to uſe their Liberty with more Diſcretion hereafter. When the Miniſters promiſed Obedience, and aſſured his Majeſty of their ſteady Loyalty, and conſtant Prayers for the Proſperity of his Perſon and Government, he diſmiſſed them with a Smile, and told them, that *he was againſt Perſecution, and hoped e'er long to be able to ſtand upon his own Legs.* But his Majeſty's Promiſes were always to be bought off by a Sum of Money to ſupport his Pleaſures.

Debates without Doors. Baxter, Part III. p. 39.

The Controverſy of the *Reaſonableneſs of Toleration* was now warmly debated without Doors; many ill-natured Books were writ to expoſe the Doctrine of the Preſbyterians, as leading to *Antinomianiſm* and Licentiouſneſs of Manners. Others expoſed their Characters and Manner of Preaching. Among theſe muſt be reckoned *The Friendly Debate*, which, tho' writ by a good Man (ſays Biſhop *Burnet*) had an ill Effect in ſharpning People's Spirits too much againſt the Diſ-

The Friendly Debate. Burnet, p. 260.

ſenters:

ſenters: The Author was Dr. *Simon Patrick*, afterwards Biſhop of *Ely*, but now in the Heat of his Youth; who by aggravating ſome weak and unguarded Expreſſions endeavoured to expoſe the whole Body of Non-Conformiſt Miniſters to Contempt. But I muſt do this Prelate ſo much Juſtice as to inform the Reader, that in his advanced Age he declared his Diſſatisfaction with this part of his Conduct; for in a Debate in the Houſe of Lords about the *Occaſional Bill*, he ſaid, "He had been known to write againſt the Diſ-"ſenters with ſome warmth in his younger Years, "but that he had lived long enough to ſee Reaſon to "alter his Opinion of that People, and that Way of "writing." A rare Inſtance of Ingenuity and Candor! We ſhall have occaſion to mention Sir *Roger L'Eſtrange* hereafter. *King* Charles II. 1668.

But one of the moſt virulent Writers of his Time, under the Form of a Clergyman, was *Samuel Parker*, afterwards Biſhop of *Oxford*, a Man of conſiderable Learning and ſatyrical Vivacity, but of no Judgment, and as little Virtue; and as to Religion (ſays Biſhop *Burnet*) rather impious than otherwiſe; but at length *Andrew Marvel*, the livelieſt Wit of the Age, attack'd him in a burleſque Strain, and with ſo peculiar and entertaining a Manner, that from the King down to the Tradeſman, his Books were read with great Pleaſure. He had all the Men of Wit on his ſide, and not only humbled *Parker* more than the ſerious and grave Writings of Dr. *Owen*, but ſilenced the whole Party; one of whom concluded his Letter to Mr. *Marvel* with theſe Words, *If thou dareſt to print or publiſh any Lye or Libel againſt Dr.* Parker, *by the eternal God I will cut thy Throat.* Subſcribed *J. G.* All ſober Men were of Opinion, that it was ungenerous and cruel to treat a Number of peaceable Men, whom the Laws had put almoſt out of their Protection, in ſo ludicrous a Manner. Religion it ſelf ſuffer'd by it. I remember, ſays Lord Chief Juſtice *Hales*, that when *Ben Johnſon* in his Play of the *Alchymiſt* intro-

Sam. Parker *and* And. Marvel. Burnet, p. 260.

Rehearſal Tranſproſed, Part II. in Tit.

Rapin, p. 406.

King Charles II. 1668.

introduced *Anartus* in deriſion of the *Puritans*, with many of their Phraſes taken out of Scripture, in order to render that People ridiculous, the Play was deteſted and abhorred, becauſe it ſeemed to reproach Religion it ſelf; but now, when the Preſbyterians were brought upon the Stage in their peculiar Habits, and with their diſtinguiſhing Phraſes of Scripture, expoſed to the Laughter of Spectators, it met with Applauſe and Approbation.

Licentiouſneſs of the Court and City. Burnet, p. 262, 267. Rapin, p. 403.

But ſuch was the Complexion of the Court, that they bid Defiance to Sobriety and Virtue, and continued to give Countenance to all manner of Extravagance. The Play-Houſes were become Neſts of Proſtitution (ſays *Burnet*) and the Stage was defiled beyond Example; the King, Queen, and Courtiers, went about in Maſks, and came into Citizens Houſes unknown, where they danced with a great deal of wild Frolick, and committed Indecencies not to be mentioned. They were carried about in Hackney Chairs, and none could diſtinguiſh them but thoſe who were in the Secret. Once the Queen's Chairman not knowing who ſhe was, left her to come home in a Hackney Coach, ſome ſay in a Cart. *Buckingham*, who gloried in his Debaucheries, and *Wilmot* Earl of *Rocheſter*, the moſt licentious Wit of his Age, were the principal Favourites. To ſupport theſe Extravagancies the Houſe of Commons ſupplied the King with what Money he wanted, and were themſelves ſo mercenary, that the Purchaſe of every Man's Vote was known; for as a Man roſe in Credit in the Houſe he advanced his Price, and expected to be treated accordingly.

1669. *And Univerſity.*

The Univerſity was no leſs corrupt, there was a general Licentiouſneſs of Manners among the Students; the Sermons of the younger Divines were filled with Encomiums upon the Church, and Satyr againſt the Non-Conformiſts; the Evangelical Doctrines of Repentance, Faith, Charity, and practical Religion, were out of Faſhion. The Speeches and Panegyricks pro-

pronounced by the *Orators* and *Terrae Filius*, on publick Occaſions, were ſcurrilous, and little leſs than blaſphemous; as appears by the Letter in the Margin from Mr. *Wallis* to the Honourable *Robert Boyle*, Eſq*; of the Proceedings at the Opening of Archbiſhop *Sheldon*'s Theatre, which is copied *verbatim* from the Original under his own Hand. *King* Charles II. 1669.

About

* *A Letter from Mr.* John Wallis *to the Honourable* Robert Boyle, *Eſq; dated from* Oxford, July 17. 1669.

SIR,

AFTER my humble Thanks for the Honour of yours of *July* 3. I thought it not unfit to give you ſome Account of our late Proceedings here. *Friday*, *July* 9. was the Dedication of our new Theater. In the Morning was held a Convocation in it, for entering upon the Poſſeſſion of it; wherein was read, firſt the Archbiſhop's Inſtrument of Donation (ſealed with his Archiepiſcopal Seal) of the Theater, with all its Furniture, to the End that St. *Mary*'s Church may not be further profaned by holding the Act in it. Next, A Letter of his, declaring his Intention to lay out 2000*l.* for a Purchaſe to endow it. Then a Letter of Thanks to be ſent from the Univerſity to him, wherein he is acknowledged to be both our *Creator* and *Redeemer*, for having not only built a Theater for the Act, but, which is more, *delivered the bleſſed Virgin from being ſo profaned for the future*: He doth (as the Words of the Letter are) *non tantum condere, hoc eſt creare, ſed etiam redimere*. Theſe Words (I confeſs) ſtopped my Mouth from giving a *Placet* to that Letter when it was put to the Vote. I have ſince deſired Mr. *Vicechancellor* to conſider, whether they were not liable to a juſt Exception. He did at firſt excuſe it; but, upon further Thoughts, I ſuppoſe he will think fit to alter them, before the Letter be ſent and regiſter'd. After the voting of this Letter, Dr. *South* (as Univerſity Orator) made a long Oration; the firſt Part of which conſiſted of ſatyrical Invectives againſt *Cromwel*, Fanaticks, the Royal Society, and new Philoſophy. The next of Encomiaſticks; in praiſe of the Archbiſhop, the Theater, the Vicechancellor, the Architect, and the Painter. The laſt of Execrations; againſt Fanaticks, Conventicles, Comprehenſion, and new Philoſophy; damning them *ad Inferos*, *ad Gehennam*. The Oration being ended, ſome honorary Degrees were conferred, and the Convocation diſſolved. The Afternoon was ſpent in panegyrick Orations, and reciting of Poems in ſeveral Sorts of Verſe, compoſed in praiſe of the Archbiſhop, the Theater, *&c.* and crying down Fanaticks. The whole Action began and ended with a Noiſe of Trumpets; and

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Death of Mr. Newcomen.

About this Time died the Reverend Mr. *Matthew Newcomen*, M. A. the ejected Miniſter of *Dedham* in *Eſſex*; he was educated in St. *John's College*, *Cambridge*, and ſucceeded the famous Mr. *John Rogers*. He was a moſt accompliſhed Scholar and Chriſtian, a Member of the Aſſembly of Divines, and together with Dr. *Arrowſmith* and *Tuckney*, drew up their Ca-

twice was interpoſed Variety of Muſick, vocal and inſtrumental; purpoſely compoſed for this Occaſion. On *Saturday* and *Monday*, thoſe Exerciſes appertaining to the Act and Veſpers, which were wont to be performed in St. *Mary*'s Church, were had in the Theater. In which, beſide the Number of proceeding Doctors (nine in Divinity, four in Law, five in Phyſick, and one in Muſick) there was little extraordinary; but only that the *Terrae Filius* for both Days were abominably ſcurrilous; and ſo ſuffered to proceed without the leaſt Check or Interruption from Vicechancellor, Pro-Vicechancellors, Proctors, Curators, or any of thoſe who were to govern the Exerciſes; which gave ſo general Offence to all honeſt Spectators, that I believe the Univerſity hath thereby loſt more Reputation than they have gained by all the reſt: All, or moſt of the Heads of Houſes, and eminent Perſons in the Univerſity, with their Relations, being repreſented as a Company of Whore-Maſters, Whores, and Dunces. And, among the reſt, the excellent Lady, which your Letter mentions, was, in the broadeſt Language, repreſented as guilty of thoſe Crimes, of which (if there were Occaſion) you would not ſtick to be her Compurgator; and (if it had been ſo) ſhe might (yet) have been called *Whore* in much more civil Language. During this Solemnity (and for ſome Days before and ſince) have been conſtantly acted (by the Vicechancellor's Allowance) two Stage Plays in a Day (by thoſe of the Duke of *York*'s Houſe) at a Theater erected for that Purpoſe at the Town-Hall; which (for ought I hear) was much the more innocent Theater of the two. It hath been here a common Fame for divers Weeks (before, at, and ſince the Act) that the Vicechancellor had given 300 *l.* Bond (ſome ſay 500 *l.* Bond) to the *Terrae Filius*, to ſave them harmleſs, whatever they ſhould ſay, provided it were neither Blaſphemy nor Treaſon. But this I take to be a Slander. A leſs Encouragement would ſerve the Turn with ſuch Perſons. Since the Act (to ſatisfy the common Clamour) the Vicechancellor hath impriſoned both of them; and 'tis ſaid, he means to expel them. I am, *Sir*,

Your Honour's

Very humble and affectionate Servant,

John Wallis.

techiſm.

techiſm. He was one of the Commiſſioners of the *Savoy*, and had many Offers of Preferment in the late Times, but would not deſert his Church at *Dedham*, till he was turned out by the Act of Uniformity; after which he retired to *Holland*, and became Paſtor of the *Engliſh* Church at *Leyden*, where he died about this Time, univerſally lamented by the Profeſſors, for his humble and pleaſant Converſation, as well as his univerſal Learning and Piety. *King* Charles II. 1669.

Mr. *Joſeph Allein*, the ejected Miniſter of *Taunton*, and Author of the *Call to the Unconverted*, was born at the *Devizes* in *Wiltſhire*, and educated in *Lincoln College*, *Oxon*. He was publick Preacher in the Church of *Taunton* about ſeven Years, and was univerſally beloved for his great Piety and Devotion. After his Ejectment he preached as he had Opportunity ſix or ſeven Times a Week. *May* 26. 1663. he was committed to *Ilcheſter* Gaol, for ſinging Pſalms in his own Houſe, and preaching to his Family, Others being preſent: Here he continued a Year, but upon his Enlargement he returned again to his Work, which he followed with unwearied Diligence. *July* 10. 1665. he was committed a ſecond Time to Gaol with ſeveral other Miniſters, and forty private Perſons, where he contracted ſuch Diſtempers and Weakneſſes as brought him to his Grave before he was Thirty ſix Years of Age. He was an awakening lively Preacher, zealous and ſucceſsful in his Maſter's Work, and withal of a peaceable and quiet Spirit. He died in the Year 1668 or 69. *Of Mr.* Joſeph Allein.

The Tide in the Houſe of Commons ſtill run very ſtrong on the Side of Perſecution, as appears by two extraordinary Clauſes added to the Conventicle Act, which having expired ſome Time ſince was now revived by the Parliament which met *October* 19. The Court went into it with a View of reducing the Preſbyterians to the Neceſſity of petitioning for a *general Toleration*. " If we would have opened the Door to " let in Popery (ſays Mr. *Baxter*) that *their Tolera-* " *tion* might have been charged upon us, as done for " our 1670. *Conventicle Act revived.* Part III. P. 36.

King Charles II. 1670.

" our ſakes, and by our Procurement, we might in " all likelihood have had our part in it; but I ſhall ne- " ver be one of them who by any new Preſſures ſhall " conſent to petition for the Papiſts Liberty; no Craft " of Jeſuits or Prelates ſhall make me believe, that " it is neceſſary for the Non-Conformiſts to take this " Odium upon themſelves." The Court Biſhops were for the Bill, but the moderate Clergy were againſt it. Biſhop *Wilkins* ſpoke againſt it in the Houſe; and when the King deſired him in private to be quiet, he replied, That he thought it an ill Thing both in Conſcience and Policy, therefore as he was an *Engliſh*-Man, and a Biſhop, he was bound to oppoſe it; and ſince by the Laws and Conſtitution of *England*, and by his Majeſty's Favour, he had a Right to debate and vote, he was neither afraid nor aſhamed to own his Opinion in that Matter. However, the Bill paſt both Houſes, and received the Royal Aſſent *April* 11. 1670. It was to the following Effect; " That if any Perſons upwards of ſixteen Years, " ſhall be preſent at any Aſſembly, Conventicle or " Meeting, under Colour or Pretence of any Ex- " erciſe of Religion, in any other Manner than ac- " cording to the Liturgy and Practice of the Church " of *England*, where there are five Perſons or more " preſent, beſides thoſe of the ſaid Houſhold, in ſuch " Caſes the Offender ſhall pay five Shillings for the " firſt Offence; and ten Shillings for the ſecond. " And the Preachers or Teachers in any ſuch Meet- " ings ſhall forfeit twenty Pounds for the firſt, and " forty for the ſecond Offence. And laſtly, Thoſe " who knowingly ſuffer any ſuch Conventicles in their " Houſes, Barns, Yards, *&c.* ſhall forfeit twenty " Pounds. Any Juſtice of Peace on the Oath of two " Witneſſes, or any other ſufficient Proof, may re- " cord the Offence under his Hand and Seal, which " Record ſhall be taken in Law for a full and perfect " Conviction, and ſhall be certified at the next Quar- " ter Seſſions. The Fines above-mentioned may be

Burnet, p. 272.

Stat. 22 Car. II. Chap. 1. Rapin, p. 420.

" levied by Diſtreſs and Sale of the Offender's Goods " and Chattels, and in caſe of the Poverty of ſuch Offen- " der, upon the Goods and Chattels of any other Perſon " or Perſons that ſhall be convicted of having been pre- " ſent at the ſaid Conventicle, at the Diſcretion of the " Juſtice of Peace, ſo as the Sum to be levied on any " one Perſon, in caſe of the Poverty of others, do not " amount to above ten Pounds for any one Meeting; " the Conſtables, Headboroughs, *&c.* are to levy the " ſame by Warrant from the Juſtice, and to be di- " vided, one Third for the Uſe of the King, another " Third for the Poor, and *the other Third to the In-* " *former or his Aſſiſtants, regard being had to their* " *Diligence and Induſtry in diſcovering, diſperſing,* " *and puniſhing the ſaid Conventicles.* The Fines up- " on Miniſters for Preaching are to be levied alſo by " Diſtreſs; and in caſe of Poverty, upon the Goods " and Chattels of any other preſent; and the like upon " the Houſe where the Conventicle is held, and the " Money to be divided as above. *King Charles II. 1670.*

" And it is further enacted, That the Juſtice or " Juſtices of Peace, Conſtable, Headboroughs, *&c.* " may by warrant, with what Aid, Force and Aſſi- " ſtance they ſhall think neceſſary, break open, and " enter into any Houſe or Place where they ſhall be " informed of the Conventicle, and take the Perſons " ſo aſſembled into Cuſtody — And the Lieutenants, " or other commiſſioned Officers of the Militia, may " get together ſuch Force and Aſſiſtance as they think " neceſſary to diſſolve, diſſipate, and diſperſe ſuch un- " lawful Meetings, and take the Perſons into Cuſtody.

Then follow two extraordinary Clauſes, " That if " any Juſtice of Peace refuſe to do his Duty in the " Execution of this Act, he ſhall forfeit five Pounds. *The additional Clauſes.*

" And be it further enacted, That all Clauſes in this " Act *ſhall be conſtrued moſt largely and beneficially for* " *the ſuppreſſing Conventicles, and for the Juſtification* " *and Encouragement of all Perſons to be employed in* " *the Execution thereof.* No Warrant or *Mittimus*

" ſhall

King Charles II. 1670.

" ſhall be made void, or reverſed, for any Default in " the Form; and if a Perſon fly from one County or " Corporation to another, his Goods and Chattels " ſhall be ſeizable where-ever they are found. If the " Party offending be a Wife cohabiting with her " Huſband, the Fine ſhall be levied on the Goods " and Chattels of the Huſband, provided the Proſe- " cution be within three Months."

Remarks. The Wit of Man could hardly invent any Thing ſhort of capital Puniſhment more cruel and inhuman. One would have thought ſuch a merciful Prince as King *Charles* II. who had often declared againſt Perſecution, ſhould not have conſented to it, and that no Chriſtian Biſhop ſhould have voted for it. Mens Houſes are to be plunder'd, their Perſons impriſoned, their Goods and Chattels carried away, and ſold to thoſe who would bid for them. Encouragement is given to a vile Set of *Informers*, and others, to live upon the Labour and Induſtry of their conſcientious Neighbours. Multitudes of theſe ſordid Creatures ſpent their Profits in ill Houſes, and upon lewd Women, and then went about the Streets again to hunt for further Prey. The Law is to be conſtrued in favour of theſe Wretches, and the Power to be lodged in the Hand of every ſingle Juſtice of Peace, who is to be fined five Pounds if he refuſes his Warrant. Upon this many honeſt Men who would not be the Inſtruments of ſuch Severities left the Bench, and would ſit there no longer. Mr. *Eachard* being aſhamed to charge theſe Cruelties to the Influence of the Biſhops, ſays, " that " this and all the Penal Laws made againſt the Diſſen- " ters were the *Acts of the Parliament*, and not of the " *Church*, and were made more on a civil and politi- " cal, than upon a moral or religious Account; and " always upon ſome freſh Provocation in Reality or " Appearance." This is the Language by which the Patrons of High Church Cruelty endeavour to excuſe themſelves from the Guilt of Perſecution; but it muſt fall ſomewhere; and that it may not fall too heavy upon

Burnet, p. 270.

upon the Church, it is artfully, and with great good Manners caſt *entirely upon the Legiſlature*, and put upon the Score of Sedition, whereas it was well known the Diſſenters behaved peaceably, and were very far from diſturbing the State. Nor does the Preamble to the Act charge them with Diſloyalty, but only ſays; "That for the providing ſpeedy Remedies againſt the "Practices of ſeditious Sectaries, and others, who un- "der Pretence of tender Conſciences, have or *may* at "their Meetings contrive Inſurrections, be it enacted, "*&c.*" as if it was poſſible to do this in the Company of Women and Servants, who were always preſent in their Aſſemblies. It is therefore evident that the Act was levell'd purely againſt Liberty of Conſcience in Matters of Religion, and was ſo ſeverely executed, that (as Sir *Harry Capel* obſerves) there was hardly a Conventicle to be heard of, all over *England*. The two Houſes (ſays our Church Hiſtorian) were expreſs for the Execution of theſe Laws; the Biſhops and Clergy were ſincerely zealous in it, and the honeſt Juſtices and Magiſtrates (as he calls them) bore the more hard upon them, becauſe they ſaw them ſo bold in deſpiſing and evading the Juſtice of the Nation. *King* Charles II. 1670. p. 286.

Great Numbers were proſecuted on this Act, and many induſtrious Families reduced to Poverty. Many Miniſters were confined in Gaols and cloſe Priſons; and Warrants were iſſued out againſt them and their Hearers, to the Amount of great Sums of Money. In the Dioceſe of *Salisbury* the Perſecution was hotteſt, by the Inſtigation of Biſhop *Ward*; many Hundreds being proſecuted with great Induſtry, and driven from their Families and Trades. The Act was executed with ſuch Severity in *Starling*'s Mayoralty that many of the trading Men in the City were removing with their Effects to *Holland*, till the King put a Stop to it. *Informers* were every where at work, and having crept into Religious Aſſemblies in diſguiſe, levied great Sums of Money upon Miniſter and People. Soldiers broke into the Houſes of honeſt Farmers, under pre- *Methods of Perſecution.* Baxter's *Life*, Part II. P. 4. Burnet, P. 270, 271.

King Charles II. 1670.

tence of ſearching for Conventicles, and where ready Money was wanting they plunder'd their Goods, drove away their Cattel, and ſold them for half Price. Many were plunder'd of their Houſhold Furniture; the Sick have had their Beds taken from under them, and themſelves laid on the Floor. Should I ſum up all the Particulars, and the Accounts I have received (ſays Mr. *Sewel*) it would make a Volume of it ſelf. Theſe vile Creatures were not only encouraged, but puſhed on vehemently by their *ſpiritual Guides*; for this Purpoſe Archbiſhop *Sheldon* ſent another circular Letter to all the Biſhops of his Province, dated *May* 7. 1670. in which he directs all Eccleſiaſtical Judges and Officers, "to take Notice of all Non-Conformiſts, "Holders, Frequenters, Maintainers, and Abetters "of Conventicles, eſpecially of the Preachers or "Teachers in them, and of the Places wherein they "are held; ever keeping a more watchful Eye over "the Cities and greater Towns, from whence the Miſ-"chief is for the moſt part derived unto the leſſer "Villages and Hamlets. And whereſoever they find "ſuch wilful Offenders, that then with an hearty Af-"fection to the Worſhip of God, the Honour of the "King and his Laws, and the Peace of the Church "and Kingdom, they do addreſs themſelves to the "Civil Magiſtrate, Juſtices, and others concerned, "imploring their Help and Aſſiſtance for preventing "and ſuppreſſing the ſame, according to the late Act "in that behalf made and ſet forth —— And now my "Lord, what the Succeſs will be we muſt leave to "God Almighty; yet, my Lord, I have this Con-"fidence under God, that if we do our Parts now at "firſt ſeriouſly, *by God's Help, and the Aſſiſtance of "the Civil Power, conſidering the abundant Care and "Proviſion the Act contains for our Advantage*, we "ſhall in a few Months ſee ſo great an Alteration in "the Diſtractions of theſe Times, as that the ſeduced "People returning from their ſeditious and ſelf-ſeek-"ing Teachers to the Unity of the Church, and Uni-"formity

Sewel, p. 493.

Abp. Sheldon's *Letter to the Biſhops, &c.*

Calamy's Abridg. Vol. II. p. 328.

"formity of God's Worſhip, it will be to the Glory "of God, the Welfare of the Church, the Praiſe of "his Majeſty and Government, and the Happineſs of "the whole Kingdom." Can this be the Language of a Chriſtian and Proteſtant Biſhop? Or is it not more like a Father of the Inquiſition, or the Dragooning Commiſſion of *Lewis* XIV. when he revoked the Edict of *Nantz*? *King Charles II. 1670.*

Copies of this Letter were ſent by the Archdeacons to the Officers of the ſeveral Pariſhes within their Juriſdictions, earneſtly deſiring them to take eſpecial Care to perform whatſoever is therein required, and to give an Account at the next Viſitation. Many of the Biſhops choſe to lie behind the Curtain, and throw off the Odium from themſelves to the *Civil Magiſtrate*; but ſome of the more zealous could not forbear appearing in Perſon, as Biſhop *Ward*, already mentioned, and Biſhop *Gunning*, who often diſturbed the *Meetings* in Perſon; once finding the Doors ſhut, he ordered the Conſtable to break them open with a Sledge; another Time he ſat upon the Bench at the Quarter Seſſions, upon which the Chairman deſired his Lordſhip to give the *Charge*, which he refuſing, received a very handſome Rebuke; it being hardly conſiſtent with one that is an Ambaſſador of the Prince of Peace, to ſet in Judgment upon the Conſciences of his poor Countrymen and Neighbours, in order to plunder and tear them to pieces. The Biſhop was ſo zealous in the Cauſe, that he ſunk his Character by giving a publick Challenge to the *Presbyterians*, *Independants*, *Anabaptiſts*, and *Quakers*, and appointed three Days for the Diſputation; on the firſt of which his Lordſhip went into the Pulpit in the Church, where was a conſiderable Congregation, and charged the former with Sedition and Rebellion out of their Books, but would hear no Reply. When the Day came to diſpute with the *Quakers*, they ſummoned their Friends, and when the Biſhop railed, they paid him in his own Coin; and followed him to his very Houſe with repeated Cries, the *Hireling flyeth*. The

Zeal of Biſhop Gunning, and others, Calamy, p. 692.

Calamy's Abridg. Vol. II. p. 334.

King Charles II. 1670.

Diſtreſs of the Non-Conf. *Miniſters.*

The Non-Conformiſt Miniſters did what they could to keep themſelves within the Compaſs of the Law; they preached frequently twice a Day in large Families, with only four Strangers, and as many under the Age of ſixteen as would come; and at other Times in Places where People might hear in ſeveral adjoining Houſes; but after all, infinite Miſchiefs enſued, Families were impoveriſhed and divided; Friendſhip between Neighbours was interrupted; there was a general Diſtruſt and Jealouſy of each other; and ſometimes upon little Quarrels, Servants would betray their Maſters and ruin all their Affairs. Among others that ſuffered at this Time was Dr. *Manton*, who was apprehended on a Lord's Day in the Afternoon juſt as he had done Sermon, the Door being opened to let a Gentleman out the Juſtice and his Attendants ruſhed in and went up Stairs; they ſtay'd till the Doctor had ended his Prayer and then writ down the Names of the principal Perſons preſent, and took the Doctor's Promiſe to come to them at an Houſe in the Piazza's of *Covent Garden*, where they tender'd him the *Oxford Oath*, upon his Refuſal of which he was committed Priſoner to the *Gatehouſe*; where he continued till he was releaſed by the *Indulgence*. At another Time his Meeting-Houſe in *White Hart Yard* was broken up; the *Place* was fined forty Pounds, and the *Miniſter* twenty, which was paid by Lord *Wharton*, who was then preſent: They alſo took down the Names of the Hearers for the Benefit of the Juſtices of Peace and Spiritual Courts.

Manton's *Life*,

Courage of the Quakers. Burnet, p. 271.

The Behaviour of the Quakers was very extraordinary, and had ſomething in it that looked like the Spirit of Martyrdom. They met at the ſame Place and Hour as in Times of Liberty, and when the Officers came to ſeize them none of them would ſtir; they went all together to Priſon; they ſtay'd there till they were diſmiſſed, for they would not petition to be ſet at Liberty, nor pay the Fines ſet upon them, nor ſo much as the Gaol Fees. When they were diſcharged they

they went to their Meeting-Houſe again, as before; and when the Doors were ſhut up by Order, they aſſembled in great Numbers in the Street before the Doors, ſaying, they would not be aſhamed, nor afraid to diſown their Meeting together in a peaceable Manner to worſhip God; but in Imitation of the Prophet *Daniel*, they would do it more publickly becauſe they were forbid. Some called this Obſtinacy, others Firmneſs; but by it they carried their Point, the Government being weary of dealing with ſo much Perverſeneſs. *King* Charles II. 1670.

On the firſt of *September* two of their principal Speakers, *William Pen* and *William Mead*, were tried at the *Old Bailey* for an unlawful and tumultuous Aſſembly in the open Street, wherein they ſpake or preached to the People who were aſſembled in *Grace Church Street*, to the Number of three or four hundred, in contempt of the King's Laws, and to the Diſturbance of the Peace. The Priſoners pleaded *Not Guilty*, but met with ſome of the ſevereſt Uſage that has been known in an *Engliſh* Court of Juſtice. They were fined forty Marks a-piece for coming into Court with their Hats on, tho' it was not done out of Contempt, but from a Principle of their Religion. It appeared by the Witneſſes, that there was an *Aſſembly* in *Grace Church Street*, but there was neither Riot nor Tumult, nor Force of Arms. Mr. *Pen* confeſſed they were ſo far from Recanting, or declining to vindicate the Aſſembling themſelves to preach, pray, or worſhip the eternal, holy, juſt God, that they declared to all the World, they believed it to be their Duty, and that all the Powers on Earth ſhould not be able to divert them from it. When it was ſaid, They were not arraigned for worſhipping God, but for breaking the Law, *William Pen* affirmed he had broken no Law, and challenged the *Recorder* to tell him upon what Law he was proſecuted. The Recorder anſwered, upon the *Common Law*, but could not tell where that Common Law was to be found. *Pen* inſiſted upon *Trial of* Wm. Pen *and* Wm. Mead *at the* Old Bailey. State Trials.

King Charles II. 1670.

on his producing the Law, but the Court over-ruled him, and called him a troubleſome Fellow. *Penn* replied, "I deſign no Affront to the Court, but if you "deny to acquaint me with the Law you ſay I have "broken, you deny me the Right that is due to every *Engliſh*-Man, and evidence to the whole World "that your Deſigns are arbitrary." Upon which he was haled from the Bar into the *Bail Dock*. As he was going out he ſaid to the Jury, "If theſe fundamental Laws which relate to Liberty and Property "muſt not be indiſpenſably maintained, who can ſay "he has a Right to the Coat upon his Back? Certainly "then our Liberties are openly to be invaded, our Wives "to be raviſhed, our Children enſlaved, and our Eſtates "led away in Triumph by every ſturdy Beggar and "malicious Informer as their Trophies."

Injuſtice and Cruelty of the Court.

William Mead being left alone at the Bar, ſaid, "You Men of the Jury, I am accuſed of meeting by "*Force of Arms*, in a tumultuous Manner —— Time "was when I had Freedom to uſe a carnal Weapon, "and then I feared no Man; but now I fear the living God, and dare not make uſe thereof, nor "hurt any Man. I am a peaceable Man, and therefore demand to know upon what Law my Indictment is founded; if the Recorder will not tell what "makes a Riot, *Coke* will tell him, that it is when "three or more are met together to beat a Man, or "to enter forcibly into another Man's Lands, to cut "his Graſs or Wood, or break down his Pales." Upon this the Recorder having loſt all Patience, pulled off his Hat, and ſaid, I thank you, Sir, for telling me what the Law is. *Mead* replied, Thou may'ſt put on thy Hat, I have no Fee for thee now. The Mayor *Starling* told him, He deſerved to have his Tongue cut out, and ordered him likewiſe to be carried to the *Bail Dock*.

When the Priſoners were gone, the Recorder gave the Jury their Charge, upon which *William Penn* ſtood up, and with a loud Voice ſaid, "I appeal to the "Jury,

" Jury, and this great Aſſembly, Whether it be not " contrary to the undoubted Right of every *Engliſh-* " Man, to give the Jury their Charge in the Abſence " of the Priſoners." The Recorder anſwer'd with a Sneer, Ye are preſent, Ye do hear, Do ye not? *Penn* anſwered, No Thanks to the Court; I have ten or twelve material Points to offer in order to invalidate the Indictment, but am not heard. The Recorder ſaid, *Pull him down*; *Pull the Fellow down*. *Mead* replied, theſe were barbarous and unjuſt Proceedings; and then they were both thruſt into the Hole. *King* Charles II. 1670.

After the Jury had withdrawn an Hour and half, the Priſoners were brought to the Bar to hear their Verdict; eight of them came down agreed, but four remained above, to whom they uſed many unworthy Threats, and in particular to Mr. *Buſhel*, whom they charged with being the Cauſe of the Diſagreement. At length, after withdrawing a ſecond Time, they agreed to bring them in *Guilty of ſpeaking in* Grace Church Street; which the Court would not accept for a Verdict, but after many Menaces told them, they ſhould be lock'd up without Meat, Drink, Fire or Tobacco; nay, they ſhould ſtarve, unleſs they brought in a proper Verdict. *William Penn* being at the Bar, ſaid, " My Jury ought not to be thus threa- " ten'd. We were by Force of Arms kept out of our " Meeting-Houſe, and met as near it as the Soldiers " would give us leave. We are a peaceable People, " and cannot offer Violence to any Man. And look- " ing upon the Jury, he ſaid, *You are* Engliſh-*Men*, " *mind your Privilege, give not away your Right.*" To which ſome of them anſwered, *Nor will we ever do it.* Upon this they were ſhut up all Night without Victuals or Fire, or ſo much as a Chamber-Pot, tho' deſired. Next Morning they brought in the ſame Verdict; upon which they were threaten'd with the utmoſt Reſentments. The Mayor ſaid, *He would cut* Buſhel's *Throat as ſoon as he could.* The Recorder ſaid, *He never knew the Benefit of an Inquiſition till* *The Jury threatned.*

King Charles II. 1670.

now; and that the next Seſſions of Parliament a Law would be made wherein thoſe that would not conform ſhould not have the Benefit of the Law. The Court having obliged the Jury to withdraw again, they were kept without Meat and Drink till next Morning, when they brought in the Priſoners *Not Guilty*; for which they were fined forty Marks a Man, and to be impriſoned till paid. The Priſoners were alſo remanded to *Newgate* for their Fines in not pulling off their Hats. The Jury, after ſome Time, were diſcharged by *Habeas Corpus* returnable in the *Common Pleas*, where their Commitment was judg'd illegal. This was a noble Stand for the Liberty of the Subject in very dangerous Times, when neither Law nor Equity availed any Thing. The Conventicle Act was made to encourage Proſecutions; and a Narrative was publiſhed next Year, of the Oppreſſions of many honeſt People in *Devonſhire*, and other Parts, by the Informers and Juſtices; but the Courts of Juſtice out-run the Law it ſelf.

They are acquitted.

King's Deſign of governing abſolutely. Eachard, p. 864. Rapin, p. 427.

Hitherto the King and Parliament had agreed pretty well, by means of the large Supplies of Money the Parliament had given to ſupport his Majeſty's Pleaſures; but now having Aſſurance of large Remittances from *France*, his Majeſty reſolved to govern by the Prerogative, and ſtand upon his own Legs. His prime Counſellors were Lord *Clifford*, *Anthony Aſhley Cooper*, afterwards Lord *Shaftsbury*, the Duke of *Buckingham*, Earl of *Arlington*, and Duke *Lauderdale*, who from the initial Letters of their Names were called the *CABAL*. Lord *Clifford* was an open Papiſt, and the Earl of *Arlington* a concealed one. *Buckingham* was a Debauchee, and was reckoned a downright Atheiſt; he was a Man of great Wit and Parts, and of ſounder Principles in the Intereſts of Humanity (ſays Mr. *Baxter*) than the reſt of the Court. *Shaftsbury* had a vaſt Genius, but according to *Burnet*, was at beſt but a Deiſt; he had great Knowledge of Men and Things, but would often change

Character of the CABAL.

change Sides as his Interest directed. *Lauderdale* was a Man of Learning, but from an almost Republican was become a perfect Tool of the Prerogative, and would offer at the most desperate Councils. He had scarce any Traces of Religion left, tho' he called himself a Presbyterian, and had an Aversion to King *Charles* I. to the last. By these five Ministers of State the King and Duke of *York* drove on their Designs of introducing Popery and arbitrary Power; in order to which, a secret Treaty was concluded with *France*; the triple Alliance was broken, and a new War declared with the *Dutch* to destroy their Commonwealth, as will be seen presently; by this Means the King had a plausible Pretence to keep up a Standing Army, which might secure him in the Exercise of an absolute Authority over his Subjects, to set aside the Use of Parliaments, and settle the *Roman* Catholick Religion in the three Kingdoms. These were the Maxims the Court pursued throughout the remaining Part of this Reign. *King Charles II. 1676.*

In the Beginning of this Year died Dr. *Anthony Tuckney*, born in *September* 1599. and educated in *Emanuel College, Cambridge*. He was afterwards Vicar of *Boston* in *Lincolnshire*, where he continued till he was called to sit in the Assembly of Divines at *Westminster*. In the Year 1645. he was made Master of his College, and in the Year 1648. being chosen Vicechancellor he removed to *Cambridge* with his Family. He was afterwards Master of St. *John*'s, and *Regius Professor*, which he held till the Restoration, when the King sent him a Letter, desiring him to resign his Professorship, which if he did, his Majesty, in Consideration of the great Pains and Diligence of the said Doctor in the Discharge of his Duty, would oblige his Successor to give him sufficient Security in Law, to pay him one hundred Pounds a Year during his natural Life. Upon this Notice the Doctor immediately resigned, and had his Annuity paid him by Dr. *Gunning* who succeeded him. After the coming out of the *Five Mile Act* he shifted about in several *Death of Dr.* Tuckney.

King Charles II. 1679.

Counties, and at laſt died in *Spittle Yard*, *London*, *February* 1669. in the Seventy firſt Year of his Age, leaving behind him the Character of an eminently learned and pious Man, an indefatigable Student, a candid Diſputant, and an earneſt Promoter of Truth and Godlineſs.

And of Mr. William Bridge.

About the ſame Time died Mr. *William Bridge*, M. A. the ejected Miniſter of *Yarmouth*; he was Student in *Cambridge* thirteen Years, and Fellow of *Emanuel College*. He afterwards ſettled in *Norwich*, where he was ſilenced by Biſhop *Wren* for Non-Conformity, 1637. He was afterwards excommunicated, and when the Writ *de Excommunicato capiendo* came out againſt him he withdrew to *Holland*, and became Paſtor to the *Engliſh* Church at *Rotterdam*, where Mr. *Jer. Burroughs* was Preacher. In 1642. he returned to *England*, and was *one of the Diſſenting Brethren* in the Aſſemby of Divines. He was choſen after ſome Time Miniſter of *Great Yarmouth*, where he continued his Labours till the *Bartholomew* Act ejected him with his Brethren. He was a good Scholar, and had a well furniſhed Library, was a hard Student, and roſe every Morning Winter and Summer at four of the Clock. He was alſo a good Preacher, a candid and charitable Man, and did much good by his Miniſtry. He died at *Yarmouth*, *March* 12. 1670. *Ætat.* Seventy.

1671. *Cauſes of the Growth of Popery.* Rapin, p. 439.

While the Proteſtant Diſſenters were harraſs'd in all Parts of the Kingdom, the *Roman* Catholicks were at Eaſe under the Wing of the Prerogative; there were few or no Proceſſes againſt them, for they had the Liberty of reſorting to Maſs at the Houſes of foreign Ambaſſadors, and other Chapels, both in Town and Country; nor did the Biſhops complain of them in the Houſe of Lords, by which means they began in a few Years to rival the Proteſtants both in Numbers and Strength. The Commons repreſented the Cauſes of this Misfortune in an Addreſs to the King, together with the Remedies, which if the Reader will carefully con-

conſider, he will eaſily diſcover the different Uſage of Proteſtant Non-Conformiſts and Popiſh Recuſants. *King* Charles II. 1671.

The Cauſes of the Increaſe of Popery, were, 1. The great Number of Jeſuits who were all over the Kingdom. 2. The Chapels in great Towns for ſaying Maſs, beſides Ambaſſadors Houſes, whither great Numbers of his Majeſty's Subjects reſorted without controul. 3. The Fraternities or Convents of Prieſts and Jeſuits at St. *James's*, and in ſeveral Parts of the Kingdom, beſides their Schools for the educating Youth. 4. The publick Sale of Popiſh Catechiſms, &c. 5. The general Remiſſneſs of Magiſtrates, and other Officers, in not convicting Papiſts according to Law. 6. Suſpected Recuſants enjoying Offices by themſelves or their Deputies. 7. Preſentations to Livings by Popiſh Recuſants, or by others as they direct. 8. Sending Youth beyond Sea under Tutors, to be educated in the Popiſh Religion. 9. The few *Exchequer Proceſſes* that have been iſſued forth, tho' many have been certified thither. 10. The great Inſolence of Papiſts in *Ireland*, where Archbiſhops and Biſhops of the Pope's Creation, appear publickly, Maſs being ſaid openly in *Dublin*, and other Parts of the Kingdom.

The Remedies which the Houſe propoſed againſt theſe growing Miſchiefs were, *Remedies propoſed by the Parliament.*

1. That a Proclamation be iſſued out to baniſh all Popiſh Prieſts and Jeſuits out of the Realm, except ſuch as attend the Queen and foreign Ambaſſadors. 2. That the King's Subjects be forbid going to hear Maſs and other Exerciſes of the *Romiſh* Religion. 3. That no Office or Employment of publick Authority be put into the Hands of Popiſh Recuſants. 4. That all Fraternities, Convents, and Popiſh Schools be aboliſhed, and the Jeſuits, Prieſts, Friers, and School-Maſters puniſhed. 5. That his Majeſty require all the Officers of the *Exchequer* to iſſue out *Proceſſes* againſt Popiſh Recuſants convict, certified thither. 6. That *Plunket* the pretended Primate of *Ire-*

King Charles II. 1671.

land, and *Talbot* Archbiſhop of *Dublin*, be ſent for into *England*, to anſwer ſuch Matters as ſhould be objected againſt them.

Conduct of the Court. Gazette, N° 559.

The King promiſed to conſider the Addreſs, but hoped they would allow him to diſtinguiſh between new *Converts*, and thoſe who had been bred up in the Popiſh Religion, and ſerved him and his Father in the late Wars. After ſome Time a Proclamation was iſſued out, in which his Majeſty declares, that *he had always adhered to the true Religion eſtabliſhed in this Kingdom againſt all Temptations whatſoever*; and that he would employ his utmoſt Care and Zeal in the Defence of it. But the Magiſtrates knowing his Majeſty's Inclinations took no Care of the Execution of it. Nay, the Duke of *York* the King's Brother, having lately loſt his Dutcheſs, Lord *Clarendon*'s Daughter, who died a Papiſt, made a formal Abjuration of the Proteſtant Religion at this Time before Father *Simon*, an *Engliſh* Jeſuit, and declared himſelf openly a *Roman* Catholick; the Reaſon of which was, that the preſent Queen having no Children, the Papiſts gave the Duke to underſtand, that they were capable to effect his Majeſty's Divorce, and to ſet aſide his Succeſſion, by providing him with another Queen, which they would certainly attempt, unleſs he would make an open Profeſſion of the *Roman* Catholick Religion, which he did accordingly.

Duke of York *abjures the Proteſtant Religion.*

Projects of the CABAL *to make the King abſolute.*

The Houſe of Commons was very laviſh of the Nation's Money this Seſſion, for though there was no Danger of an Invaſion from abroad, they gave the King two Millions and a half, with which his Majeſty maintained a Standing Army upon *Blackheath*, and called the Parliament no more together for almoſt two Years. After the Houſes were up, the *CABAL* began to proſecute their Scheme of making the King abſolute; in order to which, beſides the two Millions and half granted by Parliament, they received from *France* the Sum of ſeven hundred Thouſand Pounds in two Years, which not being ſufficient to enter upon a War

War with the *Dutch*, the King declared in Council, by the Advice of *Clifford*, that he was reſolved to *ſhut up the* Exchequer, wherein the Bankers of *London*, who had furniſhed the King with Money on all Occaſions at great Intereſt, had lodged vaſt Sums of other People's Caſh depoſited in their Hands. By this Means the Bankers were obliged to make a Stand, which interrupted the Courſe of Trade, and raiſed a great Clamour over the whole Kingdom. The King endeavoured to ſoften the *Bankers*, by telling them it ſhould be but for a Year, and that he would pay the Arrears out of the next Subſidies of Parliament; but he was worſe than his Word; ſo that great Numbers of Families and Orphans were reduced to Beggary, while the King got about one Million four hundred thouſand Pounds.

King Charles II. 1671. Exchequer *ſhut up.*

A ſecond Advance of the *CABAL* towards arbitrary Power, was *to deſtroy the* Dutch *Commonwealth*; for this Purpoſe the triple Alliance was to be broken, and Pretences to be found out for quarrelling with that trading People. The Earl of *Shaftsbury* uſed this Expreſſion in his Speech to the Parliament for juſtifying the War, *Delenda eſt Carthago*, that is, *The* Dutch *Commonwealth muſt be deſtroyed*; but an Occaſion was wanting to juſtify it to the World. There had been a few ſcurrilous Prints and Medals ſtruck in *Holland* reflecting on the King's Amours, below the Notice of the *Engliſh* Court, which the *Dutch* however had cauſed to be deſtroyed. Complaints were alſo revived of the Inſolence of the *Dutch* in the *Eaſt Indies*, and of the Neglect of ſtriking the Flag in the narrow Seas to the King's Yatch paſſing by the *Dutch* Fleet. The *Cabal* manag'd theſe Complaints like Men that were afraid of receiving Satisfaction, or of giving the Adverſary any Umbrage to prepare againſt the Storm. The *Dutch* therefore relying on the Faith of Treaties, purſued their Traffick without fear; but when their rich *Smyrna* Fleet of Merchant Men, conſiſting of ſeventy two Sail, under Convoy of ſix Men of War, paſſed by the

War with the Dutch.

King Charles II. 1671.

the *Iſle of Wight*, the *Engliſh* Fleet fell upon them and took ſeveral of their Ships, without any previous Declaration of War; a Breach of Faith (ſays *Burnet*) which *Mahometans* and Pirates would have been aſhamed of.

p. 307.

Project of a general Indulgence.

Two Days after the Attempt upon the *Smyrna* Fleet the *Cabal* made the third Advance towards Popery and abſolute Power, by adviſing the King to ſuſpend the Penal Laws againſt all Sorts of Non-Conformiſts. It was now reſolved to ſet the Diſſenters againſt the Church, and to offer them the Protection of the Crown to make way for a general Toleration. Lord *Shaftsbury* firſt propoſed it in Council, which the Majority readily complied with, provided the *Roman* Catholicks might be included; but when the Declaration was drawn up, the Lord Keeper *Bridgman* refuſed to put the Seals to it, as judging it contrary to Law, for which he was diſmiſſed, and the Seals given to the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, who maintained, that the Indulgence was for the Service of the Church of *England*. "As for the "Church (ſays his Lordſhip) I conceive the *Declara-* "*tion* is extreamly for their Intereſt, for the narrow "Bottom they have placed themſelves upon, and "the Meaſures they have proceeded by, ſo contrary "to the Properties and Liberties of the Nation, muſt "needs in a ſhort Time prove fatal to them; whereas "this leads them into another Way, to live peaceably "with the Diſſenting, and differing Proteſtants both "at home and abroad;" which was true if both had not been undermined by the Papiſts. Archbiſhop *Sheldon*, *Morley*, and the reſt of their Party, exclaimed loudly againſt the *Indulgence*, and alarmed the whole Nation, inſomuch that many ſober and good Men, who had long feared the Growth of Popery, began to think their Eyes were open, and that they were in good earneſt; but it appeared afterwards that their chief Concern was for their *Spiritual Power*; for tho' they murmured againſt the *Diſpenſing Power*, they fell in with all their other Proceedings, which if Providence had

How it was reſented. Hiſt. Stuarts, p. 166.

Des Maiz. Col. p. 677, &c.

had not miraculouſly interpoſed, muſt have been fatal to the Proteſtant Religion and the Liberties of *Europe*. *King* Charles II. 1671.

At length the *Declaration* having been communicated to the *French* King, and received his Approbation, was publiſhed, bearing Date *March* 15. 1671-2. to the following Effect:

CHARLES REX,

"OUR Care and Endeavours for the Preſervation "of the Rights and Intereſts of the Church, have "been ſufficiently manifeſted to the World, by the "whole Courſe of our Government ſince our happy "Reſtoration, and by the many and frequent Ways "of *Coercion* that we have uſed for reducing all erring "or diſſenting Perſons, and for compoſing the unhappy Differences in Matters of Religion, which we "found among our Subjects upon our Return; but it "being evident by the ſad Experience of twelve Years, "that there is very little Fruit of all theſe forcible "Courſes, *We think our ſelf obliged to make uſe of "that ſupream Power in Eccleſiaſtical Matters which "is not only inherent in us, but hath been declared and "recognized to be ſo, by ſeveral Statutes and Acts of "Parliament*; and therefore we do now accordingly "iſſue this our Declaration, as well for the quieting "of our good Subjects in theſe Points, as for inviting "Strangers in this Conjuncture to come and live under us; and for the better Encouragement of all to "a chearful following of their Trades and Callings, "from whence we hope, by the Bleſſing of God, to "have many good and happy Advantages to our Government; as alſo for preventing for the Future the "Danger that might otherwiſe ariſe from private Meetings and ſeditious Conventicles. *A new Declaration of Indulgence.*

"And in the firſt Place, we declare our expreſs Reſolution, Meaning and Intention to be, that the "Church of *England* be preſerved, and remain entire "in its Doctrine, Diſcipline and Government as now

"it

King Charles II. 1671.

" it ſtands eſtabliſhed by Law; and that this be taken " to be, as it is, the Baſis, Rule, and Standard of the " general and publick Worſhip of God, and that the " Orthodox conformable Clergy do receive and enjoy " the Revenues belonging thereunto, and that no Per- " ſon, tho' of a different Opinion and Perſuaſion, ſhall " be exempt from paying his Tithes, or other Dues " whatſoever. And farther we declare, that no Per- " ſon ſhall be capable of holding any Benefice, Li- " ving, or Eccleſiaſtical Dignity or Preferment, of " any kind in this our Kingdom of *England*, who is " not exactly conformable.

" We do in the next Place declare our Will and " Pleaſure to be, that *the Execution of all, and all* " *manner of Penal Laws in Matters Eccleſiaſtical,* " *againſt whatſoever Sort of Non-Conformiſts or Recu-* " *ſants, be immediately ſuſpended, and they are hereby* " *ſuſpended*; and all Judges, Judges of Aſſize and " Gaol Delivery, Sheriffs, Juſtices of Peace, Mayors, " Bailiffs, and other Officers whatſoever, whether " Eccleſiaſtical or Civil, are to take Notice of it, and " pay due Obedience thereunto.

" And that there may be no Pretence for any of " our Subjects to continue their illegal Meetings and " Conventicles, we do declare, that we ſhall from " Time to Time allow a ſufficient Number of Places, " as they ſhall be deſired, in all Parts of this our " Kingdom, for the Uſe of ſuch as do not conform " to the Church of *England*, to meet and aſſemble in " order to their publick Worſhip and Devotion, " which Places ſhall be open and free to all Per- " ſons.

" But to prevent ſuch Diſorders and Inconvenien- " cies as may happen by this our Indulgence, if not " duly regulated; and that they may be the better " protected by the Civil Magiſtrate, *our expreſs Will* " *and Pleaſure is, that none of our Subjects do preſume* " *to meet in any Place, until ſuch Places be allowed,* " *and the Teacher of that Congregation be approved* " *by us.*

And

King Charles II. 1671.

" And leſt any ſhould apprehend that this Re-
" ſtriction ſhould make our ſaid Allowance and Ap-
" probation difficult to be obtained, we do farther de-
" clare, that this our Indulgence, as to the Allow-
" ance of the publick Places of Worſhip, and Ap-
" probation of the Preachers, ſhall extend to all Sorts
" of *Non-Conformiſts and Recuſants, except the Recu-*
" *ſants of the* Roman *Catholick Religion*, to whom
" we ſhall in no wiſe allow publick Places of Wor-
" ſhip, but only indulge them their Share in the com-
" mon Exemption from the Penal Laws, and the
" Exerciſe of their Worſhip in their private Houſes
" only.

" And if after this our Clemency and Indulgence
" any of our Subjects ſhall pretend to abuſe this Li-
" berty, and ſhall preach ſeditiouſly, or to the Dero-
" gation of the Doctrine, Diſcipline or Government
" of the Eſtabliſhed Church, or ſhall meet in Places
" not allowed by us, we do hereby give them Warn-
" ing and declare, we will proceed againſt them with
" all imaginable Severity. And we will let them ſee,
" we can be as ſevere to puniſh ſuch Offenders when
" ſo juſtly provoked, as we are indulgent to truly
" tender Conſciences."

Given at our Court at Whitehall *this 15th Day of* March, *in the four and twentieth Year of our Reign.*

Non-Conformiſts *not forward to accept it by the Diſpenſing Power.* Baxter, Part III. p. 99. We w. Mem. p. 190.

The Proteſtant Non-Conformiſts had no Opinion of *the Diſpenſing Power*, and were not forward to accept of Liberty in this Way; they were ſenſible the Indulgence was not granted out of love to them, nor would continue any longer than it would ſerve the Intereſts of Popery. " The Beginning of the *Dutch* War (ſays
" one of their Writers) made the Court think it ne-
" ceſſary to grant them an Indulgence, that there
" might be Peace at home while there was War
" abroad, tho' much to the Diſſatisfaction of thoſe
" who had a Hand in framing all the ſevere Laws
" againſt

King Charles II. 1671.

"against them." Many Pamphlets were written for and against the Diſſenters accepting it, becauſe it was built on the *Diſpenſing Power*. Some maintained, that it was ſetting up Altar againſt Altar, and that they ſhould accept of nothing but a *Comprehenſion*. Others endeavoured to prove, that it was the Duty of the Preſbyterians to make uſe of the Liberty granted them by the King, becauſe it was their natural Right, which no legiſlative Power upon Earth had a Right to deprive them of, as long as they remained dutiful Subjects; that Meeting in ſeparate Congregations diſtinct from the parochial Aſſemblies in the preſent Circumſtances was neither ſchiſmatical nor ſinful. Accordingly moſt of the Miniſters, both in *London* and in the Country, took out Licenſes, a Copy of which I have tranſcribed from under the King's own Hand and Seal in the Margin *. Great Numbers of People attended the Meetings, and a cautious and moderate Addreſs of Thanks was preſented to the King for their Liberty, but all were afraid of the Conſequences.

Wel. Memoirs, p. 102.

It was reported further, that the Court encouraged the Non-Conformiſts, by ſome ſmall Penſions of fifty and one hundred Pounds to the chief of their Party; that Mr. *Baxter* returned the Money, but that Mr. *Pool* ac-

* CHARLES REX.

CHARLES by the Grace of God, King of *England*, *Scotland*, *France*, and *Ireland*, Defender of the Faith, &c. To all Mayors, Bailiffs, Conſtables, and others our Officers and Miniſters Civil and Military, whom it may concern, Greeting. In purſuance of our Declaration of the 15th of *March*, 1671-2. We do hereby permit and licenſe *G. S.* ——— of the Congregational Perſuaſion, to be a Teacher of the Congregation allowed by us, in a Room or Rooms of his Houſe in ——— for the Uſe of ſuch as do not conform to the Church of *England*, who are of that Perſuaſion commonly called *Congregational*, with further Licenſe and Permiſſion to him the ſaid *G. S.* ——— to teach in any Place licenſed and allowed by us, according to our ſaid Declaration.

Given at our Court at *Whitehall* the ſecond Day of *May*, in the 24th Year of our Reign 1672. By his Majeſty's Command,

Arlington.

knowledged

knowledged he had received fifty Pounds for two Years, and that the reſt accepted it. This was reported to the Diſadvantage of the Diſſenters by Dr. *Stillingfleet*, and others, with an Inſinuation, that it was *to bribe them to be ſilent, and join Intereſt with the Papiſts*; but Dr. *Owen*, in anſwer to this part of the Charge; in his Preface to a Book, entitled, *An Enquiry*, &c. againſt Dr. *Stillingfleet*, declares, that "It is ſuch a "frontleſs malicious Lye, as Impudence it ſelf would "bluſh at; that however the Diſſenters may be tradu-"ced, they are ready to give the higheſt Security that "can be of their Stability in the Proteſtant Cauſe; "and for my ſelf (ſays he) never any Perſon in Au-"thority, Dignity, or Power in the Nation, nor any "from them, Papiſt or Proteſtant, did ever ſpeak or "adviſe with me about any Indulgence or Toleration "to be granted to Papiſts, and I challenge the whole "World to prove the contrary." From this Indulgence Dr. *Stillingfleet* dates the Beginning of the Preſbyterian Separation.

King Charles II. 1671.

Burnet, p. 308.

This Year died Dr. *Edmund Staunton*, the ejected Miniſter of *Kingſton* on *Thames*, one of the Aſſembly of Divines, and ſome Time Preſident of *Corpus Chriſti College* in *Oxford*. He was Son of Sir *Francis Staunton*, born at *Woburne* in *Bedfordſhire*, 1601. and educated in *Wadham College*, of which he was Fellow. Upon his taking Orders he became Miniſter of *Buſhy* in *Hertfordſhire*, but changed it afterwards for *Kingſton* on *Thames*. In 1634. he took the Degrees in Divinity, and in 1648. was made Preſident of *Corpus Chriſti College*, which he kept till he was ſilenced for Non-Conformity. He then retired to *Rickmanſworth* in *Hertfordſhire*, and afterwards to a Village in that County called *Bovingden*, where he preached as often as he had Opportunity. He was a learned, pious, and peaceable Divine. In his laſt Sickneſs he ſaid, He neither feared Death nor deſired Life, but was willing to be at God's diſpoſal. He died *July* 14. 1671. and was buried in the Church belonging to the Pariſh.

Death of Dr. Staunton.

Mr.

King Charles II. 1671.

And of Mr. Vavaſor Powel.

Mr. *Vavaſor Powel* was born in *Radnorſhire*, and educated in *Jeſus College*, *Oxon*. When he left the Univerſity he preached up and down in *Wales*, till being driven from thence for want of Preſbyterial Ordination, which he ſcrupled, he came to *London*, and ſoon after ſettled at *Dartford* in *Kent*. In the Year 1646. he obtained a Teſtimonial of his religious and blameleſs Converſation, and of his Abilities for the Work of the Miniſtry, ſigned by Mr. *Herle* and ſeventeen of the Aſſembly of Divines. Furniſhed with theſe Teſtimonials he returned to *Wales*, and became a moſt indefatigable and active Inſtrument of propagating the Goſpel in thoſe Parts. There were but few, if any of the Churches or Chapels in *Wales*, in which he did not preach; yea, very often he preached to the *poor Welch* in the Mountains, at Fairs, and in Market Places; for which he had no more than a Stipend of one hundred Pounds *per Annum*, beſides the Advantage of ſome ſequeſter'd Livings in *North Wales* (ſays my Author) which in thoſe Times of Confuſion turned but to a very poor Account. Mr. *Powel* was a bold Man, and of Republican Principles, for he preached againſt the *Protectorſhip of Cromwel*, and writ Letters to him, for which he was impriſoned, to prevent his ſpreading Diſaffection in the State. At the Dawn of the Reſtoration being known to be a Fifth Monarchy Man, he was ſecured firſt at *Shrewsbury*, afterwards in *Wales*, and at laſt in the *Fleet*. In the Year 1662. he was ſhut up in *South Sea* Caſtle near *Portſmouth*, where he continued five Years. In 1667. he was enlarged, but venturing to preach again in his own Country, he was impriſoned at *Cardiff*, and in the Year 1669. ſent up to *London*, and confined a Priſoner in the *Fleet*, where he died, and was buried in *Bunhill Fields*, in the Preſence of an innumerable Croud of Diſſenters, who attended him to his Grave. He was of an unconquer'd Reſolution, and of a Mind unſhaken under all his Troubles. The Inſcription on his

his Tomb calls him, "A ſucceſsful Teacher of the "Paſt, a ſincere Witneſs of the Preſent, and an uſeful "Example to the Future Age; who in the Defection "of many found Mercy to be Faithful, for which be-"ing called to many Priſons, he was there tried, and "would not accept Deliverance, expecting a better "Reſurrection." He died *October* 27. 1671. in the Fifty third Year of his Age, and the 11th Year of his Impriſonment.

King Charles II. 1671.

CHAP. IX.

From the King's Declaration of Indulgence *to the* Popiſh Plot *in the Year* 1678.

King Charles II. 1672.

THE *French* King having prevailed with the *Engliſh* Court to break the Triple Alliance, and make War with the *Dutch*, publiſhed a Declaration at *Paris*, ſignifying that he could not without Diminution of his own Glory, any longer diſſemble the Indignation raiſed in him, by the unhandſome Carriage of the *States General of the United Provinces*, and therefore proclaimed War againſt them both by Sea and Land. In the Beginning of *May* he drew together an Army of one hundred and twenty Thouſand Men, with which he took the principal Places in *Flanders*, and with a rapid Fury over-ran the greateſt Part of the *Netherlands*. In the Beginning of *July* he took Poſſeſſion of *Utrecht*, a City in the Heart of the *United Provinces*, where he kept his Court, and threaten'd to beſiege *Amſterdam* it ſelf. In this Extremity the *Dutch* opened their Sluices, and laid a great Part of their Country under Water; the Populace roſe, and having obliged the States to make the young Prince of *Orange* Stadtholder they fell upon the two Brothers *Cornelius* and *John de Wit*, their late Penſionary, and tore them to pieces in a barbarous Manner. The young Prince, who was then but twenty two Years old, uſed all imaginable Vigilance and Activity to ſave the Remainder of his Country, and like a true Hero declared, he would die in the laſt Dike rather than become Tributary to any foreign Power. At length their Allies came to their Aſſiſtance, when the young *Prince*, like another *Scipio*, abandoning his own Country, beſieged, and took the important Town of *Bonne*, which opened a Paſſage for the *Germans* into *Flanders*, and ſtruck ſuch a Surprize into the *French*, whoſe Enemies were now behind them

The French *declare War with the* Dutch *and over-run their Country.*

Pr. of Orange *Stadtholder, and the* De Wits *murdered.*

that they abandoned all their Conqueſts in *Holland*, except *Maeſtricht* and *Grave*, with greater Swiftneſs than they made them. *King* Charles II. 1672.

Theſe rapid Conqueſts of the *French* opened Peoples Mouths againſt the Court, and raiſed ſuch Diſcontents all over *England*, that his Majeſty was obliged to iſſue out his Proclamation to ſuppreſs all unlawful and undutiful Converſation, threatning a ſevere Proſecution of ſuch who ſhould ſpread falſe News, or intermeddle with Affairs of State, or promote Scandal againſt his Majeſty's Counſellors by their common Diſcourſe in Coffee-Houſes, or Places of publick Reſort. He was obliged alſo to continue the *Exchequer* ſhut up, contrary to his Royal Promiſe, and to prorogue his Parliament till next Year, which he foreſaw would be in a Flame when they came together. *Proclamation againſt ſpreading falſe News.* Gazette, N° 686.

During this Interval of Parliament the *Declaration of Indulgence* continued in force, and the Diſſenters had reſt; when the Preſbyterians and Independants, to ſhew their Agreement among themſelves, as well as to ſupport the Doctrines of the Reformation againſt the prevailing Errors of Popery, Socinianiſm and Infidelity, ſet up a weekly *Lecture* at *Pinners Hall* in *Broad-ſtreet*, on *Tueſday* Mornings, by the Contributions of the principal Merchants and Tradeſmen of their Perſuaſions in the City. Four Preſbyterians were joined with two Independants to preach by Turns, and to give it the greater Reputation the principal Miniſters for Learning and Popularity were choſen into it; as Dr. *Bates*, Dr. *Manton*, Dr. *Owen*, Mr. *Baxter*, Mr. *Collins*, *Jenkins*, *Mead*, and afterwards Mr. *Alſop*, *Howe*, *Cole*, and others; and tho' there were ſome little Miſunderſtandings at their firſt ſetting out, about ſome high Points of *Calviniſm*, occaſioned by one of Mr. *Baxter*'s firſt Sermons, yet the Lecture continued in this Form till the Year 1695. when it ſplit upon the ſame Rock, occaſion'd by the Reprinting Dr. *Criſp*'s Works. The four *Presbyterians* removed to *Salters Hall*, and ſet up a Lecture on the ſame Day and *The Beginning of the Merchants Lecture at* Pinners Hall.

King Charles II. 1672.

Hour. The two *Independants* remained at *Pinners Hall*, and when there was no Proſpect of an Accommodation, each Party filled up their Numbers, as they have continued to do ever ſince.

Death of Biſhop Wilkins. Ath. Ox. p. 505.

Among the Puritan Divines that died this Year Biſhop *Wilkins* deſerves the firſt Place; he was born at *Fawſly* in *Northamptonſhire*, in the Houſe of his Mother's Father, Mr. *J. Dod* the Decalogiſt, in the Year 1614. and educated in *Magdalen Hall* under Mr. *Tombes*. He was ſome Time Warden of *Wadham College*, *Oxford*, and afterwards Maſter of *Trinity College*, *Cambridge*, of which he was deprived at the Reſtoration, though he conformed. He married a Siſter of the Protector's, *Oliver Cromwel*, and complied with all the Changes of the late Times, being, as *Wood* obſerves, always puritanically affected; but for his admirable Abilities, and extraordinary Genius, he had ſcarce his Equal. He was made Biſhop of *Cheſter* 1668. and ſurely, ſays Mr. *Eachard*, the Court could not have found out a Man of greater Ingenuity and Capacity, or of more univerſal Knowledge and Underſtanding in all Parts of polite Learning. Archbiſhop *Tillotſon* and Biſhop *Burnet*, who were his Intimates, give him the higheſt Encomium; as, that he was a pious Chriſtian, an admirable Preacher, a rare Mathematician, and mechanical Philoſopher; and a Man of as great a Mind, as true a Judgment, as eminent Virtues, and of as great a Soul, as any they ever knew. He was a Perſon of univerſal Charity, Ingenuity, Temper, and Moderation of Spirit; and was concerned in all Attempts for a Comprehenſion with the Diſſenters. He died of the Stone in Dr. *Tillotſon*'s Houſe in *Chancery Lane*, *Nov.* 19. 1672. in the Fifty ninth Year of his Age.

Of Mr. Joſeph Caryl.

Mr. *Joſeph Caryl*, M. A. the ejected Miniſter of St. *Magnus*, *London Bridge*, was born of genteel Parents in *London*, 1602. educated in *Exeter College*, and afterwards Preacher of *Lincolns Inn*; he was a Member of the Aſſembly of Divines, and afterwards one of the

Tryers

Tryers, for Approbation of Miniſters, in all which Stations he appeared a Man of great Learning, Piety and Modeſty. He was ſent by the Parliament to attend the King at *Holmby Houſe*, and was one of their Commiſſioners in the Treaty of the *Iſle* of *Wight*. After his Ejectment in 1662. he lived privately in *London*, and preached to his Congregation as the Times would permit; he was a moderate *Independant*, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his learned Expoſition upon the Book of *Job*. He died univerſally lamented by all his Acquaintance *February* 7. 1672-3. and in the Seventy firſt Year of his Age.

King Charles II. 1672.

Mr. *Philip Nye*, M.A. was a Divine of a warmer Spirit: He was born of a genteel Family 1596. and was educated in *Magdalen College*, *Oxford*, where he took the Degrees. In the Year 1630. he was Curate of St. *Michael's Cornhill*, and three Years after fled from Biſhop *Laud's* Perſecution into *Holland*, but returned about the Beginning of the Long Parliament, and became Miniſter of *Kimbolton* in *Huntingtonſhire*. He was one of the Diſſenting Brethren in the Aſſembly; one of the *Tryers* in the Protector's Time, and a principal Manager of the Meeting of the Congregational Meſſengers at the *Savoy*. He was a great Politician, inſomuch that it was debated in Council after the Reſtoration, whether he ſhould not be excepted for Life; and it was concluded, that if he ſhould accept or exerciſe any Office Eccleſiaſtical or Civil, he ſhould to all Intents and Purpoſes in Law ſtand as if he had been totally excepted. He was ejected from St. *Bartholomew* behind the *Exchange*, and preached privately as Opportunity offered to a Congregation of Diſſenters till the preſent Year, when he died in the Month of *September*, about Seventy ſix Years old, and lies buried in the Church of St. *Michael's Cornhill*, leaving behind him the Character of a Man of uncommon Depth, and of one who was ſeldom if ever out-reached.

Of Mr. Phil. Nye.

1673.

When the King met his Parliament *Feb.* 4. after a Receſs of a Year and nine Months, he acquainted them with

The Parliament awaken'd.

King Charles II. 1673.

with the Reaſonableneſs and Neceſſity of the War with the *Dutch*, and having aſked a Supply, told them, "He had found the good Effect of his *Indulgence to* "*Diſſenters*, but that it was a Miſtake in thoſe who "ſaid, more Liberty was given to Papiſts than others, "becauſe they had only Freedom in their own Hou- "ſes, and no publick Aſſemblies; he ſhould there- "fore take it ill to receive Contradiction in what he "had done; and to deal plainly with you (ſays his "Majeſty) *I am reſolved to ſtick to my Declaration.*" Lord Chancellor *Shaftsbury* ſeconded the King's Speech, and having vindicated the *Indulgence* magnified the King's Zeal for the Church of *England* and the Proteſtant Religion. But the Houſe of Commons declared againſt the *Diſpenſing Power*, and argued, that tho' the King had a Power to pardon Offenders, he had not a Right to authorize Men to break the Laws, for this would infer a Power to alter the Government, the Strength of every Law being the Penalty laid upon Offenders; if therefore the King could ſecure Offenders by indemnifying them before-hand, it was in vain to make any Laws at all, becauſe according to this Maxim, they had no force but at the King's Diſcretion —— But it was objected on the other Side, that a Difference was to be made between Penal Laws in ſpiritual Matters and others; that the King's Supremacy gave him a peculiar Authority over theſe, as was evident by his tolerating the *Jews*, and the Churches of foreign Proteſtants —To which it was replied, That the Intent of the Law in aſſerting the Supremacy was only to exclude all foreign Juriſdiction, and to lodge the whole *Authority* with the King; but *That* was ſtill bounded and regulated by Law; the *Jews* were ſtill at Mercy, and only connived at, but the foreign Churches were excepted by a particular Clauſe in the Act of Uniformity; and therefore upon the whole they came to this Reſolution, *Feb.* 10. "that Penal Statutes in "Matters Eccleſiaſtical cannot be ſuſpended but by "Act of Parliament; that no ſuch Power had ever "been

Arguments for and againſt the Diſpenſing Power.

Houſe of Commons vote againſt it.

" been claimed or exerciſed by any of his Majeſty's " Predeceſſors, and therefore his Majeſty's *Indulgence* " was contrary to Law, and tended to ſubvert the Le- " giſlative Power, which had always been acknow- " ledged to reſide in the King and his two Houſes of " Parliament." Purſuant to this Reſolution they addreſſed the King *Feb.* 19. to recal his *Declaration*. The King anſwered, That he was ſorry they ſhould queſtion his Power in Eccleſiaſticks, which had not been done in the Reigns of his Anceſtors; that he did not pretend to ſuſpend Laws wherein the Properties, Rights or Liberties of his Subjects were concerned, nor to alter any Thing in the Eſtabliſhed Religion, but only to take off the Penalties inflicted on *Diſſenters*, which he believed they themſelves would not wiſh executed according to the Rigor of the Law. The Commons perceiving his Majeſty was not enclined to deſiſt from his Declaration, ſtopt their *Money Bill*, and preſented a ſecond Addreſs, inſiſting upon a full and ſatisfactory Aſſurance, that his Majeſty's Conduct in this Affair might not be drawn into Example for the future, which at length they obtained.

King Charles II. 1673.

Eachard, P. 889. Burnet, P. 347.

The Parliament was now firſt diſpoſed to diſtinguiſh between *Proteſtant Diſſenters* and *Popiſh Recuſants*, and to give Eaſe to the former without including the latter, eſpecially when the Diſſenters in the Houſe diſavowed the *Diſpenſing Power*, tho' it was in their Favour. Alderman *Love*, Member for the City of *London*, ſtood up, and in a handſome Speech declared, that *He had rather go without his own deſired Liberty than have it in a Way ſo deſtructive of the Liberties of his Country, and the Proteſtant Intereſt; and that this was the Senſe of the main Body of Diſſenters.* Which ſurprized the whole Houſe, and gave a Turn to thoſe very Men who for ten Years together had been loading the Non-Conformiſts with one Penal Law after another: But Things were now at a Criſis; Popery and Slavery were at the Door; the triple Alliance broken; the Proteſtant Powers waſting one another; the *Exche-*

Ald. Love *in the Name of the Diſſenters renounces the Diſpenſing Power.*

King Charles II. 1673.

quer ſhut up; the Heir apparent of the Crown an open Papiſt; and an Army encamped on *Blackheath* under Popiſh Officers ready to be tranſported into *Holland* to compleat their Ruin. When the Diſſenters at ſuch a time laid aſide their Reſentments againſt their Perſecutors, and renounced their ſeparate Intereſts for the Safety of the Proteſtant Religion, and the Liberties of their Country, all ſober Men began to think it was high Time to put a Mark of Diſtinction between them and the *Roman* Catholicks.

The King gives up his Indulgence.

But the King was of another Mind, yet being in want of Money, he was eaſily perſuaded by his Miſtreſſes to give up his *Indulgence*, contrary to the Advice of the *CABAL*, who told him, if he would make a bold Stand for his *Prerogative*, all would be well. But he came to the Houſe *March* 8. and having preſſed the Commons to diſpatch the *Money Bill*, he added, —— "If there be any Scruple yet remaining "with you, touching the Suſpenſion of the Penal "Laws, I here faithfully promiſe you, that what has "been done in that Particular, ſhall not for the future "be drawn into Example and Conſequence; and as I "daily expect from you a Bill for my Supply, ſo I "aſſure you I ſhall as willingly receive and paſs any "other you ſhall offer me, that may tend to the giving "you Satisfaction in all your juſt Grievances." Accordingly he called for the *Declaration*, and broke the Seal with his own Hands, by which Means all the Licenſes for Meeting-Houſes were called in. Our Hiſtorians obſerve, that this Proceeding of the King made a ſurprizing Change in Lord *Shaftsbury*, who had been the Soul of the *Cabal*, and the Maſter Builder of the Scheme for *making the King abſolute*; but that when his Majeſty was ſo unſteady as to deſert him in the Project of an *Indulgence*, after he had promiſed to ſtand by him, he concluded the King was not to be truſted, and appeared afterwards at the Head of the Country Party.

Shaftſbury *deſerts the* Cabal. Eachard, p. 890, 891. Burnet, p. 348.

Bill for the Eaſe of Proteſt. Diſſenters.

The Non-Conformiſts were now in ſome Hopes of a *legal Toleration* by Parliament, for the Commons reſolved, *Nemine Contradicente*, that a Bill be brought in

in for the Eaſe of his Majeſty's Proteſtant Subjects, who are Diſſenters in Matters of Religion from the Church of *England*. The Subſtance of the Bill was, *King* Charles II. 1673.

" 1. That Eaſe be given to his Majeſty's Proteſtant " Subjects diſſenting in Matters of Religion, who " ſhall ſubſcribe the Articles of the Doctrine of the " Church of *England*, and ſhall take the Oaths of Al- " legiance and Supremacy. 2. That the ſaid Prote- " ſtant Subjects be eaſed from all Pains and Penalties " for not coming to Church. 3. That the Clauſe in " the late Act of Uniformity, for declaring the Aſ- " ſent and Conſent, be taken away by this Bill. " 4. That the ſaid Proteſtant Subjects be eaſed from " all Pains and Penalties for meeting together for " Performance of any Religious Exerciſes. 5. That " every Teacher ſhall give Notice of the Place where " he intends to hold ſuch his Meeting to the Quarter " Seſſions, where in open Court he ſhall firſt make ſuch " Subſcription, and take ſuch Oaths as aforeſaid, " and receive from thence a Certificate thereof, where " all ſuch Proceedings ſhall remain upon Record. " 6. That any ſuch Teacher may exerciſe as afore- " ſaid, until the next reſpective Quarter Seſſions, and " no longer, in caſe he ſhall not firſt take the Oaths, " and make ſuch Subſcription before two of the neigh- " bouring Juſtices of Peace, and ſhall firſt give them " Notice of the Place of his intended Meeting, and " take Certificate thereof under the ſaid Juſtices " Hands, a Duplicate whereof they are to return into " the next Quarter Seſſions. 7. The Doors and Paſ- " ſages of all Houſes and Places where the ſaid Diſ- " ſenters do meet ſhall be always open and free during " the Time of ſuch Exerciſe. 8. If any Diſſenter " refuſes to take *the Church Wardens Oaths*, he ſhall " then find another fit Perſon, who is not a Diſſenter, " to execute that Office, and ſhall pay him for it." Eachard, P. 889.

But tho' all agreed in bringing in a Bill, there was neither Time nor Unanimity enough in the Houſe this Seſſions to agree upon Particulars; for according to *It miſcarries.*

Biſhop

King Charles II. 1673.

Biſhop *Burnet*, it went no farther than a ſecond Reading. Mr. *Eachard* ſays, it was dropt in the Houſe of Lords on the Account of ſome Amendments, till the Parliament broke up; but Mr. *Coke* ſays more truly, that it was becauſe the *dead Weight* of Biſhops joined with the King and the caballing Party againſt it.

Detect. p. 490.

Commons addreſs againſt Papiſts.

While this was depending the *Commons* addreſſed the King againſt Papiſts and Jeſuits, expreſſing their great Concern to ſee ſuch Perſons admitted into Employments and Places of great Truſt and Profit, and eſpecially into Military Commands, and therefore pray, that the Laws againſt them may be put in Execution. Upon which a Proclamation was iſſued out, tho' to very little Purpoſe, enjoining all Popiſh Prieſts and Jeſuits to depart the Realm, and the Laws to be put in Execution againſt all Popiſh Recuſants.

The Teſt Act bro't into the Houſe.

But his Majeſty making no mention of removing them from *Places of Profit and Truſt*, the Commons knowing where their Strength lay, ſuſpended their *Money Bill*, and ordered a Bill to be brought in, to confine all Places of Profit and Truſt to thoſe only who are of the Communion of the Church of *England*: This is commonly called the *Teſt Act*, and was levell'd againſt the Duke of *York* and the preſent Miniſtry, who were chiefly of his Perſuaſion. When it was brought into the Houſe, the Court oppoſed it with all their Might, and endeavoured to divide the Church Party, by propoſing, that ſome Regard might be had to *Proteſtant Diſſenters*, hoping by this Means to clog the Bill, and throw it out of the Houſe; upon which Alderman *Love*, a Diſſenter, and Member for the City, ſtood up again and ſaid, He hoped the Clauſe in favour of Proteſtant Diſſenters would occaſion no intemperate Heats; and therefore moved, that ſince this was a conſiderable Barrier againſt Popery, the Bill might paſs without any Alteration, and that nothing might interpoſe till it was finiſhed, and then (ſays the Alderman) we [Diſſenters] will try if the Parliament will not diſtinguiſh us from *Popiſh Recuſants* by ſome Marks

Marks of their Favour; but we are willing to lie under the Severity of the Laws for a Time rather than clog a more neceſſary Work with our Concerns. Theſe being the Sentiments of the leading Diſſenters both in the Houſe and without Doors, the Bill paſſed the Commons with little Oppoſition; but when it came to be debated in the Houſe of Peers, in the King's Preſence, *March* 15. the whole Court was againſt it except the Earl of *Briſtol*; and maintained that it was his Majeſty's Prerogative to employ whom he pleaſed in his Service. Some were for having the King ſtand his Ground againſt the Parliament. The Duke of *Buckingham* and Lord *Berkley* offered to bring the Army to Town, and take out of both Houſes the Members who made Oppoſition. *Lauderdale* offered to bring an Army from *Scotland*; Lord *Clifford* told the King, that the People now ſaw through his Deſigns, and therefore he muſt reſolve to make himſelf Maſter at once, or be for ever ſubject to much Jealouſy and Contempt. But the Earl of *Shaftsbury* having changed Sides preſſed the King to give the Parliament full Content, and then they would undertake to procure him the Supply he wanted. This ſuited the King's eaſy Temper, who not being willing to riſk a ſecond Civil War, went into theſe Meaſures, and out of meer Neceſſity for Money to carry on the War gave up the Papiſts, in hopes that he might afterwards recover what in the preſent Extremity he was forced to part with. This effectually broke the *CABAL*, and put the *Roman* Catholicks upon purſuing other Meaſures to introduce their Religion, which was the making Way for a Popiſh Succeſſor of more reſolute Principles; and from hence we may date the Beginning of the Popiſh Plot, which did not break out till 1678. as appears by Mr. *Coleman*'s Letters. The Bill received the Royal Aſſent *March* 25. together with a Money Bill of one Million two hundred thouſand Pounds; and then the Parliament was prorogued to *October* 20. after a ſhort Seſſion of ſeven Weeks.

King Charles II. 1673.

Debates about it.

Burnet, p. 348.

It receives the Royal Aſſent.

The

King Charles II. 1673.

The *Teſt Act* is entitled, an *Act to prevent Dangers which happen from Popiſh Recuſants.* It requires,

The Act it ſelf.

" That all Perſons bearing any Office of Truſt or " Profit ſhall take the Oaths of Supremacy and Alle- " giance in publick and open Court, and ſhall alſo " receive the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, accord- " ing to the Uſage of the Church of *England*, in ſome " Pariſh Church, on ſome Lord's Day immediately " after Divine Service and Sermon, and deliver a " Certificate of having ſo received the Sacrament un- " der the Hands of the reſpective Miniſters and " Church Wardens, proved by two credible Witneſ- " ſes upon Oath, and upon Record in Court. And " that all Perſons taking the ſaid Oaths of Supremacy " and Allegiance ſhall likewiſe make and ſubſcribe " this following Declaration, *I* A. B. *do declare, that* " *I believe there is no Tranſubſtantiation in the Sa-* " *crament of the Lord's Supper, or in the Elements of* " *Bread and Wine, at, or after the Conſecration there-* " *of, by any Perſon whatſoever.* The Penalty of break- " ing thro' this Act, beſides a Diſability of proſecuting " any Suit, or acting in the Capacity of other Subjects " in ſeveral Reſpects, is five hundred Pounds."

Stat. 25 Car. II. Chap. 2.

Remarks. Mr. *Eachard* obſerves well, that this Act was principally, if not ſolely levell'd at the *Roman Catholicks*, as appears from the Title; and it is further evident from the Diſpoſition of the Houſe of Commons at this Time to eaſe the Proteſtant Diſſenters of ſome of their Burdens. If the Diſſenters had fallen in with the Court they might have prevented the Bill's paſſing. But let the Deſign of it be what it will, it is in my Opinion very unjuſtifiable, becauſe *it founds Dominion in Grace.* A Man can't be an Exciſe-Man, a Cuſtom-Houſe Officer, a Lieutenant in the Army or Navy, no, nor ſo much as a Tide-Waiter, without partaking of the moſt ſolemn Mark of Chriſtianity, according to the Uſage of the Church of *England.* Is not this a ſtrong Temptation to Atheiſm and Hypocriſy? Does it not pervert one of the moſt ſolemn Inſtitutions of Chriſti-

anity

anity to Purpoſes for which it was never intended? And is it not eaſy to find Securities of a Civil Nature ſufficient for the Preſervation both of Church and State? When the Act took Place the Duke of *York*, Lord High Admiral of *England*; Lord *Clifford*, Lord High Treaſurer; and a great many other Popiſh Officers, quitted their Preferments; but not one Proteſtant Diſſenter, for there was not one ſuch in the Adminiſtration; however, as the Church Party ſhewed a noble Zeal for their Religion, Biſhop *Burnet* obſerves, that the Diſſenters got great Reputation by their ſilent Deportment; but the King and the Court Biſhops reſolved to ſtick in their Skirts. *King* Charles II. 1673. P. 352.

This being the laſt Penal Law made againſt the *Non-Conformiſts* in this Reign, it may not be improper to put them all together, that the Reader may have a full View of their diſtreſſed Circumſtances; for beſides the Penal Laws of Queen *Elizabeth*, which were confirmed by this Parliament; one of which was no leſs than *Baniſhment*; and another a *Mulct* on every one for not coming to Church; (1.) The *Act of Uniformity* in the Year 1662. ſilenced all the Non-Conformiſt Miniſters throughout *England*, and deprived them of their Maintenance — (2.) The *Corporation Act* in 1661. incapacitated their People from ſerving their Country in the loweſt Offices of *Truſt* — (3.) The *Conventicle Acts* in 1663. and 1670. forbid all Perſons going to any ſeparate Meetings for Religious Worſhip where more than five beſides the Family were preſent, under very ſevere Fines, to be levied by ſeizure of their Goods, or ſo many Months Impriſonment, to be determined not by a Jury, but the Warrant of a Juſtice of Peace — (4.) The *Oxford Act*, 1665, baniſhed all Non-Conformiſt Miniſters five Miles from every Corporation that ſent Members to Parliament — And (5.) The *Teſt Act* this Year made them incapable of all Places of Profit or Truſt in the Government. What could have been done more to diſtreſs them, unleſs they had been ſent to the Gallies or the Stake? *Summary of the Penal Laws.*

By

King Charles II. 1673.

By the rigorous Execution of theſe Laws the Non-Conformiſt Miniſters were ſeparated from their Congregations, from their Maintenance, from their Houſes and Families, and their People reduced to Miſery and Want, and obliged to worſhip God in a Manner contrary to the Dictates of their Conſciences, on penalty of the Forfeiture of their Goods and Chattels, or of being ſhut up in a Priſon among Thieves and Robbers. Great Numbers retired to the Plantations; but Dr. *Owen*, who was ſhipping off his Effects for *New England*, was forbid to leave the Kingdom by expreſs Orders from King *Charles* himſelf. If there had been Treaſon or Rebellion in the Caſe it had been juſtifiable; but when it was purely for Religion or Non-Conformity to ſome Rites and Ceremonies, and a Form of Church Government, it can deſerve no better Name than that of cruel *Perſecution*.

Conſequences of them.

Conf. Plea, Part I. p. 41.

Duke of York's *2d Marriage.*

The Houſe of Commons from their Apprehenſions of the Growth of Popery, and of a Popiſh Succeſſor to the Crown, petitioned the King againſt the *Duke*'s ſecond Marriage with the Princeſs of *Modena*, an *Italian* Papiſt; but his Majeſty told them, they were too late. Upon which the Commons ſtopt their *Money Bill*, voted the Standing Army a Grievance, and were proceeding to other Reſolves, when the King ſent for them to the Houſe of Peers, and with a ſhort Speech prorogued them to *January* 7. after they had ſat but nine Days. In the mean Time the *Duke's Marriage* was conſummated, with the Conſent of the *French* King, which raiſed the Expectations of the *Roman* Catholicks higher than ever.

Further fruitleſs Attempts for a Comprehenſion.

This induced the more zealous Proteſtants to think of a firmer Union with the Diſſenters; accordingly Mr. *Baxter*, at the Requeſt of the Earl of *Orrery*, drew up ſome Propoſals for a Comprehenſion, agreeably to thoſe already mentioned. "He propoſed that "the *Meeting Houſes* of Diſſenters ſhould be allowed "as *Chapels* till there were Vacancies for them in the "Churches —— and that thoſe who had no Meeting "Houſes

Baxter, Part III. p. 110.

" Houſes ſhould be School-Maſters or Lecturers till " ſuch Time —— That none ſhould be obliged to read " the *Apocrypha* —— That Parents might have li- " berty to dedicate their own Children in Baptiſm —— " That Miniſters might preach where ſomebody elſe " who had the Room might read the Common Prayer " —— That Miniſters be not obliged to give the Sa- " crament to ſuch as are guilty of ſcandalous Immo- " ralities —— Nor to refuſe it to thoſe that ſcruple " Kneeling —— That Perſons excommunicate may " not be impriſoned and ruined —— And that Tole- " ration be given to all conſcientious Diſſenters —" *King* Charles II. 1673.

Theſe Propoſals being communicated to the Earl of *Orrery* were put into the Hands of Biſhop *Morley*, who returned them without yielding to any Thing of Importance. The Motion was alſo revived in the Houſe of Commons; but the Shortneſs of the Seſſions put a Stop to its Progreſs. Beſides, the Court Biſhops ſeemed altogether unconcerned in the Affair. Baxter, Part III. p. 140.

This Year put an End to the Lives of two conſiderable Non-Conformiſt Divines; Mr. *William Whitaker*, the ejected Miniſter of St. *Mary Magdalen Bermondſey*; Son of Mr. *Jer. Whitaker*: A Divine of great Learning in the Oriental Languages. He was an eloquent Preacher, and a good Man from his Youth. While he was at *Emanuel College* he was univerſally beloved; and when he came to *London* generally eſteemed for his ſweet Diſpoſition. He was firſt Preacher at *Hornchurch*, and then at the Place from whence he was ejected. He afterwards preached to a ſeparate Congregation as the Times would permit, and died in the Year 1673. *Death of Mr.* Will. Whitaker.

Mr. *James Janeway*, M. A. was born in *Hertfordſhire*, and Student of *Chriſt College*, *Oxford*. He was afterwards Tutor in the Houſe of Mr. *Stringer* at *Windſor*; but not being ſatisfied with Conformity he ſet up a ſeparate Meeting in *Rotherhithe*, where he preached to a numerous Congregation with great Succeſs. He was a zealous Preacher, and fervent in Prayer, but being weakly, his indefatigable Labours broke *And of Mr.* Janeway.

King Charles II. 1674.

his Conſtitution, ſo that he died of a Conſumption *March* 16. 1673-4. in the Thirty eighth Year of his Age.

Severity of the Court againſt the Diſſenters revived.

State Tracts, Vol. III. p. 42.

Baxter, Part III. p. 153.

The Revocation of the *Indulgence*, and the Diſpleaſure of the Court againſt the Diſſenters, for deſerting them in their Deſigns to prevent the paſſing the *Teſt Act*, let looſe the whole Tribe of *Informers*. The Papiſts being excluded from Places of Truſt the Court had no Regard for Proteſtant Non-Conformiſts; the Judges therefore had Orders to quicken the Execution of the Laws againſt them. The Eſtates of thoſe of the beſt Quality in each County were ordered to be ſeized. The Mouths of the High Church *Pulpiteers* were encouraged to open as loud as poſſible: One in his Sermon before the Houſe of Commons told them, that the Non-Conformiſts ought not to be tolerated, but to be *cured by Vengeance*. He urged them to ſet Fire to the Faggot, and to teach them by Scourges or Scorpions, and open their Eyes with Gall. The King himſelf iſſued out a Proclamation for putting the Penal Laws in full Execution; which had its Effect.

Ibid. Part III. p. 155.

Mr. *Baxter* was one of the firſt upon whom the Storm fell, being apprehended as he was preaching his *Thurſday* Lecture at Mr. *Turners*. He went with the Conſtable and *Keting* the Informer to Sir *William Pulteney*'s, who demanding the Warrant, found it ſigned by *Henry Montague*, Eſq; Bailiff of *Weſtminſter*. Sir *William* told the Conſtable, that none but a City Juſtice could give a Warrant to apprehend a Man for preaching in the City, whereupon he was diſmiſſed. Endeavours were uſed to ſurprize Dr. *Manton*, and ſend him to Priſon upon the *Oxford* Act, but Mr. *Bedford* preaching in his room was accidentally apprehended; and tho' he had taken the *Oxford* Oath was fined twenty Pounds, and the Place forty Pounds, which was paid by the Hearers.

Others plunder'd, impriſon'd and ruin'd.

The like Ravages were made in moſt Parts of *England*; Mr. *Joſeph Swaffield* of *Salisbury* was taken preaching in his own Houſe, and bound over to the Aſſizes,

Aſſizes, and committed to the County Gaol, where he continued almoſt a Year. Twenty five Perſons Men and Women were indicted for a Riot, that is, for a *Conventicle*, and ſuffered the Penalty of the Law. The Informers were *Roman* Catholicks, one of whom was executed for Treaſon in the Popiſh Plot. At *Eaſt Salcomb* in *Devonſhire* lived one *Joan Boſton*, a Widow, aged and blind, who for a ſuppoſed Conventicle kept at her Houſe was fined twelve Pounds, and for Non-Payment of it threaten'd with a Gaol. After ſome Weeks the Officers broke open her Doors, and carried away her Goods to above the Value of the Fine. They ſold as many Goods as were worth thirteen Pounds for fifty Shillings; ſix Hogſheads valued at forty Shillings for nine Shillings; and Pewter, Feather Beds, *&c.* for twenty Shillings; beſides the Rent which they demanded of her Tenants. —— Mr. *John Thompſon*, Miniſter in *Briſtol*, was apprehended on the Corporation Act, and refuſing to take the *Oxford* Oath was committed to Priſon, where he was ſeized with a Fever through the Noiſomneſs of the Place; A Phyſician being ſent for, adviſed his Removal; and a Bond of five hundred Pounds was offered the Sheriff for his Security: Application was alſo made to the Biſhop, but without Succeſs; ſo he died in Priſon *March* 4. declaring, That *if he had known when he came to Priſon that he ſhould die there, he would have done no otherwiſe than he did.* Numberleſs Examples of the like Kind might be produced during the Receſs of the Parliament. But the King's Want of Money, and the Diſcontents of his People, obliged him to put an End to the War with the *Dutch*, upon no other Advantage than a Sum of two or three hundred thouſand Pounds for his Expences.

King Charles II. 1674.

Conf. Plea, Part IV. P. 75.

Peace with the Dutch.

His Majeſty was unwilling to meet his Parliament, who were now full of Zeal againſt Popery, and began to conſider the Non-Conformiſts as Auxiliaries to the Proteſtant Cauſe; but Neceſſity obliged him to call them together; and as ſoon as they met *Jan.* 7. they addreſs'd his Majeſty to baniſh

Parliament proſecute the Papiſts and the Cabal.

King Charles II. 1674.

baniſh all Papiſts who were not Houſe-Keepers nor menial Servants to Peers, ten Miles from *London*; and to appoint a Faſt for the Calamities of the Nation. They attacked the remaining Members of the *Cabal*, and voted them to be removed from his Majeſty's Council; upon which the King prorogued them for above a Year, after they had ſat but ſix Weeks, without giving any Money, or having one ſingle Act paſſed; which was an Indication of ill Blood between the King and Parliament, and a certain Forerunner of Vengeance upon the *Diſſenters*. But to ſtifle the Clamours of the People his Majeſty republiſhed his Proclamation, forbidding their meddling in State Affairs, or talking ſeditiouſly in Coffee-Houſes; and then commanded an Order to be made publick, "That effectual Care "be taken for the *ſuppreſſing of Conventicles*; and "whereas divers pretend *old Licenſes* from his Maje- "ſty, and would ſupport themſelves by that Pre- "tence, his Majeſty declares, that all his Licenſe "were long ſince recalled, and that *no Conventicl* "has any Authority, Allowance, or Encouragemen "from him."

Gazette, N° 883.

Ib. N° 962, 965.

Death of Mr. John Milton.

This Year put an End to the Life of the Famou Mr. *John Milton*, born in *London*, and educated i *Chriſt College*, *Cambridge*, where he diſplayed an un common Genius, which was very much improved b his Travels. He was *Latin* Secretary to the Lon Parliament, and writ in Defence of the Murder o King *Charles* I. againſt *Salmaſius* and others, wit great Sharpneſs, but in a pure and elegant *Latin* Stil He was afterwards Secretary to the Protector *Cromwe* and loſt both his Eyes by hard Study. At the Reſtoratio ſome of his Books were burnt, and himſelf in dange but he was happily included in the Act of Indemnit and lived afterwards a retired Life. He was a Man a prodigious Genius, and did himſelf and the *Engli* Nation immortal Honour by his incomparable Poe of *Paradiſe Loſt*; in which he manifeſted ſuch a wo derful Sublimeneſs of Thought, as, perhaps, was n

ver exceeded in any Age or Nation in the World. His Daughters read to him after he was blind the *Greek* Poets, tho' they underſtood not the Language. He died in mean Circumſtances at *Bunhill* near *London*, in the Sixty ſeventh Year of his Age. *King* Charles II. 1674.

Tho' the Proteſtant Religion ſtood in need of the united Strength of all its Profeſſors againſt the Growth of Popery, and the Parliament had moved for a Toleration of *Proteſtant Diſſenters*, yet the Biſhops continued to proſecute them in common with the Papiſts. Archbiſhop *Sheldon* directed circular Letters to the Biſhops of his Province, enjoining them to give Directions to their Archdeacons and Commiſſaries, to get particular Information from the Church-Wardens of their ſeveral Pariſhes on the following Enquiries, and tranſmit them to him after the next Viſitation, 1. What Number of Perſons are there, by common Eſtimation, inhabiting within each Pariſh ſubject to your Juriſdiction? 2. What Number of Popiſh Recuſants, or Perſons ſuſpected of Recuſancy, are reſident among the Inhabitants aforeſaid? 3. What Number of other Diſſenters are there in each Pariſh of what Sect ſoever, which either obſtinately refuſe, or wholly abſent themſelves from the Communion of the Church of *England*, at ſuch Times as by Law they are required? — Some of the Clergy were concerned at theſe Proceedings, therefore Dr. *Tillotſon* and *Stillingfleet* met privately with Dr. *Manton*, *Bates*, *Pool* and *Baxter*, to conſider of Terms of Accommodation, but when they had agreed, and communicated them to the Biſhops, they were diſallowed; ſo that when *Tillotſon* ſaw how Things were going, he cautiouſly withdrew from the Odium, and writ the following Letter to Mr. *Baxter*, *April* 11. 1675. "That he was unwilling his Name ſhould "be made publick in the Affair, ſince it was come "to nothing; not but that I do heartily deſire an Ac- "commodation (ſays he) and ſhall always endeavour "it; but I am ſure it will be a Prejudice to me, and "ſignify nothing to the Effecting the Thing, which

1675. *Abp.* Sheldon's *circular Letter againſt the Diſſenters.*

Attempts for an Accommodation fruſtrated by the Bps. Baxter, Part III. p. 157, 158.

King Charles II. 1675.

" as Circumſtances are cannot paſs in either Houſe " *without the Concurrence of a conſiderable Part of the* " *Biſhops, and the Countenance of his Majeſty, which* " *at preſent I ſee little Reaſon to expect.*"

People begin to compaſſionate the Sufferings of the Non-Conf.

But the Biſhops Conduct made them Unpopular, and they met with many Rubs in their Way; Peoples Compaſſion began to move towards their Diſſenting Neighbours, whom they frequently ſaw carried in great Numbers to Priſon, and ſpoiled of their Goods, for no other Crime but a ſcrupulous Conſcience. The very Name of an *Informer* was odious, and their Behaviour infamous. The Aldermen of *London* often went out of the Way when they heard of their coming; and ſome denied them their Warrants, tho' by the Act they forfeited one hundred Pounds. Alderman *Forth* bound over an *Informer* to his good Behaviour, for breaking into his Chamber without leave. When twelve or thirteen Biſhops came into the City to dine with Sir *Nathaniel Herne*, Sheriff of *London*, and exhorted him to put the Laws in Execution againſt the Non-Conformiſts, he told them plainly, they could not trade with their Neighbours one Day, and put them in Priſon the next.

Compl. Hiſt. p. 338.

Proceedings of the Court to eſtabliſh arbitrary Power.

The moderate Churchmen ſhewing a Diſpoſition to unite with the Non-Conformiſts againſt Popery, the Court reſolved to take in the old Ranting Cavaliers to ſtrengthen the Oppoſition; for this Purpoſe *Morley* and ſome other Biſhops were ſent for to Court, and told, it was a great Misfortune that the Church Party and Diſſenters were ſo diſpoſed to unite, and run into one; the Court was therefore willing to make the Church eaſy, and to ſecure to the King the Allegiance of all his Subjects at the ſame Time; for this Purpoſe a Bill was brought into the Houſe of Lords, entituled, *An Act to prevent the Dangers which may ariſe from Perſons diſaffected to the Government*; by which all ſuch as enjoyed any beneficial Office or Employment, Eccleſiaſtical, Civil, or Military; all that voted in Elections of Parliament Men; all Privy

A Bill in the H. of Lords for that Purpoſe.

Privy Counſellors and Members of Parliament themſelves, were under a Penalty to take the following Oath: *I* A. B. *do declare, that it is not lawful upon any Pretence whatſoever, to take up Arms againſt the King; and that I do abhor that traiterous Poſition of taking Arms by his Authority againſt his Perſon, or againſt thoſe that are commiſſioned by him in purſuance of ſuch Commiſſion. And I do ſwear, that I will not at any Time endeavour the Alteration of the Government either in Church or State. So help me God.* The Deſign of the Bill was to enable the Miniſtry to go on with their deſtructive Schemes againſt the Conſtitution and the Proteſtant Religion, without fear of Oppoſition even from the Parliament it ſelf. The chief Speakers for the Bill were the Lord Treaſurer and the Lord Keeper, Lord *Danby* and *Finch*, with Biſhop *Morley* and *Ward*; but the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, Duke of *Buckingham*, Lord *Hollis* and *Hallifax*, laid open the miſchievous Deſigns and Conſequences of it: It was thought a diſinheriting Men of their Birthright to ſhut them out from their Votes in electing by an enſnaring Oath, as well as deſtructive to the Privilege of Parliament, which was to vote freely in all Caſes without any previous Obligation; that the Peace of the Nation would be beſt ſecured by making good Laws; and that Oaths and Teſt without this would be no real Security; ſcrupulous Men might be fetter'd by them, but that the Bulk of Mankind would boldly take any Teſt, and as eaſily break through it, as had appeared in the late Times. The Bill was committed, and debated Paragraph by Paragraph, but the Heats occaſioned by it were ſo violent, that the King came unexpectedly to the Houſe *June* 9. and prorogued the Parliament; ſo the Bill was dropt; but the Debates of the Lords upon the intended Oath being made publick were ordered to be burnt. Two Proclamations were re-publiſhed on this Occaſion; one to prevent ſeditious Diſcourſes in Coffee-Houſes, the other to put a Stop to the publiſhing ſeditious Libels.

King Charles II. 1675.

Baxter's *Life*, Part III. p. 167. Burnet, p. 384.

It is dropt.

Gazette, N° 1059.

King Charles II. 1675.

The Court had reaſon to hope for the paſſing this Bill, becauſe the Oath had been already impoſed upon the *Non-Conformiſts*; and the Court Clergy had been preaching in their ſeveral Churches, for ſeveral Years, that *Paſſive-Obedience* and *Non-Reſiſtance* was the received Doctrine of the Church of *England*; the Biſhops had poſſeſſed the King and his Brother with the Belief of it, and if it had now paſſed into a Law the whole Nation had been fetter'd, and the Court might have done what they pleaſed. But the Parliament ſaw through the Deſign; and Dr. *Burnet* ſays, he opened the Reſerve to the Duke of *York*, by telling him, "that there was no "truſting to diſputable Opinions; that *there were* "*Diſtinctions and Reſerves in thoſe who had main-* "*tained theſe Points*; and that when Men ſaw a viſi- "ble Danger of being firſt undone and then burnt, "they would be enclined to the ſhorteſt Way of argu- "ing, and ſave themſelves the beſt Way they could; "Intereſt and Self-Preſervation being powerful Mo- "tives." This might be wholeſome Advice to the Duke, but implies ſuch a *ſecret Reſerve* as may cover the moſt wicked Deſigns, and is not fit for the Lips of a Proteſtant Divine, nor even of an honeſt Man.

Remarks.

Burnet, p. 359.

Inſolence of the Papiſts produces another Attempt for a Toleration.

The daring Inſolence of the Papiſts, who had their regular Clergy in every Corner of the Town, was ſo great that they not only challenged the Proteſtant Divines to Diſputations, but threaten'd to aſſaſſinate ſuch as preached openly againſt their Tenets; which confirmed the Lords and Commons in their Opinion of the abſolute Neceſſity of entering into more moderate and healing Meaſures with Proteſtant Diſſenters, notwithſtanding the *dead Weight* of the Biſhops againſt it. Upon this Occaſion the Duke of *Buckingham*, now turned Patriot, made the following Speech in the Houſe of Lords, which is inſerted in the *Commons Journal*.

Duke of Buckingham's Speech for a Toleration.

"My Lords, There is a Thing called Liberty, which "(whatſoever ſome Men may think) is *that* the "People of *England* are fondeſt of, it is that they "will never part with, and is, that his Majeſty in his

"Speech

" Speech has promiſed to take particular Care of. " This, my Lords, in my Opinion, can never be " done without giving an *Indulgence to all Proteſtant* " *Diſſenters*. It is certainly a very uneaſy Kind of " Life to any Man, that has either Chriſtian Charity, " Humanity or good Nature, to ſee his Fellow-Sub- " jects daily abuſed, diveſted of their Liberty and " Birthrights, and miſerably thrown out of their Poſ- " ſeſſions and Freeholds, only becauſe they cannot " agree with others in ſome Opinions and Niceties of " Religion which their Conſciences will not give them " leave to conſent to, and which even by the Confeſ- " ſion of thoſe who would impoſe them are no ways " neceſſary to Salvation.

King Charles II. 1675.

" But, my Lords, beſides this, and all that may " be ſaid upon it, in order to the Improvement of " our Trade and Increaſe of the Wealth, Strength " and Greatneſs of this Nation (which with your " leave I ſhall preſume to diſcourſe of ſome other " Time) there is, methinks in this Notion of Perſe- " cution, a very groſs Miſtake, both as to the Point " of Government and the Point of Religion; there is " ſo as to the *Point of Government*, becauſe it makes " every Man's Safety depend upon the wrong Place, " not upon the Governors or Man's living well to- " wards the Civil Government eſtabliſhed by Law, " but upon his being tranſported with Zeal for every " Opinion that is held by thoſe that have Power in " the Church that is in faſhion; and I conceive it is a " Miſtake in *Religion*, becauſe it is poſitively againſt " the expreſs Doctrine and Example of Jeſus Chriſt. " Nay, *my Lords*, as to our Proteſtant Religion there " is ſomething in it yet worſe, for we Proteſtants " maintain, that none of thoſe Opinions which Chri- " ſtians differ about are infallible, and therefore in us " it is ſomewhat an inexcuſable Conception, that Men " ought to be deprived of their Inheritance, and all " the certain Conveniencies and Advantages of Life,

King Charles II. 1675.

" becauſe they will not agree with us in our uncertain " Opinions of Religion.

" My humble Motion therefore to your Lordſhips " is, that you would give leave to bring in *a Bill* " *of Indulgence to all Proteſtant Diſſenters.* I know " very well, that every Peer in this Realm has a Right " to bring into Parliament any Bill he conceives to be " uſeful to his Nation; but I thought it more reſpect- " ful to your Lordſhips to aſk your leave before; and " I cannot think the doing it will be any Prejudice to " the Bill, becauſe I am confident the Reaſon, the " Prudence, and the Charitableneſs of it will be able " to juſtify it to this Houſe, and to the whole World."

Accordingly the Houſe gave *his Grace* leave to bring in a Bill to that Purpoſe; but this and ſome others were loſt by the warm Debates of the Houſe, upon the Impeachment of the Earl of *Danby*, which occaſioned the ſudden Prorogation of the Parliament *June* 9. without paſſing one publick Bill; after which his Majeſty, upon further Diſcontent, prorogued them for fifteen Months, which gave Occaſion to warm Debates in the next Seſſion, whether they were not legally diſſolved.

Cry of the Danger of the Church Detect. p. 500.

From this Time to the Breaking out of the Popiſh Plot Parliaments were called and adjourned (ſays Mr. *Coke*) by Order from *France* or *French* Miniſters and Penſioners, to carry on the Deſign of promoting the *Catholick Cauſe* in maſquerade. The King himſelf was a known Penſioner of *Lewis* XIV. who had appropriated a Fund of twenty Millions of Livres for the Service of theſe Kingdoms, out of which the Duke of *York*, and the prime Miniſters and Leaders of Parties had Donatives, according as the *French* Ambaſſador repreſented their Merit. The *Penſioners* made it their Buſineſs to raiſe the Cry of the Church's Danger, and of the Return of *Forty One*. This was ſpread over the whole Nation in numberleſs Pamphlets, and News Papers, *&c.* writ by their own Hirelings, and if they

met

met with Oppoſition from the other Side, the Authors and Printers were ſure to be fined and impriſoned. A Reward of Fifty Pounds was offered for the Printer of a Pamphlet, ſuppoſed to be writ by *Andrew Marvel*, entituled, *An Account of the Growth of Power, and a ſeaſonable Argument to all Grand Juries*; and one hundred Pounds for the Perſon who conveyed it to the Preſs. No Man could get any Thing publiſhed on the Side of Liberty and the Proteſtant Religion but with the Hazard of a Priſon, and a conſiderable Fine; nor is this to be wonder'd at, conſidering that Sir *Roger L'Eſtrange* was the ſole Licenſer of the Preſs. *King* Charles II. 1675.

This Gentleman was a Penſioner of the Court, and a Champion for the Prerogative; he was a younger Son of Sir *Hammond L'Eſtrange* of *Norfolk*, who having obtained ſome Hopes of ſurpriſing the Town of *Lynn* for his Majeſty in the Year 1644. obtained a Commiſſion from the King for that Purpoſe, but being apprehended and tried by a Court Martial for coming into the Parliament's Quarters as a Spy, he was condemned, and ordered to be executed in *Smithfield Jan.* 2. 1644-5. but by the Interceſſion of ſome powerful Friends he was reprieved, and kept in *Newgate* ſeveral Years; but his Sufferings made ſuch an Impreſſion on his Spirit, that upon the King's Reſtoration he reſolved to make Repriſals on the whole Party. He was Maſter of a fine *Engliſh* Stile, and of a great deal of ſatyrical Wit, all which he employed without any Regard to Truth or Honeſty in the Service of Popery and Arbitrary Power, and in vilifying the beſt and moſt undoubted Patriots of his Country. Never did Man fight ſo to force the Diſſenters into the Church (ſays *Coke*) and when he had got them there branded them for *Trimmers*, and would turn them out again. He was a moſt mercenary Writer, and had a Pen at the Service of thoſe who would pay him beſt. *Forty One* was his Retreat againſt all that durſt contend againſt him and the Prerogative. Sir *Roger* obſerved no Meaſures with his Adverſaries in his *Weekly Obſervators, Foxes and Firebrands, Citt and Bumkin*, *Of Sir* Roger L' Eſtrange.

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Bumkin, and other Pamphlets; and when the Falſeneſs of his Reaſoning and Wickedneſs of his Railery was detected, *like a ſecond Don Quixot*, he called aloud to the Civil Magiſtrate to come into his Aid. He repreſented the Religion of the Diſſenters as a Mixture of Folly and Vanity; their Principles and Tempers as turbulent, ſeditious, and utterly inconſiſtent with the Peace of the State; their Pretences as frivolous, and often baffled. He excited the Government to uſe the utmoſt Severities to extirpate them out of the Kingdom. He furniſhed the Clergy with Pulpit Materials to rail at the Diſſenters; upon which the Clergy delivered themſelves up to much Heat and Indiſcretion; Popery was forgot, and nothing ſo common in their Mouths as *Forty One*. *L'Eſtrange* publiſhed ſome of the *incautious* Expreſſions of the Diſſenters in the late Times, which he picked out of their Writings, to excite the Pope againſt the whole Party, as if it had not been eaſy to make Repriſals from the ranting Expreſſions of the Tories in this Reign: For theſe Exploits he was maintained by the Court, and knighted; and yet when the Tide turned in the Reign of King *James* II. he forgot *his Railery againſt the Principles of the Non-Conformiſts*, and writ as zealouſly for Liberty of Conſcience, on the Foot of the Diſpenſing Power, as any Man in the Kingdom.

Burnet, p. 461. Rapin.

Corbet's *Principles and Practices of the* Non-Conform.

But in anſwer to the Invectives of this mercenary Writer and others, a Pamphlet was publiſhed with the Approbation of ſeveral Miniſters, entituled, *The Principles and Practices of ſeveral Non-Conformiſts, ſhewing that their Religion is no other than what is profeſſed in the Church of* England. The Authors declare, "that they heartily own the Proteſtant Reformation "*in Doctrine*, as contained in the Articles of the Church "of *England* — That they are willing to embrace Biſhop *Uſher*'s Model of Church Government, which "King *Charles* I. admitted — They hold it unlawful, "by the Conſtitution and Laws of this Kingdom, for "Subjects to take Arms againſt the King, his Office,

" Authority or Perſon, or thoſe legally commiſſioned " and authorized by him. Nor will they endeavour " any Alteration in Church or State by any other " Means than by Prayer to God, and by petitioning " their Superiors —— They acknowledge the King's " Supremacy over all Perſons, *&c.* within his Domi- " nions — They declare that their Doctrine tends to " no Unquietneſs or Confuſion any more than the " Doctrine of the Church of *England.* And they " think it not fair Dealing in their Adverſaries to re- " peat and aggravate all intemperate Paſſages vented " in the late Times, when impetuous Actings hurried " Men into Extremities; and *they apprehend it would* " *not tend to the Advantage of the conforming Clergy,* " *if Collections ſhould be publiſhed of all their Impru-* " *dences and Weakneſſes, as has been done on the other* " *Side* — They abhor ſeditious Conventicles, and " affirm, that Inſurrections were never contrived in " their Meetings, nor in any whereof they are conſci- " ous. Experience (ſay they) hath witneſſed our " Peaceableneſs, and that Diſloyalty or Sedition is " not to be found among us by the moſt Inquiſitive of " our Adverſaries —— They deſire the Church of " *England* to take Notice, that they have no Mind " to promote Popiſh Deſigns; that they are aware of " the Advantage that Papiſts make of the Diviſions " of Proteſtants — That the Invectives thrown out " againſt them are made up only of big and ſwelling " Words, or of the Indiſcretions of a few, with which " they are not chargeable — They don't pretend to " be Courtiers or Philoſophers, but they teach their " People to Fear God and Honour the King; to " Love the Brotherhood, to Bridle their Tongues, to " be Meek and Lowly, and to do their own Work " with Quietneſs —"

King Charles II. 1675.

Tho' the Perſecution continued very fierce, the Non-Conformiſts ventur'd to aſſemble in private, and ſeveral Pamphlets were publiſhed about this Time in their Defence; as, *The Peaceable Deſign; or, An Account*

1676. *Pamphlets in favour of ſeparate Meetings.*

King Charles II. 1676.

count of the Non-Conformiſts Meetings. By ſome *London* Miniſters, deſigned, ſays Dr. *Stillingfleet*, to be preſented to Parliament. *Reaſons which prevailed with the Diſſenters in* Briſtol *to continue their Meetings, however proſecuted or diſturbed —— Separation no Schiſm —— A Rebuke to Informers; with a Plea for the Miniſters of the Goſpel called Non-Conformiſts, and their Meetings; with Advice to thoſe to whom the Informers apply for Aſſiſtance in their Undertaking.*

Of the Informers. Conform. Plea, Part III. p. 8, 9, 10.

Theſe INFORMERS were now become the Terror of the Non-Conformiſts, and a Reproach to a civilized Nation. They went about in Diſguiſe, and like wandering Strollers lived upon the Plunder of induſtrious Families. They are a ſelect Company (ſays the *Conformiſts Plea for the Non-Conformiſts*) whom the Long-ſuffering of God permits for a Time; they are of no good Reputation; they do not ſo much as know the Names or Perſons in the Country whom they moleſt, but go by Report of their under Servants and Accomplices. They come from two or three Counties off to ſet up this new Trade; whether they are Papiſts or nominal Proteſtants, who can tell? They never go to their Pariſh Churches, nor any other, but lie in Wait and Ambuſh for their Prey; their Eſtate is inviſible, their Country unknown to many, and their Morals are as bad as the very Dregs of the Age: Theſe are the Men who direct and rule many of the Magiſtrates; who live upon the Spoil of better Chriſtians and Subjects than themſelves, and go away with honeſt Mens Goods honeſtly gotten. —— They are generally poor (ſays another Writer) as are many of the *Juſtices*, ſo that they ſhared the Booty belonging to the King as well as the Poor among themſelves; by which Means the King and Poor got but little.

Sewel, p. 493.

Their Method.

Their Practice was to inſinuate themſelves into an Acquaintance with ſome under Servants, or Lodgers in a *Non-Conformiſt Family*, under the Cloak of Religion, in order to find out the Place of their *Meeting*. They walked the Streets on the *Lord's Day*, to obſerve which way any ſuſpected

ſuſpected Perſons went. They frequently ſet down in Coffee-Houſes, and Places of publick Reſort, to liſten to Converſation. They could turn themſelves into any Shape, or ſpeak any Language, to obtain their Ends. When they had diſcovered a Conventicle they immediately got a Warrant from ſome who were called *confiding Juſtices*, to break open the Houſe. If the Miniſter was in the midſt of his Sermon or Prayer they commanded him, in the King's Name, to come down from his Pulpit; and if he did not immediately obey, a File of Muſqueteers was uſually ſent up to pull him down by force, and to take him into Cuſtody; the Congregation was broke up, and the People guarded along the Streets to a Magiſtrate, and from him to a Priſon, unleſs they immediately paid their Fines: The Goods of the Houſe were rifled, and frequently carried off as a Security for the large Sum of Money ſet upon it.

King Charles II. 1676.

This was a new Way of getting Money, but it ſeldom or never proſpered; that which was ill gotten was as ill ſpent, upon lewd Women, or in Taverns and Ale-Houſes, in Gaming or ſome Kind of Debauchery. An *Informer* was but one Degree above a Beggar; there was a remarkable Blaſt of Providence upon their Perſons and Subſtance: Moſt of them died in Poverty and Want; and as they lived in Diſgrace they ſeemed to die by a remarkable Hand of God. *Stroud* and *Marſhal*, with all their Plunder, could not keep out of Priſon; and when *Keting*, another Informer, was confined for Debt, he writ to Mr. *Baxter* to endeavour his Deliverance, confeſſing he believed God had ſent that Calamity upon him, for giving him ſo much Trouble. Another died in the *Compter* for Debt; and great Numbers by their Debaucheries came to miſerable and untimely Ends.

Their infamous Lives and Death.

But as ſome died off others roſe up in their Places, who by the Inſtigation of the Court diſturbed all the Meetings they could find out. The King commanded the Judges and Juſtices of *London* to put the Penal Laws

They are encouraged by the Court.

King Charles II. 1676.

Laws in ſtrict Execution; and Sir *Joſ. Sheldon*, Lord Mayor, and Kinſman to the Archbiſhop, did not fail to do his part. Sir *Thomas Davis* gave out a Warrant to diſtrain on Mr. *Baxter* for fifty Pounds, on account of his Lecture in *New Street*; and when he had built a little Chapel in *Oxenden Street*, the Doors were ſhut up after he had preached in it but once. In *April* this Year he was diſturbed by a Company of Conſtables and Officers, as he was preaching in *Swallow Street*, who beat Drums under the Windows, and interrupted the Service, when they had not a Warrant to break open the Houſe.

And the Biſhops. State Tracts. Vol. II. p. 54, 55. Vol. III. p. 42, &c.

The Court Biſhops, as has been obſerved more than once, puſhed on the *Informers* to do all the Miſchief they could to the Non-Conformiſts; "The Prelates "will not ſuffer them to be quiet in their Families "(ſays a conſiderable Writer of theſe Times) tho' "they have given large and ample Teſtimonies that "they are willing to live quietly by their Church "Neighbours —" The Diſſenting Proteſtants have been reputed the only Enemies of the Nation, and therefore only perſecuted (ſays a noble Writer) while the Papiſts remain undiſturbed, being by the Court thought Loyal, and by our great Biſhops not dangerous. Mr. *Locke*, Biſhop *Burnet*, and others, have ſet a black Mark upon the Names of Archbiſhop *Sheldon*, Biſhop *Morley*, *Gunning*, *Henchman*, *Ward*, &c. but I mention no more, becauſe there were others of a better Spirit who reſided in their Dioceſes, and did not concern themſelves with the Court.

Death of Biſhop Reynolds.

Among theſe we may reckon Dr. *Edward Reynolds*, Biſhop of *Norwich*, born in *Southampton*, 1599. and educated in *Merton College*, *Oxford*; he was Preacher to the Society of *Lincoln's Inn*, and reckoned one of the moſt eloquent Pulpit Men of his Age. In the Time of the Civil Wars he took part with the Parliament, and was *one of the Aſſembly of Divines*. In the Year 1646. he was appointed one of the Preachers to the Univerſity of *Oxford*, and afterwards a *Viſitor*.

Upon

Upon the Reform of the Univerſity he was made Dean of *Chriſt Church*, and Vicechancellor. After the King's Death he loſt his Deanry for refuſing the *Engagement*, but complied with all the other Changes till the King's Reſtoration, when he appeared with the Preſbyterians, but was prevailed with to accept a Biſhoprick on the Terms of the King's Declaration, which never took Place. He was a Perſon of ſingular Affability, Meekneſs, and Humility, and a frequent Preacher, tho' he had but a hoarſe Voice. He was a conſtant Reſident in his Dioceſe, and a good old Puritan, who never concerned himſelf with the Politicks of the Court. He died at *Norwich Jan.* 16. 1676. *Ætatis* Seventy Six.

King Charles II. 1676.

The Murmurs of the People againſt the Government ſtill ran very high. When the Parliament met they addreſs'd the King to enter into an Alliance with the *Dutch*, and other Confederates, for preſerving the *Spaniſh Netherlands*, as the only Means to ſave *Great Britain* from Popery and Slavery. But his Majeſty ſaid, he would not ſuffer his Prerogative of making War and Peace to be invaded, nor be directed what Alliances it was proper for him to enter into. However, he conſented to a ſeparate Peace with the *Dutch*, and then prorogued the Parliament to the middle of *July*, by which Time the *French* had almoſt compleated their Conqueſts of the *Spaniſh Flanders*. The chief Thing the Parliament could obtain, was the Repeal of the Popiſh Act *de Hæretico comburendo*.

1677. *Dangerous State of the Nation.* Gazette, N° 1203.

But when the Campaign was over his Majeſty did one of the moſt popular Actions of his Reign, which was, Marrying the Princeſs MARY, eldeſt Daughter of the Duke of *York*, to the PRINCE of ORANGE. The King imagined he could oblige the *Dutch* by this Marriage to ſubmit to a diſadvantageous Peace with the *French*; but when the Prince declared roundly, that he would not ſacrifice his Honour, nor the Liberties of *Europe* for a Wife, his Majeſty ſaid, he was an honeſt Man, and gave him the *Princeſs* without any Conditions,

Marriage of the Prince of Orange *with the Princeſs* Mary.

King Charles II. 1677.

tions, to the great Joy of all the Proteſtants in the Nation, who had now a Proteſtant Heir to the Crown in view, tho' at ſome diſtance. The Nuptials were ſolemnized *Nov.* 4, 1677. and the Royal Pair ſoon after embarked privately for *Holland*.

Death of Archbp. Sheldon, *and Promotion of* Sancroft *and* Compton.

This Year died Archbiſhop *Sheldon*, one of the moſt inveterate Enemies of the Non-Conformiſts, a Man of high perſecuting Principles, and a Tool of the Prerogative, who made a Jeſt of Religion, any farther than it was a political Engine of State. He was ſucceeded by Dr. *Sancroft*, who was deprived for *Jacobitiſm* at the Revolution. Dr. *Compton* was promoted to the See of *London*, in the Room of Doctor *Henchman*, a Man of weak, but arbitrary Principles, till it came to his own Turn to be pinched. Many of the Biſhops were with the King this Summer, for his Commands to put the Penal Laws in Execution, which they did with ſo much Diligence, that Mr. *Baxter* ſays, he was ſo weary of keeping his Doors ſhut againſt Perſons that came to diſtrain his Goods for Preaching, that he was forced to leave his Houſe, to ſell his Goods, and part with his very Books. About twelve Years (ſays he) I have been driven one hundred Miles from them, and when I had paid dear for the Carriage, after two or three Years I was forced to ſell them. Which was the Caſe of many others, who being driven from their Families and Friends, and having no Way of Subſiſtance, were forced to ſell their Books, and part with their Houſhold Furniture to keep them alive.

Baxter, Part III. p. 171, 172.

Death of Dr. Manton.

This Year died the Reverend Dr. *Thomas Manton*, ejected from *Covent Garden*; he was born in *Somerſetſhire* 1620. educated at *Tiverton* School, and from thence placed in *Wadham College*, *Oxon*. He was ordained by Dr. *Hall* Biſhop of *Exeter*, when he was not more than twenty Years of Age: His firſt Settlement was at *Stoke-Newington*, near *London*, where he continued ſeven Years, being generally eſteemed an excellent Preacher, and a learned Expoſitor of Scripture.

ture. Upon the Death or Reſignation of Mr. *Obadiah Sedgwick*, he was preſented to the Living of *Covent-Garden* by the Duke of *Bedford*, and preached to a numerous Congregation. The Doctor was appointed one of the Protector's Chaplains, and one of the *Triers* of Perſons Qualifications for the Miniſtry; which Service he conſtantly attended. In the Year 1660. he was very forward in concert with the Preſbyterian Miniſters, to promote the King's Reſtoration, and was one of the Commiſſioners at the *Savoy* Conference; He was then created Doctor of Divinity, and offered the Deanry of *Rocheſter*, but declined it. After he was turned out of his Living in 1662. he kept a private Meeting in his own Houſe, but was impriſoned, and met with ſeveral Diſturbances in his Miniſterial Work. He was in all the Treaties for a Comprehenſion with the Eſtabliſhed Church, and in high Eſteem with the Duke of *Bedford*, Earl of *Mancheſter*, and other noble Perſons. At length finding his Conſtitution breaking, he reſigned himſelf to God's wiſe Diſpoſal, and being ſeized with a kind of Lethargy, he died *October* 18. 1677. in the Fifty ſeventh Year of his Age, and was buried in the Chancel of the Church of *Stoke Newington*. Dr. *Bates* in his Funeral Sermon ſays, He was a Divine of a rich Fancy, a ſtrong Memory, and happy Elocution, improved by diligent Study. He was an excellent Chriſtian, a fervent Preacher, and every Way a Bleſſing to the Church of God. His practical Works were publiſhed in five Volumes in Folio at ſeveral Times after his Death, and are in great Eſteem among the Diſſenters to this Day.

King Charles II. 1677.

About the ſame Time died Mr. *John Rowe*, M. A. born in the Year 1626. and educated for ſome Time at *Cambridge*, but tranſlated to *Oxford* about the Time of the Viſitation in the Year 1648. Here he was admitted *M. A.* and Fellow of *Corpus Chriſti College*. He was firſt Lecturer at *Witney* in *Oxfordſhire*; afterwards Preacher at *Tiverton* in *Devonſhire*, and one of

And of Mr. John Rowe.

King Charles II. 1677.

the Commiſſioners for ejecting ignorant and inſufficient Miniſters in that County. Upon the Death of Mr. *William Strong* in the Year 1654, he was called to ſucceed him in the Abbey Church of *Weſtminſter*; at which Place, as in all others, his Sermons were very much frequented by Perſons of all Perſuaſions. On the 14th of *March* 1659, he was appointed one of the Approvers of Miniſters by Act of Parliament; but on the King's Reſtoration he gave way to the Change of the Times, and was ſilenced with his Brethren by the Act of Uniformity. He was a Divine of great Gravity and Piety; his Sermons were judicious and well ſtudied, fit for the Audience of Men of the beſt Quality in thoſe Times. After the *Bartholomew Act* he continued with his People, and preached to them in *Bartholomew Cloſe*, and elſewhere, as the Times would permit, till his Death, which happened *October* 12. 1677. in the Fifty ſecond Year of his Age. He lies buried in *Bunhil Fields*, under an Altar Monument of a Brick Foundation. The Words with which he concluded his laſt Sermon were theſe, *We ſhould not deſire to continue longer in this World than to glorify God, to finiſh our Work, and to be ready to ſay, Farewel Time, welcome bleſſed Eternity: Even ſo come, Lord Jeſus!*

CHAP

CHAP. X.

From the Popiſh Plot *to the Death of King* CHARLES II. *in the Year* 1684-5.

THE King having concluded a Peace with the *Dutch*, became Mediator between the *French* and the Confederates at the Treaty of *Nimeguen*; where the former managed the *Engliſh* Court ſo dexterouſly, that the Emperor and *Spaniards* were obliged to buy their Peace at the Expence of the beſt Part of *Flanders*.

King Charles II. 1678. *Peace of* Nimeguen.

From this Time to the End of the King's Reign we meet with little elſe but *Domeſtick Quarrels* between the King and his Parliament; *Sham Plots*, and *furious Sallies of Rage and Revenge*, between the Court and Country Parties. The Non-Conformiſts were very great Sufferers by theſe Debates; the Penal Laws being in full force, and the Execution of them in the Hands of their declared Enemies.

No ſooner was the Nation at Peace abroad, but a formidable Plot broke out at home, to take away the King's Life, to ſubvert the Conſtitution, to introduce Popery, and to extirpate the Proteſtant Religion Root and Branch. It was called the POPISH PLOT from the Nature of the Deſign, and the Quality of the Perſons concerned in it, which were no leſs than Pope *Innocent* XI. Cardinal *Howard* his Legat; and the *Generals of the Jeſuits* in *Spain* and at *Rome*. When the King was taken off the Duke of *York* was to receive the Crown as a Gift from the Pope, and hold it in fee. If there happen'd any Diſturbance, the City of *London* was to be fired, and the Infamy of the whole Affair to be laid upon the *Presbyterians* and *Fanaticks*, in hopes that the *Churchmen* in the Heat of their Fury would cut them in pieces, which would make way for the more eaſy Subverſion of the whole

The Popiſh Plot. Eachard, p. 934.

King Charles II. 1678.

Proteſtant Religion. Thus an Inſurrection, and perhaps a ſecond Maſſacre of the Proteſtants was intended; for this Purpoſe they had great Numbers of Popiſh Officers in pay, and ſome Thouſands of Men ſecretly liſted to appear upon Occaſion; as was depoſed by the Oaths of *Bedloe*, *Tongue*, Dr. *Oates*, and others.

Alarms the Nation.

The Diſcovery of this Plot ſpread a prodigious Alarm over the Nation, and awakened the Fears of thoſe who were before at Eaſe. The King's Life was the more valuable becauſe of the *Popiſh Succeſſor*, who was willing to run all Riſks for the introducing his Religion. The Murder of Sir *Edmundbury Godfrey* at this Juncture, a zealous and active Proteſtant Juſtice of Peace, encreaſed Men's Suſpicions *of a Plot*, and the Depoſitions upon Oath of the above-mentioned Witneſſes, ſeemed to put it beyond all doubt; for upon their Impeachment Sir *G. Wakeman* the Queen's Phyſician; Mr. *Ed. Coleman* the Duke of *York*'s Secretary, Mr. *Richard Langhorne*, and eight other Romiſh Prieſts and Jeſuits, were apprehended and ſecured. When the Parliament met they voted, That *there was a damnable helliſh Plot contrived and carried on by Popiſh Recuſants againſt the Life of the King and the Proteſtant Religion.* Five Popiſh Lords were committed to Cuſtody, *viz.* Lord *Stafford*, *Powis*, *Arundel*, *Petre*, and *Bellaſys*. A Proclamation was iſſued out againſt Papiſts; and the King was addreſſed to remove the Duke of *York* from his Perſon and Councils.

Not credited at Court.

Tho' the King himſelf gave no Credit to the Plot, yet finding it impracticable to ſtem the Tide of the People's Zeal, he gave way to the Execution of the Law upon ſeveral of the condemned Criminals: Mr. *Coleman*, and five of the Jeſuits, were executed at *Tyburn*, who proteſted their Innocence to the laſt; and a Year or two forward Lord *Stafford* was beheaded on *Tower Hill*. But the Court Party turned the Plot into ridicule; the King told Lord *Halifax*, *That it was not probable that the Papiſts ſhould conſpire to kill him,*

for

for have I not been kind enough to them (ſays his Majeſty?) Yes (ſays his Lordſhip) you have been too kind indeed to them; but they know you will only Trot, and they want a Prince that will Gallop. The Court employed their Tool Sir *Roger L'Eſtrange* to write a weekly Paper againſt the Plot; but the Country Party encouraged Mr. *Car* to write *a Weekly Packet of Advice from* Rome, *diſcovering the Frauds and Superſtitions of that Court*; for which he was arraigned, convicted and fined, and his Papers forbid to be printed any more by Order of the *King's Bench*; an admirable Proteſtant Court of Judicature! *King* Charles II. 1678.

But it was impoſſible to quiet the Minds of the Parliament, who had a quick Senſe of the Danger of Popery, and therefore paſſed a Bill to diſable all Perſons of that Religion from ſitting in either *Houſe* of Parliament, which is ſtill in force, being excepted out of the Act of Toleration. The Act requires all Members of Parliament to renounce by Oath, *The Doctrine of Tranſubſtantiation, and to declare the Worſhip of the Virgin* Mary, *and of the Saints, practiſed in the Church of* Rome, *to be idolatrous.* Biſhop *Gunning* argued againſt charging the Church of *Rome* with Idolatry; but the Houſe did not much regard him; and when the Bill was paſt he took the Oath in common with the reſt. *Act to diſqualify Papiſts to ſit in Parliament.* Burnet, p. 436.

The Duke of *York* got himſelf excepted out of the Bill, but the Fears of his Acceſſion to the Crown were ſo great, that there was a loud Talk of bringing a Bill into the Houſe, to exclude him from the Succeſſion as *being a Papiſt*, upon which the King came to the Houſe *November* 9. and aſſured the Houſe, that he would conſent to any Bills for ſecuring the Proteſtant Religion, *provided they did not impeach the Right of Succeſſion, nor the Deſcent of the Crown in the true Line, nor the juſt Rights of any Proteſtant Succeſſor.* But this not giving Satisfaction, his Majeſty came to the Houſe again towards the latter End of *December*, *Occaſion of diſſolving the Long Parliament.*

King Charles II. 1678.

and firſt prorogued, and then diſſolved the Parliament, after they had ſat almoſt eighteen Years.

Remarks on the Popiſh Plot.

It may be proper to obſerve concerning the *Popiſh Plot*, that tho' the King's Life might not be immediately ſtruck at, yet there was ſuch ſtrong Evidence to prove the Reality of a Plot to *ſubvert the Conſtitution and introduce Popery*, that no diſintereſted Reader can doubt it. Mr. *Rapin*, who had carefully conſidered all the Evidence, concludes that *there was a meditated Deſign, ſupported by the King and the Duke of* York, *to render the King abſolute, and introduce the Popiſh Religion*; for this is preciſely what is meant by the Plot: The Deſign of killing the King was only an Appendage to the Plot, ſuppoſing it to be real, and an Effect of the Zeal of ſome private Perſons who thought the Plot would be crowned with the ſurer Succeſs by ſpeedily ſetting the Duke of *York* upon the Throne. Biſhop *Burnet* adds, that tho' the King and he agreed in private Converſation, that the greateſt Part of the Evidence was a Contrivance, yet it appeared (ſays he) by *Coleman*'s Letters, that the Deſign of converting the Nation, and of rooting out the Northern Hereſy, was very near being executed. To which I beg leave to add, That tho' *the Deſign of killing the King* did not take place at this Time, his Majeſty felt the Effects of it, in his violent Death, four or five Years afterwards.

p. 427, 437.

Death of Mr. Tho. Vincent. Cal. cont. p. 30.

This Year died Mr. *Thomas Vincent*, M. A. the ejected Miniſter of *Milk Street*, born at *Hertford May* 1634. and educated in *Chriſt Church*, *Oxford*. He was Chaplain to *Robert* Earl of *Leiceſter*, and afterwards Miniſter of *Milk Street*, *London*, till the Act of Uniformity turned him out. He was an humble and zealous Preacher, of moderate Principles, and an unſpotted Life. He continued in the City throughout the whole Plague, the Aweſulneſs of which gave him a peculiar Fervency and Zeal in his miniſterial Work. On this Occaſion he publiſhed ſome very awakening Trea-

Treatiſes; as, *A Spiritual Antidote for a dying Soul.* And, *God's terrible Voice in the City by the Plague in the Year* 1665. He not only preached in publick, but viſited all the Sick that ſent for him in their infected Houſes, having no Fear of Death upon him. He continued in Health all the while, and was afterwards uſeful, as the Times would permit, to a numerous Congregation, being generally reſpected by Men of all Perſuaſions; but his exceſſive Labours put an End to his Life *October* 15th, 1678. in the Forty fifth Year of his Age. *King* Charles II. 1678.

Mr. *Theophilus Gale*, M. A. and Fellow of *Magdalen College*, *Oxford*, was ejected from *Wincheſter*, where he had been ſtated Preacher for ſome Time; after which he travell'd Abroad as Tutor to the Sons of *Philip* Lord *Wharton*. Upon his Return he ſettled with Mr. *John Rowe* as an Aſſiſtant, in which Station he died. The *Oxford* Hiſtorian allows, That he was a Man of great Reading, an exact Philologiſt and Philoſopher, a learned and induſtrious Divine, as appears by his *Court of the* Gentiles, and, *The Vanity of Pagan Philoſophy*. He kept a little Academy for the Inſtruction of Youth, and was well verſed in the Fathers, being at the ſame Time a good Metaphyſician and School Divine. He died of a Conſumption this Year, in the Forty ninth Year of his Age. *And of Mr.* Gale.

The King having called a new Parliament to meet in *March*, all Parties exerted themſelves in the Choice; the *Non-Conformiſts* appeared generally for thoſe who were for proſecuting the *Popiſh Plot*, and *ſecuring a Proteſtant Succeſſion*: Theſe being eſteemed Patriots of their Country, in Oppoſition to thoſe who made a loud Cry for the Church, and yet fell in with the arbitrary Meaſures of the Court, and the perſonal Intereſt of the Duke of *York*. The Elections in many Places were carried with great Heat, but went almoſt every where againſt the Court. Mr. *Rapin* ſays, That the Preſbyterians, tho' long oppreſſed, were ſtill numerous in Corporations, ſo that by the Majority of their Votes they com- 1679. *A new Parliament.*

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monly carried it in favour of their Friends. The *Semi-Conformiſts* (as Mr. *Eachard* calls the moderate Churchmen) and the *Diſſenters* being on one Side, and the *High Churchmen* and *Papiſts* on the other. Before the Parliament met, the Duke of *York* was ſent out of the Way to *Flanders*, but with this poſitive Aſſurance, that *his Majeſty would conſent to nothing in Prejudice of his Right of Succeſſion.* And further to ingratiate himſelf with the People, and make a Shew of Moderation, a new Privy Council was choſen out of the Low Church Party; but this not ſatisfying as long as the Duke's Succeſſion was in view, the Commons ſoon after the Seſſions began, ordered a Bill to be brought in to diſable the Duke of *York* from inheriting the Imperial Crown of *England*, and carried it through the Houſe with a high Hand. Upon which his Majeſty came to the Houſe and diſſolved them, before they had ſat three Months. This threw the Nation into new Convulſions, and produced a great Number of Pamphlets againſt the Government, the Act for Reſtraining the Preſs being lately expired.

Meal Tub Plot. Burnet, p. 475. Rapin, p. 239, 240.

The *Popiſh Plot* having fixed a Brand of Infamy and Ingratitude on the whole Body of the *Roman* Catholicks, the Courtiers attempted to relieve them, by ſetting on Foot a *ſham Proteſtant Plot*, and fathering it upon the Preſbyterians: For this Purpoſe mercenary Spies were employed to bring News from all Parts of the Town, which was then full of Cabals. At length a Plot was formed by one *Dangerfield*, a ſubtle and dangerous Papiſt, but a very Villain, who had been in Gaol for Debt, but got out by the Aſſiſtance of one Mrs. *Cellier* the Midwife, a lewd Woman, who carried him to the Counteſs of *Powis*, whoſe Huſband was in the *Tower* for the Popiſh Plot; with her he formed his Scheme, and having got a Liſt of the Names of the chief Proteſtant Nobility and Gentry, he writ treaſonable Letters to them, to be left at the Houſes of the Non-Conformiſts and others in ſeveral Parts of *England*, that Search being made upon ſome other Pretences, when

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when the Letters were found, they might be apprehended for Treaſon. At the ſame Time he thruſt himſelf into the Company of ſome of the moſt zealous Enemies of Popery about Town, and informed the King and the Duke of *York*, that *he had been invited to accept of a Commiſſion; that a new Form of Government was to be ſet up; and that the King and Royal Family were to be baniſhed.* The Story was received with Pleaſure, and *Dangerfield* had a Preſent, and a Penſion of three Pounds a Week, to carry on his Correſpondence. Having got ſome little Acquaintance with Colonel *Manſel* in *Weſtminſter* he made up a Bundle of ſeditious Letters, with the Aſſiſtance of Mrs. *Cellier*, and having laid them in a dark Corner of *Manſel*'s Room behind the Bed, he ſent for Officers from the *Cuſtom-Houſe* to ſearch for prohibited Goods while he was out of Town, but none were found, except the Bundle of Letters, which, upon Examination of the Parties concerned, before the King and Council, were proved to be Counterfeit; upon which the Court diſowned the Plot, and having taken away *Dangerfield*'s Penſion ſent him to *Newgate*. Search being made into Mrs. *Cellier*'s Houſe there was found a little Book in a *Meal Tub*, written very fair, and tied up with Ribbands, which contained the whole Scheme of the Fiction. It was dictated by Lady *Powis*, and proved by her Maid to be laid there by her Order, from whence it obtained the Name of the *Meal Tub Plot*. *Dangerfield*, who was a profligate Lyar, finding himſelf undone if he perſiſted in what he could not ſupport, made an ample Confeſſion of the whole Matter, and publiſhed a Narrative, wherein he teſtified, That *he was employed by the Popiſh Party; and chiefly by the Popiſh Lords in the* Tower, *with the Counteſs of* Powis, *to invent the* MEAL TUB PLOT, *which was to have thrown the* POPISH PLOT *wholly upon the Presbyterians.* It was printed by Order of the Houſe of Commons in the Year 1680. *Dangerfield* being pardoned went out of the Way into *Flanders*; but returning

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ing to *England* in King *James's* Reign he was tried for it, and ſentenced to be whipt at the Cart's Tail from *Newgate* to *Tyburn*; in his Return from whence he was murdered by one *Frances* in the Coach. Mrs. *Cellier* was tried *June* 11. 1680. before Lord Chief Juſtice *Scroggs*, and acquitted for want of Witneſſes. But the Diſcovery, inſtead of relieving the Papiſts from the Charge of the Popiſh Plot, turned very much to their Diſadvantage; for when the next Houſe of Commons met they reſolved, that Sir *Robert Can* be expell'd the Houſe and ſent to the *Tower*, for declaring publickly in the City of *Briſtol*, that there was no *Popiſh* but a *Preſbyterian Plot*. Sir *Robert Yeomans* was ſent for into Cuſtody on the ſame Account; and Mr. *Richard Thompſon* a Clergyman was impeached for decrying the Popiſh Plot in his Sermon, *Jan.* 30. 1679. and for turning the ſame upon the *Proteſtants*; for which, and for preaching againſt the Liberty and Property of the Subject, and the Privileges of Parliament, the Houſe declared him a *Scandal and Reproach to his Profeſſion*.

State Tracts, Vol. II. p. 217.

Death of Mr. Matt. Pool.

This Year died the Reverend and Learned Mr. *Matthew Pool*, M. A. the ejected Miniſter of St. *Michael's Querne*; he was born in *Yorkſhire*, and educated in *Emanuel College*, *Cambridge*, a Divine of great Piety, Charity, and Literature. He was indefatigably Laborious, and left behind him (ſays the *Oxford* Hiſtorian) the Character of a moſt celebrated Critick and Caſuiſt. After ten Years hard Labour, by the Aſſiſtance of ſome Noblemen and others, he publiſhed his *Synopſis Criticorum*, in five Folio's. He afterwards entred on a Commentary upon the whole Bible, but finiſhed no further than the fifty third Chapter of *Iſaiah*: However, the Performance being very valuable, was carried on, and compleated by other Hands. Mr. *Pool* publiſhed ſeveral other valuable Treatiſes, as the *Nullity of the Romiſh Faith*, &c. for which he was threaten'd to be aſſaſſinated; his Name being in Dr. *Oates's* Liſt; he therefore retired to *Holland*, but died

Cal. cont. p. 15.

died (as it is thought) by Poiſon at *Amſterdam*, in the Month of *October*, 1679. *Ætat.* Fifty ſix.

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Dr. *Thomas Goodwin*, born at *Rolisby* in *Norfolk*, and educated in *Katherine Hall*, *Cambridge*. He was a great Admirer of Dr. *Preſton*, and afterwards himſelf a famous Preacher in *Cambridge*. In 1634. he left the Univerſity, being diſſatisfied with the Terms of Conformity. In 1639. he went into *Holland*, and became Paſtor of an *Independant Congregation at Arnheim*. He returned to *London* about the Beginning of the Long Parliament, and was one of the Diſſenting Brethren in the Aſſembly of Divines. After the King's Death he was made Preſident of *Magdalen College*, and one of the *Tryers* of Miniſters. He was in high Eſteem with *Oliver Cromwel*, and attended him on his Death-Bed. In the common Regiſter of the Univerſity he is ſaid to be, *In ſcriptis Theologicis quam plurimis orbi notus*, i. e. Well known to the World by many theological Writings. After the Reſtoration he was ejected from his Preſidentſhip, and retired to *London*, where he continued the Exerciſe of his Miniſtry to his Death, which happen'd *Feb.* 23. 1679-80. in the Eightieth Year of his Age. He was a good Scholar, and an eminent Divine and Textuary. His Works are ſince printed in five Folio's.

Of Dr. Thomas Goodwin.

The laſt Parliament being diſſolved abruptly, a new one was called to aſſemble *October* 17. in which the Elections went pretty much as before, the Cry of the People being, *No Popery*, *no Penſioners*, *no Arbitrary Government*. But the King prorogued them from Time to Time for above a Twelvemonth, without permitting them to do Buſineſs. His Majeſty falling Sick in the Summer the Duke of *York* returned immediately to Court without the King's Leave, which alarmed the People, and made them eager for the Sitting of the Parliament to regulate the Succeſſion. This gave Riſe to ſundry *Petitions*, ſigned by great Numbers of Hands both in City and Country, which the King received with the utmoſt Diſpleaſure, telling the Peti-

1680. *Of the* Petitioners *for the Siting of the Parliament, and of the* Abhorrers. Eachard, p. 982, 987.

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Petitioners, that *he was ſole Judge of what was fit to be done: You would not take it well (ſays he) if I ſhould meddle with your Affairs, and I deſire you would not meddle with mine.* After this the King iſſued out his Proclamation, declaring them to be contrary to Law, and forbidding his Subjects to promote any *Subſcriptions*, or to join in any Petitions of this Kind upon Peril of the utmoſt Rigor of the Law. Warrants were iſſued out againſt ſeveral of the *Petitioners*, and an Indictment preferr'd againſt others. But at the next Seſſions of the Common Council of *London*, *Jan.* 21. the Court agreed that no ſuch *Petition* ſhould be preſented from them; and the King gave them Thanks for it. Upon which counter Addreſſes were promoted all over the Nation, expreſſing their *Deteſtation* and *Abhorrence* of the ſeditious Practice of the late PETITIONERS, and referring the *Sitting of the Parliament* abſolutely to the King's ſovereign Pleaſure, from whence they obtained the Name of ABHORRERS. In theſe Addreſſes they offer their Lives and Fortunes for the Preſervation of his Majeſty's Perſon and Government, and for the *Succeſſion of the Duke of* York. They renounce the Right of the Subjects petitioning, or intermeddling in Affairs of State, and lay their Liberties at the Feet of the Prerogative, promiſing to ſtand by it, and to be *Obedient without Reſerve* to his Majeſty's Commands; all which were printed in the *Gazettes*, and diſperſed over the Kingdom. Upon this People were every where in a Ferment; ſeveral of the Privy Council deſerted their Stations at Court, and deſired to be excuſed their Attendance at Council; ſome in the Admiralty laid down their Places; and becauſe they might not petition, an ASSOCIATION was formed, and copied after the Example of that in Queen *Elizabeth*'s Time, by ſundry Perſons, *for the Defence of his Majeſty's Perſon, and the Security of the Proteſtant Religion, and to revenge his Majeſty's Death upon the Papiſts, if he ſhould come to any violent Death.* A Model of which was ſaid to be found among the Earl of *Shafts-*

Gazette, N° 1468, 1489.

Burnet, p. 487.

Shaftsbury's Papers. This was reſented very highly at Court, as done without the Royal Authority, and prodnced the next Year another Set of *ranting Addreſſes* from all Parts of the Kingdom, in which their Lives and Fortunes were given up to the King, and the *Aſſociation* branded with the Names of *Damnable*, *Curſed*, *Execrable*, *Traiterous*, *Seditious*, and a *Bond of Rebellion*, which they *deteſt* and *abhor* from their very Souls; in moſt of which the Non-Conformiſts are marked as Enemies of the King and his Government, and their Conventicles as the Encouragement and Life of the *Aſſociations*. They promiſe to ſtand by the *Duke's Succeſſion*, and to chooſe ſuch Members for the next Parliament as ſhall do the King's Buſineſs according to his Mind. But notwithſtanding all that the Court could do, the near Approach of a Popiſh Succeſſor awaken'd Mens Fears, and kept them upon their Guard. *King* Charles II. 1680.

The PETITIONERS for the Sitting of the Parliament, and their Adverſaries, the ABHORRERS of ſuch Petitions, gave riſe to the two grand Parties which have ſince divided the Nation under the diſtinguiſhing Names of WHIG and TORY. *Which gave Riſe to* Whig *and* Tory.

The WHIGS or LOW CHURCHMEN were the more zealous Proteſtants, declared Enemies to Popery, and willing to remove to a farther Diſtance from their Superſtitions; they were firm to the Conſtitution and Liberties of their Country; and for an Union, or at leaſt a Toleration of Diſſenting Proteſtants. The Clergy of this Perſuaſion were generally Men of larger Principles, and therefore were diſtinguiſhed by the Name of *Latitudinarian Divines*; their Laity were remarkable for their Zeal in promoting the *Bill of Excluſion*, as the only Expedient to ſecure the Proteſtant Eſtabliſhment in this Kingdom. They were for confining the Royal Prerogative within the Compaſs of the Law, for which Reaſon their Adverſaries charged them with *Republican Principles*, and gave them the reproachful Name of WHIGS or *Sowr Milk*, a Name firſt given to the moſt rigid *Scots* Covenanters. *Of the* Whigs.

The

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Of the Tories. Mem. p. 125.

Burnet, Collect. of Debates, p. 163.

The TORIES or HIGH CHURCHMEN ſtood on the Side of the Prerogative, and were for ſetting the King above Law; they went into all the arbitrary Court Meaſures, and adopted into our Religion (ſays Dr. *Welwood*) a *Mahometan* Principle, under the Names of *Paſſive-Obedience* and *Non-Reſiſtance*, which ſince the Times of that Impoſtor, who firſt broach'd it, has been the Means to enſlave a great Part of the World. Theſe Gentlemen leaned more to a Coalition with the Papiſts than with the Preſbyterians. They cried up the Name and Authority of the Church, and were for forcing the Non-Conformiſts to come into it, by all Kinds of coercive Methods; but with all their Zeal they were generally Perſons of lax and diſſolute Morals, and would riſk the whole Proteſtant Religion rather than go into any Meaſures of Excluſion, or Limitation of a Popiſh Succeſſor. Moſt of the Clergy (ſays a Member of Parliament) are infected with the *Laudean* Principles of raiſing Money without Parliament; one or two Biſhops give Meaſures to the reſt, and they to their Clergy, ſo that all derive their Politicks from one or two, and are under the Influence of an over-awing Power. No Men did more to enſlave the Nation, and introduce Popery into the Eſtabliſhment than they; their Adverſaries therefore gave them the Name of TORIES, a Name firſt given to *Iriſh Robbers*, who lived upon Plunder, and were prepared for any daring or villainous Enterprize.

The Non-Conformiſts fell in unanimouſly with the *Whigs* or *Low Churchmen* in all Points relating to Liberty and the Civil Conſtitution, as they muſt always do if they are conſiſtent with themſelves; but theſe with their Allies were not a ſufficient Ballance for the *Tories*, the Road to Preferment being the other Way; but they were kept in Heart with ſome ſecret Hopes, that *by a ſteady Adherence to the Conſtitution* they ſhould one Time or other obtain *a legal Toleration*. If the Reader will keep in mind the Diſtinction between theſe two Parties, and the ſuperior Influence

of the *Tories* above the *Whigs*, he will eaſily account for the Severities which befel the Non-Conformiſts in the latter part of this Reign. *King* Charles II. 1680.

When the Parliament met *October* 21. the Commons were very warm in maintaining the Proteſtant Religion and the Privileges of Parliament. They aſſerted the Rights of the People to *petition* for the Sitting of Parliaments, and voted the ABHORRERS Betrayers of the Liberties of the Nation. Among other Grievances they complained, that the Edge of the Penal Laws was turned againſt *Proteſtant Diſſenters*, while the Papiſts remained in a manner untouch'd —— That the *Teſt Act had little Effect becauſe the Papiſts either by Diſpenſations obtained from* Rome, *ſubmitted to thoſe Teſts, and held their Offices themſelves; or thoſe put in their Places were ſo favourable to the ſame Intereſt, that Popery it ſelf had rather gained than loſt Ground by that Act.* They declared for that very ASSOCIATION to revenge the King's Death upon the Papiſts, if his Majeſty ſhould happen to be aſſaſſinated, which the Tories had *abhorred*; and in the Month of *November* revived the Bill *to diſable the Duke of* York *from inheriting the Imperial Crown of theſe Realms.* It was introduced by Lord *Ruſſel*, and paſſed the Commons by a great Majority, but was thrown out of the Houſe of Lords by a Majority of thirty Voices, No's ſixty three, Yea's thirty three, the *Bench of Biſhops* being in the Negative, and the King preſent during the whole Debate. 'Tis ſaid King *Charles* came into the Bill at firſt, the favourite Miſtreſs having prevailed with him to abandon his Brother for a large Sum of Money, and an Act of Parliament for him to diſpoſe of the Crown by Will under certain Reſtrictions; but a foreign Popiſh Court offering more Money, he oppoſed it to the laſt.

Proceedings of Parliament. Rapin, p. 268. Eachard, p. 995.

Bill of Excluſion brought in a ſecond Time.

Wel. Memoirs, p. 127.

The Parliament being inclined to relieve the Non-Conformiſts, appointed a Committee *Nov.* 18. who agreed upon a *Comprehenſion with the Diſſenters* upon much the ſame Terms with thoſe already mentioned; they

Attempts for a Comprehenſion.

were

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were to ſubſcribe the Doctrinal Articles of the Church; the *Surplice* was to be omitted, except in Cathedrals and the King's Chapel; the *Ceremonies* to be left indifferent. And as for ſuch Proteſtants as could not be comprehended within theſe Terms they were to have a Toleration, and freedom from the Penal Statutes, upon Condition of ſubſcribing a Declaration of Allegiance, *&c.* and of aſſembling with open Doors. Biſhop *Burnet* ſays, The Bill for a Comprehenſion was offered by the Epiſcopal Party in the Houſe of Commons, but that the Friends of the Diſſenters did not ſeem forward to promote it, becauſe (as Mr. *Baxter* obſerves) they found the Bill would not go; or if it had paſſed the Commons it would have been thrown out by the Biſhops in the Houſe of Lords; the *Clergy* (*ſays* Kennet) *being no further in Earneſt than as they apprehended the Knife of the Papiſts at their Throats.*

Speeches againſt it. Eachard, p. 999.

When the above-mentioned Bill was brought into the Houſe *December* 21. entituled, *An Act for uniting his Majeſty's Proteſtant Subjects*, the firſt Gentleman of the Court Party that ſpoke againſt it, ſaid, "There "were a Sort of Men who would neither be adviſed "nor over-ruled, but under the Pretence of Conſci- "ence break violently through all Laws whatſoever, "to the great Diſturbance both of Church and State; "therefore he thought it more convenient to have a "Law for forcing the Diſſenters to yield to the "Church, and not to force the Church to yield to "them ——" Another ſaid, "He was afraid, that "if once the Government ſhould begin to yield to the "Diſſenters it would be as in *Forty One*, nothing "would ſerve but an utter Subverſion; the receiving "of one Thing would give Occaſion for demanding "more; and it would be impoſſible to give them any "Satisfaction without laying all open, and running in- "to Confuſion." This was the common Language of the Tories.--But then why was not the Experiment tried? Has the Church ever moved a Pin, or abated a ſingle Ceremony, to gain over the whole Body of the Non-Conformiſts

Conformists? There has been a loud Cry against them for their Obstinacy and Perverseness, but not a single Concession has been offered since the Restoration, to let the World see how far they would yield; or by receiving a Denial to get an Opportunity to reproach them with greater Advantage. But in favour of the Bill it was said by others, "That it was intended for "the Preservation of the Church, and the best Bill "that could be made in order thereto, all Circum-"stances considered —— If we are to deal with a stub-"born Sort of People, who in many Things prefer "their Humour before Reason, or their own Safety, "or the publick Good, this is a very good Time to "see whether they will be drawn by the Cords of "Love or no. The Bill will be very agreeable to "that Christian Charity which our Church professes; "and it may be hoped, that in the Time of this im-"minent Danger they will consider their own Safety, "and the Safety of the Protestant Religion, and no "longer keep a-foot the unhappy Divisions among "us, on which the Papists ground their Hopes; but "when they see the Church so far condescend, as to "dispense with the *Surplice, and those other Things "they scruple*, that they will submit to the rest which "are enjoined by Law, that so we may unite against "the common Enemy. But if this Bill should not "have the desired Effect, but on the contrary the "Dissenters should continue their Animosities and "Disobedience to the Church, I think still the "Church will gain very much hereby, and leave the "Party without Excuse ——" This seems agreeable to Reason.

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Others in favour of it.

It is lost, and a Bill for a Toleration, or easing them from the Penalties of 35 Eliz. introduced. Burnet, p. 494.

But tho' the Bill for a Comprehension was committed, it did not pass the House, but was changed for another, entituled, *An Act to exempt his Majesty's Protestant Subjects, dissenting from the Church of* England, *from the Penalties imposed upon the Papists by the Act of 35th* Eliz. This terrible Law had lain dormant almost Eighty Years, but was now revived, and threa-

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ten'd to be put in Execution by the *Tories*. The *Repeal* paſſed the Houſe of Commons with a high Hand, but went heavily through the Houſe of Lords; the *Biſhops* apprehending that the Terror of the Law might be of ſome uſe while in force; But when it ſhould have been offer'd for the Royal Aſſent at the Cloſe of the Seſſion, it was miſſing, and never heard of any more, the Clerk of the Crown having withdrawn it from the Table, by the King's particular Order. The King (ſays *Burnet*) had no mind openly to deny the Bill, but leſs mind to paſs it, and therefore this illegal Method was taken, which was an high Offence in the Officer of the Houſe, and would have been ſeverely puniſhed in the next Seſſion, if the Parliament had not been abruptly diſſolved. Thus the *Non-Conformiſts* were ſawn to Pieces between the King, the Biſhops, and the Parliament; when one Party was willing to give them Relief, the other always ſtood in the Way. The *Parliament* was their Enemy for above twelve Years, and now *They* are ſoften'd, *the King* and the *Court Biſhops* are inflexible, and his Majeſty will rather break the Conſtitution in pieces, than exempt them from an old Law which threaten'd them with Baniſhment and Death.

Withdrawn by the Clerk of the Crown.

Votes of the Commons. Eachard.

However, the Morning before the Houſe was prorogued, *January* 10. two Votes were paſſed of a very extraordinary Nature. "1. Reſolved, *Nemine Contradicente, that it is the Opinion of this Houſe, That the Acts of Parliament made in the Reigns of Queen* Elizabeth *and King* James *againſt Popiſh Recuſants ought not to be extended againſt Proteſtant Diſſenters.* 2. Reſolved, that it is the Opinion of this Houſe, *That the Proſecution of Proteſtant Diſſenters upon the Penal Laws is at this Time grievous to the Subject, a weakening the Proteſtant Intereſt, an Encouragement to Popery, and dangerous to the Peace of the Kingdom.*" Biſhop *Burnet* ſays, this was thought an Invaſion of the Legiſlature, when one Houſe pretended to ſuſpend the Execution of the

P. 495.

Laws

Laws, which was to act like Dictators in the State. But with all due Submiſſion I ſhould think that a Houſe of Commons, which is not ſuffered to ſit and repeal Laws, or when they have repealed them have their Bills withdrawn illegally by the Crown, may have liberty to declare the Continuance of thoſe Laws burdenſome to the State. They muſt do ſo (ſays Mr. *Coke*) in order to a Repeal. If the Bill for the Repeal of the old Popiſh Act *de Hæretico comburendo* for *burning Hereticks*, which the Parliament were afraid might be revived in a Popiſh Reign, had been loſt in this Manner, might not the Parliament have declared the Execution of that Law a Weakening to the Proteſtant Intereſt, or dangerous to the Peace of the Kingdom? *King Charles II. 1680.* p. 561.

But while the Parliament was endeavouring to relieve the Diſſenters, and charging the Miſeries of the Kingdom upon the Papiſts, many of the Biſhops and Clergy of the Church of *England* were pleaſed to ſee the *Court* enclined to proſecute the Non-Conformiſts. The Clergy in general (ſays *Rapin*) were attached to the Court; Men of doubtful Religion were promoted, and there was reaſon to charge them with leaning to Popery. Even ſome of the better Sort who writ againſt Popery, went ſo far into the Court Meaſures as to charge the Calamities of the Times upon the Non-Conformiſts; and to raiſe the Cry of the Populace againſt them. Dr. *Edward Stillingfleet*, who had writ an *Irenicum* in favour of Liberty, and againſt *Impoſitions*, now turned about, and in his Sermon before the Lord Mayor, *May* 2. intituled, *The Miſchief of Separation*, condemned all the Diſſenters as *Schiſmaticks*; and very gravely adviſed them not to complain of Perſecution. When the Sermon was publiſhed it brought upon the Doctor ſeveral learned Adverſaries, as Mr. *Baxter*, Mr. *Alſop*, Mr. *Howe*, Mr. *Barret*, and Dr. *Owen*; from which laſt Divine, who writ with great Temper and Seriouſneſs, I will venture to tranſcribe the following Paſſage, without entering into the Argu- *Dr. Stillingfleet writes againſt the Diſſenters.* p. 276. *Various Anſwers to his Sermon.*

King Charles II. 1680.

ment: "After ſo many of the Non-Conformiſts have "died in common Gaols (ſays the Doctor) ſo many "have endured long Impriſonments, not a few be-
p. 53, 54. "ing at this Day in the ſame Durance; ſo many "driven from their Habitations into a wandering "Condition to preſerve for a while the Liberty of "their Perſons; ſo many have been reduced to Want "and Penury by the taking away their Goods, and "from ſome the very Inſtruments of their Livelihood. "After the Proſecution that has been againſt them in "all Courts of Juſtice in this Nation, on Informa-"tions, Indictments, and Suits, to the great Charge "of all who have been ſo perſecuted, and the Ruin "of ſome. After ſo many Miniſters and their Fami-"lies have been brought into the utmoſt outward "Straits which Nature can ſubſiſt under; after all "their perpetual Fears and Dangers wherewith they "have been exerciſed and diſquieted, they think it "hard to be cenſur'd for *Complaining*, by them who
Collyer, p. 900. "are at eaſe." The Doctor endeavoured to ſupport his Charge by the Suffrage of the *French* Preſbyterians; and *Compton* Biſhop of *London* writ to Monſieur *Le Moyne*, and ſeveral others, for their Opinions, as if Truth was to be determined by Numbers; or as if the *Engliſh* Preſbyterians could pay a vaſt Deference to *their* Judgments, who had ſo deceived them at the Reſtoration. The Miniſters, after high Strains of Compliments to the *Engliſh* Biſhops, declared, that they were of Opinion, their Brethren might comply; and, that *they were not for puſhing Things to Extremity only for a different Form of Government*. Which the Dr. and his Friends interpreted as a Deciſion in their Favour. But did not the Biſhops puſh Things to Extremity, by enforcing the ſanguinary Laws? Were theſe Proteſtant Methods of Converſion? The *French* Miniſters complained ſufficiently of this about five Years after, at the Revoca-
Vol. I. p. 189. tion of the Edict of *Nantz*; and Biſhop *Burnet* adds of Dr. *Stillingfleet*, That he not only retracted his *Irenicum*, but went into the Humours of the high Sort of People

People beyond what became him, perhaps *beyond his own Senſe of Things.* *King* Charles II. 1680.

This Year died Mr. *Stephen Charnock*, B. D. firſt of *Emanuel College*, *Cambridge*; and afterwards Fellow of *New College*, *Oxford*. He was Chaplain to *Henry Cromwel* Lieutenant of *Ireland*, and was much reſpected by the Gentry and Perſons of Quality in the City of *Dublin* for his Gentleman-like Behaviour. After the Reſtoration he returned into *England*, and became Paſtor of a ſeparate Congregation in *London*, where he was admired by the more judicious Part of his Hearers, tho' not popular, becauſe of his diſadvantagious Way of reading with a Glaſs: He was an eminent Divine, and had a good Judgment, a curious Fancy, and a ſtrong Manner of Reaſoning, as appears by his Works printed ſince his Death in two Volumes Folio; which were no other than his common Sermons tranſcribed from his Notes; his Stile is manly and lofty, and his Thoughts ſublime: His Love and Charity were very extenſive, and there was no part of Learning but he was acquainted with. He died *July* 27. 1680. aged Fifty two. *Death of Mr.* Charnock.

1681. The King having parted with his laſt Parliament in Diſpleaſure, without being able to obtain any Money, reſolved once more to try a new One; and apprehending that the Malecontents were encouraged by the Neighbourhood of the City of *London*, he ſummoned them to meet at *Oxford*; the Members for *London* being the ſame as before, had a Paper put into their Hands by four Merchants in the Name of all the Citizens then aſſembled in Common Hall, containing a Return of their moſt hearty Thanks for their faithful and unwearied Endeavours in the two laſt Parliaments to ſearch into the Depth of the Popiſh Plot, to preſerve the Proteſtant Religion, to promote an Union among his Majeſty's Proteſtant Subjects, to repeal the 35th of *Elizabeth*, and the *Corporation Act*, and to promote the *Bill of Excluſion*, and to requeſt their Continuance of the ſame. The Members being afraid of *The* Oxford *Parliament.* Eachard, p. 1002. Rapin, p. 284.

King Charles II. 1681.

Violence were attended to *Oxford* with a numerous Body of Horſe having Ribbons in their Hats, with theſe Words, *No Popery*; *No Slavery*; the Citizens having promiſed to ſtand by them with their Lives and Fortunes. Many other Papers of the like Nature were preſented to the Members in the ſeveral Counties. The King in his Speech at the Opening the Seſſions, *March* 21. reflected ſeverely on the laſt Parliament, and ſaid, *He was reſolved to maintain the Succeſſion of the Crown in the right Line*, but for quieting Peoples Fears he was willing to put the Adminiſtration into the Hands of a *Proteſtant Regent*; but the Commons rejected the Propoſal, to the inexpreſſible Joy of the Duke's Party, and ordered the *Bill of Excluſion* to be brought in again. In the mean Time a Motion was made to conſider of the Loſs of the Bill in favour of the *Diſſenters* laſt Parliament. Sir *William Jones* ſaid, "The Bill was of great Moment and Service to the "Country, and might be to their Lives, in the Time "of a Popiſh Succeſſor; but be the Bill what it will, "the Precedent was of the higheſt Conſequence; the "King has a *Negative* to all Bills, but ſurely the "Clerk of the Parliament has not. —— If this Way "be found out, that Bills ſhall be thrown by, it may "hereafter be ſaid, they were forgot and laid by, and "ſo we ſhall never know whether the King would paſs "them or no: If this be ſuffer'd 'tis in vain to ſpend "Time here ——" In Concluſion this Affair was referr'd to a Conference with the Houſe of Lords, which was fruſtrated by the haſty Diſſolution of the Parliament.

They revive the Bill of Excluſion.

Their Proceedings about the withdrawing the Toleration Bill.

They next went upon the Libel of one *Fitz-Harris*, an *Iriſh Papiſt*, which was a ſecond *Meal Tub Plot*, promoted in the Name of the Non-Conformiſts; the Libel was to be ſent by Penny Poſt Letters to the Lords who had proteſted in favour of the Bill of Excluſion, and to the Leading Men in the Houſe of Commons, who were immediately to be taken up and ſearched. *Everard*, who was *Fitz Harris*'s Confident, and betrayed the Secret, affirmed, That the King himſelf

Fitz Harris's *ſham Plot deſigned againſt the Diſſenters.* Burnet, p. 497. Eachard.

was

was privy to it, as *Fitz Harris*'s Wife averr'd to a Perſon of Worth many Years after; that his Majeſty had given *Fitz Harris* Money, and promiſed him more if it met with Succeſs. The *Libel* was to traduce the King and the Royal Family as Papiſts, and arbitrarily affected from the Beginning, and ſays, That King *Charles* I. had a Hand in the *Iriſh* Rebellion — That the Act forbidding to call the King a Papiſt was only to ſtop Mens Mouths, and that it was as much in the Power of the People to depoſe a *Popiſh Poſſeſſor* as a *Popiſh Succeſſor*. It was entituled, the *True* Engliſh-Man *ſpeaking plain* Engliſh; and adds, "If JAMES "be conſcious and guilty, CHARLES is ſo too; be- "lieve me, theſe two Brothers in Iniquity are in Con- "federacy with the Pope and the *French* to introduce "Popery and Arbitrary Government, and to caſt off "Parliaments, *Magna Charta*, and the Liberty of "the Subject, as heavy Yokes, and to be as arbitrary "as the King of *France* — Let the *Engliſh* move and "riſe as one Man to Self-Defence; blow the Trum- "pet, ſtand on your Guard, and withſtand them as "Bears and Tigers — Truſt to your Swords in de- "fence of your Lives, Liberties and Religion, like "the ſtout Earl of old, who told his King, If he "could not be defended by *Magna Charta*, he would "be relieved by *Longa Spada*." He goes on to re- proach the King with the Breach of his *Scots Oaths*, *Breda Promiſes*, *Proteſtant Profeſſion*, *Liberty of Con- ſcience*, as deſigned only to delude Proteſtants; and puts him in mind of all his political and moral Vices, as intended to debauch the Nation, to promote the Popiſh Religion and Arbitrary Government, *&c.* Thus were the Non-Conformiſts to be expoſed again to the Reſentments of the Nation; but when the Sham was diſcovered to the Houſe of Commons by Sir *William Waller* he had the Thanks of the Houſe, and *Fitz Harris*, tho' impeached in Parliament, was tried by a Jury, and executed with Dr. *Plunket* the titular Primate of *Ireland*. The Whigs would have

King Charles II. 1681.

His Libel.

King Charles II. 1681.

ſaved *Fitz Harris*, tho' a Papiſt, in hopes of his being an Evidence in the Popiſh Plot; but the Court reſolved to diſpatch him out of the Way, that he might tell no more Tales.

He is executed.

Sudden Diſſolution of the Parliament. Burnet, p. 499.

The King hearing that the *Bill of Excluſion* was to be brought into the Houſe again, went ſuddenly, and not very decently (ſays *Burnet*) to the Houſe of Lords in a *Sedan*, with the Crown between his Feet, and having put on his Robes in haſt, called up the Commons and diſſolved his fifth and laſt Parliament, after they had ſat but ſeven Days. As ſoon as his Majeſty got out of the Houſe he rid away in all haſte to *Windſor*, as one that was glad he had got rid of his Parliament, which was the laſt that he called; tho' he lived three or four Years after. And here was an End of the Conſtitution and Liberties of *England* for the preſent; all that followed to the King's Death was no more than the Convulſions and Struggles of a dying Man. The King raiſed what Money he wanted without Parliaments; he took away all the Charters of *England*, and governed abſolutely by his ſovereign Pleaſure.

King's Declaration of Reaſons for it.

April the 8th the King publiſhed a *Declaration to all his loving Subjects, touching the Cauſes and Reaſons that moved him to diſſolve the two laſt Parliaments*; and ordered it to be read in all the Churches and Chapels throughout *England*. It contains a Recital of his Majeſty's Condeſcenſions for the Security of the Proteſtant Religion, *as far as was conſiſtent with the Succeſſion of the Crown in the lineal Deſcent*; and a large Rehearſal of the unſuitable Returns of the Commons. — "But notwithſtanding all this (ſays his Majeſty) let "not theſe Men, who are labouring to poiſon our "People with *Commonwealth Principles*, perſuade any "of our Subjects that we intend to lay aſide the Uſe of "Parliaments, for we ſtill declare, that no Irregularities in Parliaments ſhall make us out of love with "them; and we are reſolved, by the Bleſſing of God, "to have frequent Parliaments;" and yet he never called another. Several Anonymous Remarks were made

made upon *this Declaration* to weaken its Influence. But the Court uſed all their Intereſt among the People to ſupport it: Addreſſes were ſent from all Parts, thanking the King for his *Declaration*, promiſing to ſupport his Majeſty's Perſon and Government with their Lives and Fortunes. Moſt of them declared againſt the *Bill of Excluſion*, and for the Duke's Succeſſion (as has been obſerved.) Some ventur'd to arraign the late Parliament as guilty of Sedition and Treaſon, and to pray his Majeſty to put in Execution the Statute of 35 *Eliz.* againſt the Non-Conformiſts. The Grand Juries, the Bench of Juſtices in the Counties, Boroughs and Corporations over *England*, the Companies in Towns, and at laſt the very Apprentices, ſent up Addreſſes. Thoſe that brought them were well treated at Court, and ſome of them knighted. Many zealous Healths were drank, and in their Cups the ſwaggerings of the old Cavaliers ſeemed to be revived. One of the moſt celebrated Addreſſes was from the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, preſented by Dr. *Gower*, Maſter of St. *John*'s, which I ſhall give the Reader as a Specimen of the reſt. It begins thus, "Sacred Sir! We your Majeſty's moſt faithful and "obedient Subjects have long, with the greateſt and "ſincereſt Joy, beheld the generous Emulation of our "Fellow-Subjects, contending who ſhould beſt expreſs their Duty to their Sovereign at this Time, "when the ſeditious Endeavours of unreaſonable Men "have made it neceſſary to aſſert the ancient Loyalty "of the *Engliſh* Nation. — It is at preſent the "great Honour of this your Univerſity, not only to "be ſtedfaſt and conſtant in our Duty, but to be "eminently ſo, and to ſuffer for it as much as the "Calumnies and Reproaches of factious and malicious Men can inflict upon us. And that they have "not proceeded to Sequeſtration and Plunder, as heretofore, next to the Over-ruling Providence of Almighty God, is only due to the Royal Care and "Prudence of your moſt ſacred Majeſty, who gave "ſo

King Charles II. 1681.

Burnet, P. 509, 506.

Addreſs from the Univerſity of Cambridge.

King Charles II. 1681.

"ſo ſeaſonable a Check to their arbitrary and inſolent Undertakings. —— *We ſtill believe and maintain, that our Kings derive not their Power from the People, but from God; that to him only they are accountable; that it belongs not to Subjects either to create or cenſure, but to honour and obey their Sovereign, who comes to be ſo by a fundamental, hereditary Right of Succeſſion, which no Religion, no Law, no Fault or Forfeiture can alter or diminiſh*; nor will we abate of our well inſtructed Zeal for the Church of *England* as by Law eſtabliſhed. — Thus we have learned our own, and thus we teach others their Duty to God and the King ——" His Majeſty diſcovered an unuſual Satisfaction on this Occaſion, and after having returned them Thanks, was pleaſed to add, that *No other Church in the World taught and practiſed Loyalty ſo conſcientiouſly as they did.*

Perſecution of the Diſſenters revived by Order of the King and Court.

As ſuch abject and ſervile Flattery could not fail of pleaſing the King, it muſt neceſſarily rain down Vengeance on the Non-Conformiſts, who joined in none of their Addreſſes, but were doom'd to ſuffer under a double Character, as *Whigs*, and as *Diſſenters*. "This (ſays Biſhop *Burnet*) was ſet on by the Papiſts, and it was wiſely done of them, for they knew how much the *Non-Conformiſts* were ſet againſt them. They made uſe alſo of the indiſcreet Zeal of the *High Church Clergymen* to ruin them, which they knew would render the Clergy odious, and give the Papiſts great Advantage when Opportunity offer'd." The Times were Boiſterous and Stormy; ſham Plots were contrived, and Warrants iſſued out againſt the Leaders of the Whig Party for ſeditious Language; *Shaftsbury*, now called the *Proteſtant Earl*, was ſent to the *Tower*, and *Stephen College*, the *Proteſtant Joiner*, was carried to *Oxford*, and hanged, after the Grand Jury in *London* had brought in their Bill Ignoramus. Witneſſes were brought over from *Ireland*, and employed to ſwear away Mens Lives. The Court intend-

p. 528.

intended to ſet them to ſwear againſt all the hot Party, which was plainly Murder in them who believed them falſe Witneſſes (ſays *Burnet*) and yet made uſe of them to deſtroy others. Spies were planted in all Coffee-Houſes, to furniſh out Evidence for the Witneſſes. Mercenary Juſtices were put into Commiſſion all over the Kingdom; Juries were packed; and with regard to the Non-Conformiſts, Informers of the vileſt of the People were countenanced to a ſhameful Degree, inſomuch that the Gaols were quickly filled with Priſoners, and large Sums of Money extorted from the Induſtry and Labour of honeſt Men, and put into the Hands of the moſt profligate Wretches in the Nation.

King Charles II. 1681.

p. 501, 505, 506.

Orders of the King and Council.

The Juſtices of *Middleſex* ſhewed great Forwardneſs, and repreſented to his Majeſty in *December*, "That an Intimation of his Pleaſure was neceſſary at "this Time to the putting the Laws in Execution "againſt Conventicles, becauſe when a Charge was "lately given at the Council Board to put the Laws "in Execution againſt Popiſh Recuſants no mention "was made of ſuppreſſing Conventicles." Upon this his Majeſty commanded the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Juſtices, to uſe their utmoſt Endeavour to ſuppreſs all Conventicles and unlawful Meetings, upon Pretence of Religious Worſhip, for it was his expreſs Pleaſure, that the Laws be effectually put in Execution againſt them, both in City and Country. Accordingly the Juſtices of Peace at their Seſſions at *Hickes's Hall*, *Jan.* 13. order'd, "That whereas the "Conſtables and Church-Wardens, *&c.* of every Pa-"riſh and Precinct within the ſaid County, had been "enjoined laſt Seſſions to make a Return the firſt Day "of this, of the Names of the Preachers in Conven-"ticles, and the moſt conſiderable Frequenters of the "ſame within their ſeveral Limits; which Order not "being obeyed, but contemned by ſome, it was "therefore by the Juſtices then aſſembled deſired, that "the Lord Biſhop of *London* will pleaſe to direct

Eachard.

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"those Officers which are under his Jurisdiction, to "use their utmost Diligence, that all such Persons "may be excommunicated who commit Crimes de- "serving the Ecclesiastical Censure; and that the said "Excommunications may be published in the Pa- "rishes where the Persons live, that they may be ta- "ken Notice of, and be obvious to the Penalties that "belong to Persons excommunicate, (*viz.*) *Not to be "admitted for a Witness, or returned upon Juries, or "capable of suing for any Debt.*" They further or- dered at the same Time, "That the Statute of the "first of *Eliz.* and third of King *James*, be put in "due Execution, for the levying twelve Pence *per* "Sunday upon such Persons who repaired not to Di- "vine Service and Sermons at their Parish, or some "other publick Church." All which (says Mr. *Eachard*) made way for all Sorts of Prosecutions both in City and Country, which in many Places were car- ried on with great Spight and Severity, where there never wanted busy Agents and Informers, of which a few were sufficient to put the Laws in Execution; so that *the Dissenters this Year, and much longer* (says he) *met with cruel and unchristian Usage*; which oc- casioned great Complaints among the People, and some severe Reflections on the King himself.

Treatises published in favour of Dissenters.

It was not in the Power of the *Church-Whigs* to re- lieve the *Non-Conformists*, nor deliver them from the Edge of the Penal Laws, which were in the Hands of their Enemies. All that could be done was to encou- rage their Constancy, and to write some compassionate Treatises to move the People in their Favour, by shew- ing them, that while they were plundering and de- stroying their Protestant Dissenting Neighbours they were cutting the Throat of the whole Reformed Reli- gion, and making way for the Triumphs of Popery upon its Ruins. Among other Writings of this Sort, the most famous was, *The Conformists Pea for the Non-Conformists*, in four Parts, *by a beneficed Minister and a regular Son of the Church of* England. In which

the Author undertakes to ſhew, 1. The Greatneſs of their Sufferings. 2. The Hardneſs of their Caſe. 3. The Reaſonableneſs and Equity of their Propoſals for Union. 4. The Qualifications and Worth of their Miniſters. 5. Their peaceable Behaviour. 6. Their Agreement with the Church of *England* in the Articles of her Faith. 7. The Prejudice to the Church by their Excluſion; and then concludes, with an Account of the infamous Lives, and lamentable Deaths, of ſeveral of the Informers. It was a rational and moving Performance, but had no Influence on the Tory Juſtices, and Tribe of Informers. There was no ſtemming the Tide; every one who was not a furious Tory (ſays *Rapin*) was reputed a Preſbyterian.

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Moſt of the Clergy were with the Court, and diſtinguiſhed themſelves on the Side of Perſecution. The Pulpits every where reſounded with the Doctrines of *Paſſive-Obedience* and *Non-Reſiſtance*, which were carried to all the Heights of King *Charles* I. No Eaſtern Monarch (according to them) was more abſolute than the King of *England*. They expreſſed ſuch a Zeal for the Duke's Succeſſion, as if a Popiſh King over a Proteſtant Country had been a ſpecial Bleſſing from Heaven. They likewiſe gave themſelves ſuch a Looſe againſt *Proteſtant Non-Conformiſts*, as if nothing was ſo formidable as that Party. In all their Sermons *Popery* was quite forgot (ſays *Burnet*) and the Force of their Zeal was turned almoſt wholly againſt *Proteſtant Diſſenters*. In many Country Places the *Parſon of the Pariſh*, who could ſwagger and drink, and ſwear with the moſt notorious Rakes in his Neighbourhood, was put into the Commiſſion of the Peace, and made *a confiding Juſtice*, by which means he was both Judge and Party in his own Cauſe. If any of his ſober Pariſhioners did not appear at Church they were ſure to be ſent for, and inſtead of the Mildneſs and Gentleneſs of a Chriſtian Clergyman, they uſually met with haughty and abuſive Language, and the utmoſt Rigor the Law could inflict. There was alſo a great Change made

The Conduct of the High Church Clergy.

Rapin, p. 309, 310. Burnet, p. 501.

King Charles II. 1681.

made in the *Commiſſions* all over *England*. A Set of *confiding Magiſtrates* was appointed; and none were left on the Bench or in the Militia that did not declare for the arbitrary Meaſures of the Court; and ſuch of the Clergy as would not engage in this Fury were declaimed againſt as *Betrayers of the Church*, and ſecret Favourers of the Diſſenters; but the Truth is (ſays the Biſhop) *the Number of ſober honeſt Clergymen was not great*, for where the Carcaſs is, the Eagles will be gathered together. The Scent of Preferment will draw aſpiring Men after it. Upon the Whole, the Times were very black at preſent, and the Proſpect under a Popiſh Succeſſor more threatning.

Sufferings of the Non-Conformiſts.

It would fill a Volume to go into all the Particulars of theſe unchriſtian Proceedings, which even the black Regiſters of the Spiritual Courts cannot fully unfold. The Reverend Mr. *Edward Bury* aſſiſting at a private Faſt on Account of the extraordinary Drought, was apprehended *June* 14. and fined twenty Pounds; and for refuſing to pay it, becauſe he did not preach, they took away his Goods, Books, and even the Bed he lay upon. The Reverend Mr. *Philip Henry* was apprehended at the ſame Time, and fined forty Pounds, and for Non-Payment they carried away thirty three Loads of Corn that lay cut upon the Ground, together with Hay, Coals, and other Chattels. The *Informers* took the Names of one hundred and fifty more who were at the Meeting: They fined the Maſter of the Houſe twenty Pounds, and five Pound more as being Conſtable that Year, and exacted five Shillings a Head from all that were preſent. Examples of this Uſage in *London*, *Middleſex*, and moſt of the Counties of *England*, are innumerable.

And of the Quakers. Sewel, p. 574, 581.

The Quakers publiſhed a Relation of the Sufferings of their Friends ſince the Reſtoration, by which it appeared, that great Numbers had been fined by the Biſhops Courts, robbed of their Subſtance, and periſhed in Priſon. Many had been ſo beaten and wounded for attending *their Meetings* that they died of

of their Wounds. An Account was alſo publiſhed, of the unjuſt Proceedings of the *Informers*, ſhewing, that at their Inſtance many had been plunder'd without a Juridical Proceſs; that ſeven hundred of them were now in Priſon in ſeveral Parts of *England*, and eſpecially about *Briſtol*; but it availed nothing. *King Charles II. 1681.*

In the Midſt of this furious Perſecution the Famous Mr. *Thomas Gouge*, Son of Dr. *Gouge* of *Black Friars*, and the ejected Miniſter of St. *Sepulchres*, was taken out of this World: He was born at *Bow* near *Stratford*, 1605. bred at *Eaton School*, and educated in *King's College*, *Cambridge*. He ſettled at St. *Sepulchres* in the Year 1638. and for twenty four Years diſcharged all the Parts of a vigilant and faithful Paſtor. He was a Wonder of Piety, Charity, Humility and Moderation, making it his Study to keep a Conſcience void of Offence towards God and all Men. Mr. *Baxter* ſays, He never heard any Man ſpeak to his Diſhonour, except, that he did not Conform. He was poſſeſſed of a good Eſtate, and devoted the Chief of it to Charity. He ſettled Schools, to the Number of three or four hundred, and gave Money to teach Children to read in the mountainous Parts of *Wales*, where he travell'd annually, and preached, 'till he was forbid by the Biſhops, and excommunicated, tho' he went as a Hearer to the Pariſh Churches. He printed eight thouſand *Welch* Bibles, a thouſand of which were given to the Poor, and the reſt ſent to the principal Towns of *Wales* to be ſold at an under Rate. He printed five hundred of the *Whole Duty of Man* in *Welch*, and gave them away; two hundred and forty *New Teſtaments*; and kept almoſt two thouſand *Welch* Children at School to learn *Engliſh*. Archbiſhop *Tillotſon*, in his Funeral Sermon, ſays, That all Things conſider'd, there has not ſince the Primitive Times of Chriſtianity been many among the Sons of Men, to whom that glorious Character of the Son of God might be better applied, that *He went about doing Good*. He was a Divine of a chearful Spirit, and went away

Death of the Reverend Mr. Gouge. Tillotſon's *Works.* Vol. I. P. 265.

King Charles II. 1682.

away quietly, in his Sleep, *October* 29. 1681. in the Seventy ſeventh Year of his Age.

Conteſts about Election of Magiſtrates.

While the Tories and High Church Clergy were deſtroying the Diſſenters, the Court was intent upon ſubverting the Conſtitution, and getting the Government of the City into their Hands. *June* 24. there was a Conteſt about the Election of Sheriffs which occaſioned a conſiderable Tumult. And when the Election of a Lord Mayor came on at *Michaelmas*, the Citizens were again in an Uproar, the *Lord Mayor* pretending a Right to adjourn the Court, while the *Sheriffs*, to whom the Right belonged, continued the Poll till Night; when the Books were caſt up each Party claimed the Majority according to their ſeveral Books. The Conteſt roſe ſo high, that Sir *William Pritchard*, Lord Mayor, was afterwards arreſted at the Suit of Mr. *Papillon* and *Dubois*, and kept Priſoner in *Skinners Hall* till Midnight. But when the Affair came to a Trial the Election was ſet aſide, *Papillon* and *Dubois* were impriſoned, and the Leading Men on the Whig Side, who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the Conteſt, were fined in large Sums of Money, which made way for the Loſs of the Charter.

1683.

Charter of the City of London, *&c. forfeited.*

Burnet, p. 528, 568. Rapin, p. 319.

The Court would have perſuaded the *Common-Council* to make a voluntary Surrender of it to the Crown, to put an end to all Conteſts for the Future; but not being able to prevail, they reſolved to condemn it by Law; accordingly a *Quo Warranto* was iſſued out againſt the Charter, becauſe the Common Council in one of their Addreſſes, had petitioned for the Sitting of the Parliament, and had taxed the Prorogation as a Delay of Juſtice; and becauſe they had laid Taxes on their Wharfs and Markets contrary to Law. After Trial upon theſe two Points the Judge declared it to be the unanimous Opinion of the Court, *That the Liberties and Franchiſes of the City of* London *be ſeized into the King's Hands*, but Judgment was not to be enter'd till the King's Pleaſure was further known. In the mean Time the Lord Mayor and Com-

Common Council, who are the Repreſentatives of the City, agreed to ſubmit to the King's Mercy, and ſent a Deputation to *Windſor*, *June* 18. 1683. to beg Pardon; which the King was pleaſed to grant on Condition, *That his Majeſty might have a Negative on the Choice of all the chief Magiſtrates* — That *if his Majeſty diſapproved of their Choice of a Lord Mayor they ſhould chooſe another within a Week* — And *that if his Majeſty diſapproved their ſecond Choice he ſhould himſelf nominate a Mayor for the Year enſuing*; and the like as to *Sheriffs*, *Aldermen*, &c. When this was reported back to the Common Council, it was put to the Vote, and upon a Diviſion one hundred and four were for accepting the King's Regulation, and eighty ſix againſt it; but even theſe *Conceſſions* continued no longer than a Year. The Charter of *London* being loſt, the Cities and Corporations all over *England* were prevailed with to deliver up their Charters, and accept of ſuch new Ones as the Court would grant, which was the higheſt Degree of Perfidy and Baſeneſs in thoſe who were intruſted with them, eſpecially when they knew that the Deſign was to pack a Parliament, in order to make way for a Popiſh King.

King Charles II. 1682.

Burnet, P. 527, 530, 536. Gazette, N° 1835.

Thus the Liberties of *England* were delivered up to the Crown; and tho' the Forms of Law were continued, Mens Lives and Eſtates were at the Mercy of a Set of profligate Creatures who would ſwear any Thing for Hire. *Juries* (ſays *Burnet*) were a Shame to the Nation, and a Reproach to Religion, for they were packed and prepared to bring in Verdicts as they were directed, and not as Matters appeared upon the Evidence. Zeal againſt Popery was decried as the Voice of a Faction who were Enemies to the King and his Government. All Rejoicings on the fifth of *November* were forbid, and ſtrict Orders given to all Conſtables, and other Officers to keep the Peace; but the Populace not being ſo orderly as they ſhould have been, ſeveral *London* Apprentices were fined twenty Marks for a

Remarks.

King Charles II. 1682.

Riot, and ſet in the Pillory. Theſe were the Triumphs of a Tory and Popiſh Adminiſtration!

Death of Mr. Caſe.

A little before this died old Mr. *Thomas Caſe*, M.A. educated in *Chriſt Church*, *Oxford*, and one of the Aſſembly of Divines; he was peculiarly zealous in promoting the *Morning Exerciſes*, but was turned out of his Living of St. *Mary Magdalen*, *Milk Street*, for refuſing the Engagement, and impriſoned for Mr. *Love's* Plot; he was afterwards Rector of St. *Giles's*, and waited on the King at *Breda*. He was one of the Commiſſioners at the *Savoy*; but was ſilenced with his Brethren in 1662. He was an open plain-hearted Man, an excellent Preacher, of a warm Spirit, and a hearty Lover of all good Men. He died *May* 30. 1682. *Ætatis* Eighty four.

And of Mr. S. Clarke.

Mr. *Samuel Clarke*, the ejected Miniſter of St. *Bennet Fink*, was an indefatigable Student, as appears by his Martyrology, his Lives of eminent Divines, and other hiſtorical Works; he was a good Scholar, and had been an uſeful Preacher in *Cheſhire* and *Warwickſhire* before he came to *London*; he was one of the Commiſſioners at the *Savoy*, and preſented the Preſbyterian Miniſters Addreſs of Thanks to the King for his Declaration concerning Eccleſiaſtical Affairs; and tho' he could not conform as a Preacher, he frequently attended publick Worſhip as a Hearer and a Communicant. He died *Dec.* 25. 1682. *Ætatis* Eighty.

1683.

Mr. Baxter *and others ſeverely proſecuted.* p. 191.

While the Liberties of *England* lay proſtrate at the Feet of the Court, their Fury raged againſt the *Non-Conformiſts*, as inflexible Enemies of their arbitrary Meaſures. Mr. *Baxter* was ſurprized in his own Houſe by a Company of Conſtables, and other *Peace-Officers*, who arreſted him for coming within five Miles of a Corporation, and brought Warrants to diſtrain upon him for five Sermons, amounting to one hundred ninety five Pounds. They took him out of his Bed, to which he had been confined for ſome Time, and were carrying him to Gaol; but Dr. *Cox* the Phyſician meeting him in the Way went and made

Oath

Oath before a Juſtice of Peace, that he could not be removed to Priſon without Danger of his Life, ſo he was permitted to go home again to Bed; but the Officers rifled his Houſe, took away ſuch Books as he had, and ſold even the Bed from under him. Dr. *Anneſley*, and ſeveral other Miniſters, had their Goods diſtrained for *latent Convictions*; that is, *upon the Oaths of Perſons they never ſaw, nor received Summons to anſwer for themſelves before a Juſtice of Peace.* This was ruining Men in the Dark. Some were impriſoned on the Corporation Act. The Reverend Mr. *Vincent* was tried and convicted at the *Surry Aſſizes* on the 35th of Queen *Elizabeth*, which was *Baniſhment*: He lay in Priſon many Months, but was at laſt releaſed by the Interceſſion of ſome great Men. The Diſſenting Laity were harraſſed every where in the *Spiritual Courts*, Warrants were ſigned for *Diſtreſſes* in the Village of *Hackney* alone, to the Sum of fourteen hundred Pounds; one of which was for five hundred. The Reader will then judge what muſt have been the Caſe of the whole Intereſt. *King* Charles II. 1683.

But in the Midſt of all this Oppreſſion and Violence the Court found, that the Spirit of *Engliſh* Liberty was not eaſily to be ſubdued; there was a Set of Patriots who ſtood in their Way, and were determined to hazard their Lives and Fortunes for the Conſtitution; theſe were therefore to be removed or cut off, by bringing them within the Compaſs of ſome pretended Plot againſt the Government. Some who were more zealous than prudent met together in Clubs at the Taverns and elſewhere, to talk over the common Danger, and what might be done to ſecure their Religion and Liberties after the King's Death; but there was no formed Deſign in any of them againſt the King or the preſent Government. The Court laid hold of this, and as Mr. *Coke* ſays, ſet on foot three Plots, one to aſſaſſinate the King and Duke as they came from *New-Market*; another to ſeize the Guards; and a third was called the *Blackheath Plot*; in all which, for *Rye Houſe Plot.*

King Charles II. 1683.

ought I can find (ſays he) the *Fox was the Finder*. Dr. *Welwood* adds, that the ſhatter'd Remains of *Engliſh* Liberty were attacked on every Side, and ſome of the nobleſt Blood in the Nation offered up a Sacrifice to the *Manes* of Popiſh Martyrs. *Swearing* came into Faſhion, and an Evidence Office was ſet up at *Whitehall*; the Witneſſes were highly encouraged, and inſtead of Judges and Juries that might boggle at half Evidence, Care was taken to pick out ſuch as ſhould ſtick at nothing to ſerve a Turn. The Plot which the Court made uſe of was called the *Ryehouſe Plot*, from the Name of the Houſe where the two Royal Brothers were to be ſhot; it was within two Miles of *Hodſdon* in *Hertfordſhire*, and was firſt diſcovered by one *Keeling* an *Anabaptiſt*; after him *Goodenough*, *Rumſey* and *Weſt*, made themſelves Witneſſes, and framed a Story out of their own Heads, of *Lopping off the two Brothers* as they came from *New-Market*, and having heard of Conferences between the Duke of *Monmouth*, Lord *Ruſſel*, and others, concerning ſecuring the Proteſtant Religion after the King's Death, they impeached them to the Council, upon which Lord *Ruſſel*, *Algernon Sidney*, the Earl of *Eſſex*, and Mr. *Houblon*, were apprehended and ſent to the *Tower*. Warrants were iſſued out for ſeveral others, who not being willing to truſt to their Innocence abſconded, and went out of the Way; but ſeveral were tried, and executed upon the *Court Evidence*, as Mr. *Rumbold*, Maſter of the Houſe where the Plot was to take Place, who declared at his Execution in King *James*'s Reign, that he never knew of any Deſign againſt the King; as did Capt. *Walcot* and Sir *Thomas Armſtrong*, *Rouſe*, and the reſt. Lord *Ruſſel* was condemned, and beheaded, for being within the Hearing of ſome treaſonable Words at Mr. *Shepherd*'s a Wine-Cooper in *Abchurch Lane*. The Earl of *Eſſex*'s Throat was cut in the *Tower* while Lord *Ruſſel* was upon his Trial; and *Algernon Sidney* was executed for having *a ſeditious Libel in his Study*; of the Cruelty of which the Parliament at the Revolution was

Mem. p. 132.

Burnet, p. 544, 550, 633.

Ld. Ruſſel *beheaded.*

Wel. Memoirs, p. 161.

was ſo ſenſible, that they reverſed their Judgments. A Proclamation was iſſued out againſt the Duke of *Monmouth*, tho' the King knew where he was; and when the Ferment was over brought him to Court. Mr. *Eachard* obſerves, that ſome have called this the *Fanatick*, the *Proteſtant*, the *Whiggiſh*, or *Presbyterian Plot*; Others have called it with more Juſtice, a Piece of State Policy, and no better than an Impoſture, for there was nothing more in it than the raſh and imprudent Diſcourſe of ſome warm Whigs, which in ſo critical and dangerous a Conjuncture was very hazardous, but no Scheme of a Plot was agreed upon, no Preparations were made, no Arms nor Horſes bought, nor Perſons appointed to execute any Deſign againſt the King or Government. However, the Court had their Ends in ſtriking Terror into the whole Body of the Whigs.

King Charles II. 1683.

Great Induſtry was uſed by the Court to bring the Body of Non-Conformiſts into this Plot: It was given out that Dr. *Owen*, Mr. *Mead* and Mr. *Griffith*, were acquainted with it; Mr. *Mead* was ſummoned before the Council, but gave ſuch ſatisfactory Anſwers to all Queſtions, that the King himſelf ordered him to be diſcharged. The Reverend Mr. *Caſtaires*, a *Scots* Divine, was put to the Torture of the *Thummikins* in *Scotland* to extort a Confeſſion; both his Thumbs were bruiſed between two Irons till the Marrow was almoſt forced out of the Bones: This he bore for an Hour and half without making any Confeſſion. Next Day they brought him to undergo the Torture of the *Boot*, but his Arms being ſwell'd with the late Torture, and he already in a Fever, made a Declaration of all that he knew, which amounted to no more than ſome looſe Diſcourſe of what might be fit to be done to preſerve their Liberties and the Proteſtant Religion if there ſhould be a *Criſis*; but he vindicated himſelf and his Brethren in *England* from all aſſaſſinating Deſigns, which, he ſays, they abhorred. Dr. *South* was deſired to write the Hiſtory of this Plot, but

Non-Conform. *charged with it.* Burnet, p. 583, 584.

King Charles II. 1683.

Dr. *Sprat*, afterwards Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, performed it, tho', when the Times turned at the Revolution, he diſown'd it, ſo far as to declare, that King *James* had alter'd ſeveral Paſſages in it before it was printed. Biſhop *Burnet* adds, that when the Congratulatory Addreſſes for the Diſcovery of this Plot had gone all round *England*, the *Grand Juries* made high Preſentments againſt all that were accounted Whigs and Non-Conformiſts. Great Pains were taken to find out more Witneſſes; Pardons and Rewards were offered very freely to the Guilty, but none came in, which made it evident (ſays his Lordſhip) that nothing was ſo well laid, or brought ſo near Execution, as the Witneſſes had depoſed, otherwiſe the People would have crouded in for Pardons. Biſhop *Kennet* ſays, that the *Diſſenters* bore all the Odium, and were not only branded for expreſs *Rebels* and *Villains*, in multitudes of Congratulatory and Tory Addreſſes from all Parts of the Kingdom, but were ſeverely arraigned by the King himſelf in a Declaration to all his loving Subjects, read in all the Churches on *Sunday September* 9. which was appointed as a Day of Thankſgiving, and ſolemnized after an extraordinary Manner, with mighty Pomp and Magnificence. There was hardly a Pariſh in *England* that was not at a conſiderable Expence to teſtify their great Joy and Satisfaction: Nay, the Papiſts celebrated in all their Chapels in *London* an extraordinary Service on that Account; ſo that *theſe* had their Places of Publick Worſhip, tho' the Proteſtant Diſſenters had not.

p. 567.

Eachard.

Quakers *purge themſelves and declare their Sufferings.*

The *Quakers* declared their Innocence of the Plot, in an Addreſs to the King at *Windſor*, preſented by *G. Whitehead*, *Parker*, and two more, wherein they appeal to the Searcher of all Hearts, that "their Principles do not allow them to take up defenſive Arms, "much leſs to avenge themſelves for the Injuries they "receive from others. That they continually pray "for the King's Safety and Preſervation, and there-"fore take this Occaſion humbly to beſeech his Ma-"jeſty,

Sewel, p. 585.

" jesty, to compassionate their suffering Friends, with " whom the Gaols are so filled, that they want Air, " to the apparent Hazard of their Lives, and to the " endangering an Infection in divers Places. Besides, " many Houses, Shops, Barns and Fields are ran- " sacked, and the Goods, Corn and Cattel, swept " away, to the discouraging of Trade and Husbandry, " and impoverishing great Numbers of quiet and in- " dustrious People; and this for no other Cause but " for the Exercise of a tender Conscience in the Wor- " ship of Almighty God, who is Sovereign Lord and " King in Mens Consciences —"

King Charles II. 1683.

But this Address had no Effect, all Things went on triumphantly on the Side of the Prerogative; the Court did what they pleased; the King took the Government of the City of *London* into his own Hands, and appointed a Mayor, Sheriffs, and Aldermen, without the Election of the People; Sermons were filled with the Principles of absolute Obedience and Non-Resistance, which were carried Higher than ever their Forefathers had thought of or practised. The University of *Oxford* passed a *Decree* in full Convocation, *July* 21. 1683. *against certain pernicious Books, and damnable Doctrines, destructive to the sacred Persons of Princes, their State and Government, and all human Society.* It consists of twenty seven Propositions, extracted from the Writings of *Buchanan*, *Baxter*, *Owen*, *Milton*, *J. Goodwin*, *Hobbs*, *Cartwright*, *Travers*, and others, who had maintained that there was an *Original Contract* between King and People; and that *when Kings subvert the Constitution of their Country, and become absolute Tyrants, they forfeit their Right to the Government, and may be resisted:* These, and other Propositions of a like Nature, they declare to be *impious*, *seditious*, *scandalous*, *damnable*, *heretical*, *blasphemous*, and *infamous to the Christian Religion.* They forbid their Students to read those Writers, and ordered their Books to be burnt; but how well they practised these Doctrines at the Revolution of King

Oxford *Decree.* Kennet, p. 410.

Collyer, p. 902.

King Charles II. 1683.

William, will be ſeen in its proper Place; and the Parliament in the Reign of Queen *Anne* ordered the *Decree it ſelf* to be burnt by the Hands of the common Hangman.

Sufferings of Mr. Delaune.

Dr. *Benjamin Calamy*, Rector of St. *Lawrence Jewry*, in one of his printed Sermons, entituled, *A ſcrupulous Conſcience*, invited the *Non-Conformiſts* to examine what each Party had to ſay for themſelves with reſpect to the Ceremonies impoſed by the Church, and inforced by the Penal Laws, he called upon them modeſtly to propoſe their Doubts, and meekly to hearken to and receive Inſtruction. In compliance with this Invitation Mr. *Thomas Delaune*, an Anabaptiſt School-Maſter, and a learned Man, printed a *Plea for the Non-Conformiſts*, ſhewing the true State of their Caſe, and juſtifying their Separation. But before it was publiſhed he was apprehended by a Meſſenger from the Preſs, and ſhut up cloſe Priſoner in *Newgate*, by Warrant from the Recorder *Jenner*, dated *Nov.* 30. 1683. Mr. *Delaune* writ to Dr. *Calamy* to endeavour his Enlargement: "My Confinement (ſays he) is for "accepting your Invitation; I look upon you obli- "ged in Honour to procure my Sheets, yet unfiniſh- "ed, a publick Paſſport, and to me my Liberty — "There is nothing in them but a fair Examination of "thoſe Things your Sermon invited to, and I cannot "find that Chriſt and his Diſciples ever forced *ſcru- "pulous Conſciences* to Conformity by ſuch Methods "as ſending them to *Newgate*; I beſeech you there- "fore in the Fear of God, as you will anſwer it to "our great Lord and Maſter Jeſus Chriſt, that you "would endeavour to convince a Stranger by ſome- "thing more like Reaſon and Divinity than a Pri- "ſon." The *Doctor* at firſt ſaid, he would do him any Kindneſs that became him. But in anſwer to a ſecond Letter he ſaid, he look'd upon himſelf as unconcerned, becauſe he was not mentioned in that Sheet he ſaw with the Recorder. Mr. *Delaune* inſiſted upon his Honour, as being directly concerned, and prayed him

him at leaſt to perform the Office of a Divine, in viſiting him in Priſon, to argue him out of his Doubts; but the *Doctor*, like an ungenerous Adverſary, deſerted him. Mr. *Delaune* therefore was to be convinced by Law, and was indicted, for *that on* Nov. 30. *he did by Force of Arms*, &c. *unlawfully, ſeditiouſly, and maliciouſly, write, print, and publiſh, a certain falſe, ſeditious, and ſcandalous Libel, of, and concerning our Lord the King, and the Book of Common-Prayer*, entituled, *A Plea for the Non-Conformiſts*. For which he was fined one hundred Marks, and to be kept Priſoner till he paid it; to find Security for his good Behaviour for one Year, and his Books to be burnt before the *Royal Exchange*. The Court told him, that in reſpect of his being a Scholar he ſhould not be pillory'd, tho' he deſerv'd it. Mr. *Delaune* not being able to pay his Fine lived in Priſon fifteen Months, and ſuffered great Hardſhips by extreme Poverty, having no Subſiſtence but upon Charity. He had a Wife and two ſmall Children with him, who all died in the Gaol, being ſuffocated by the Inconveniencies of the Priſon, and other lingring Sorrows and Sickneſſes. At laſt Mr. *Delaune* himſelf ſunk under the Burden, and died in *Newgate*, a Martyr to the Challenge of a High Church Doctor.

King Charles II. 1683.

Mr. *Francis Bampfield* ſuffered the like, or greater Hardſhips; he was educated in *Wadham College*, *Oxon*, and was Miniſter of *Sherbourn* in *Dorſetſhire*. After the Act of Uniformity he continued preaching as he had Opportunity in private, till he was impriſoned with twenty five of his Hearers in one Room, with but one Bed, for five Days and Nights, where they ſpent their Time in religious Exerciſes; but after ſome Time he was releaſed. Soon after he was apprehended again, and continued nine Years in *Dorcheſter* Gaol, tho' he was a Perſon of unſhaken Loyalty to the King, and againſt the *Parliament War*; but this availed nothing to his being a Non-Conformiſt. He afterwards retired to *London*, where being taken again he was

And of Mr. Bampfield.

Calamy, p. 260.

ſhut

King Charles II. 1683.

ſhut up in *Newgate* and there died, *Feb.* 16. 1683-4. He was for the *ſeventh Day Sabbath*, but a Perſon of unqueſtionable Serioufneſs and Piety.

And of Mr. Ralphſon.

With him might be mentioned Mr. *Ralphſon*, a learned Man, and a Fellow-Sufferer with Mr. *Delaune* in *Newgate*. On the 10th of *December* a Bill was found againſt him by the Grand Jury of *London*; on the 13th of the ſame Month he pleaded *Not Guilty* at the *Old Baily*. On the 16th of *January* he was called to the *Seſſions Houſe*, but ſome Trials proving tedious his was not brought on. The next Day he was called to the outer Bar; and after an Attendance of divers Hours in a Place not very agreeable, and in the ſharpeſt Winter that has been known, he contracted a violent Cold, which ended in a Fever, that carried him as well as Mr. *Bampfield* beyond the Juriſdiction of *Bail-Docks* or *Preſs-Yards*, to the Manſions of everlaſting Reſt. Mr. *Philips*, Partner with Mr. *Bampfield*, ſuffered eleven Months Impriſonment in *Ilcheſter* Gaol, in a naſty ſtinking Hole, to the great Hazard of his Life. Mr. *French* of *Town-Maulin* was confined ſix Months in *Maidſtone* Gaol, in a hard Winter, without Fire or Candle, or a private Room to lodge in.

Calamy's Abridg. p. 259, 377.

Of Mr. Salkeild and others.

Mr. *Salkeild*, the ejected Miniſter of *Worlington* in *Suffolk*, was fined one hundred Pounds, and committed to the common Gaol of St. *Edmundsbury*, for ſaying, *Popery was coming into the Nation apace, and no Care taken to prevent it.* He lay in Priſon three Years, and was not diſcharged till the Year 1686.

Mr. *Richard Stretton* ſuffered ſix Months Impriſonment this Year, for refuſing the *Oxford* Oath, in company of ten Miniſters more, impriſoned there at the ſame Time. Moſt of the Diſſenting Miniſters were forced to ſhift their Places of Abode to avoid Diſcovery, and travel in long Nights and cold Weather from one Village to another to preach to their People. If at any Time they ventur'd to viſit their Families in a dark Night they durſt not ſtir Abroad, but went away before

Calamy, p. 627, &c.

before Morning. Some ſpent their Time in Woods and ſolitary Places; Others being excommunicated removed with their Effects into other Dioceſes — Great Numbers of the common People, taken at private Meetings, were convicted as Rioters and fined ten Pounds a-piece; and not being able to pay, were obliged to remove into other Counties, by which they loſt their Buſineſs, and their Families were reduced to Want. I forbear to mention the Rudeneſs offered to young Women, ſome of whom were ſent to *Bridewell* to beat Hemp among Rogues and Thieves; others that were married, and with Child, received irreparable Damages; even Children were terrified with Conſtables and Halberdeers breaking open Houſes, of whom I my ſelf (ſays Mr. *Peirce*) being very young, was one Example; and the Writer of this Hiſtory could mention others. *King* Charles II. 1683.

In the Midſt of theſe violent Proceedings the Divines of the Church of *England* publiſhed the *London Caſes* againſt the Non-Conformiſts, as if the Danger of Religion was from that Quarter; they were twenty three in Number, and have ſince been abridg'd by Dr. *Bennet*. Theſe Champions of the Church were very ſecure from being anſwer'd, after Mr. *Delaune* had ſo lately loſt his Life, for writing againſt *one of them*, publiſhed by Dr. *Calamy*. They muſt therefore have the Field to themſelves, for if their Adverſaries writ they were ſure to be rewarded with Fines, and a Priſon; but ſince that Time they have been anſwered ſeparately by Mr. *Nathaniel Taylor*, Mr. *James Peirce*, and others. *London Caſes publiſhed.* Peirce. p. 259.

This Year died Dr. *John Owen*, one of the moſt Learned of the *Independant* Divines; he was educated in *Queen's College, Oxon*, but left the Univerſity in 1637. being diſſatisfied with *Laud*'s Innovations. He was a ſtrict *Calviniſt*, and publiſhed his *Diſplay of Arminianiſm* in 1642. for which the Committee of Religion preſented him to the Living of *Fordham* in *Eſſex*. In 1643. he removed to *Coggeſhall* in the ſame *Death of Dr.* John Owen.

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ſame County, where he firſt declared himſelf an *Independant*, and gathered a Church according to the Method of that People. He often preached before the Long Parliament, even about the Time the King was beheaded, but always kept himſelf upon the Reſerve. Soon after Lieutenant General *Cromwel* took him into his Service as a Chaplain in his Expedition to *Ireland*; and when the General marched to *Scotland* he obtained an Order of Parliament for the Doctor to attend him thither. Upon his Return he was preferr'd to the Deanry of *Chriſt Church*, and next Year to the Vice-Chancellorſhip of *Oxford*, which he managed with great Reputation and Prudence for five Years. No Man was more of a Gentleman and Scholar, or ſupported the Dignity of his Character better in his Time. The Writer of his Life ſays, That tho' he was an *Independant* himſelf, he gave moſt of the vacant Livings in his Gift among the *Presbyterians*, and obliged the Epiſcopal Party, by conniving at an Aſſembly of about three hundred of them almoſt over againſt his own Doors. The *Oxford* Hiſtorian, after having treated his Memory with moſt reproachful Language, confeſſes, That he was well ſkilled in the Tongues, in Rabinnical Learning, and in the *Jewiſh* Rites and Cuſtoms, and that he was one of the moſt genteel and faireſt Writers that appeared againſt the Church of *England*. The Doctor had a great Reputation among foreign Proteſtants; and when he was laid aſide by the Act of Uniformity was invited to a Profeſſorſhip in the *United Provinces*. He was once alſo determined to ſettle in *New England*, but was ſtopt by expreſs Order from the Council. He was Paſtor of a conſiderable Congregation in *London*, and died with great Calmneſs and Compoſure of Mind on *Bartholomew Day*, 1683. His Works are very numerous, and in high Eſteem among the Diſſenters; but his Stile is a little intricate and perplexed.

This

This Year the King, by the Aſſiſtance of the *Tories* and *Roman Catholicks*, compleated the Ruin of the Conſtitution, and aſſumed the whole Government into his own Hands. The *Whigs* and *Non-Conformiſts* were ſtruck with Terror by the ſevere Proſecutions of the Heads of their Party. Mr. *Hampden* was fined forty thouſand Pounds, Sir *Samuel Barnadiſton* ten thouſand Pounds, for defaming the Evidence in the *Rye-Houſe Plot*. Mr. *Speke* two thouſand, and Mr. *Braddon* one thouſand Pounds, for reporting that the Earl of *Eſſex* had been murder'd in the *Tower*. Mr. *John Duttoncolt* one hundred thouſand Pounds, for *Scandalum Magnatum* againſt the Duke of *York*, who now govern'd all at Court. *Oates* was fined for the ſame Crime one hundred thouſand Pounds, and never got out of Priſon till after the Revolution. Thirty two others were fined or pillory'd for libelling the King or the Duke of *York*. In ſhort, the greateſt Part of the Hiſtory of this Year conſiſts of Proſecutions, Penalties and Puniſhments (ſays Mr. *Eachard*.) At the ſame Time the Earl of *Danby* and the *Popiſh Lords* were releaſed out of the *Tower* on Bail, the Garriſon of *Tangier* was brought over into *England*, and augmented to a Standing Army of four or five Thouſand reſolute Men, fit for any Service the Court ſhould employ them in. And the Corporations all over *England* having been prevailed with, by Promiſes or Threatenings, to give up their Charters, after the Example of *London*, the whole Kingdom was diveſted of its Liberties, and reduced to an abſolute Monarchy. Whole Peals of Anathema's were rung out againſt thoſe *Patriots* that ſtood up for its Liberties. The Scriptures were made a Store for Arbitrary Power. The abſolute Government of the *Jewiſh Kings* was preached up as a Pattern for *Ours*. And Heaven it ſelf was ranked on that Side by ſome that pretended to expound its Will. Inſtead of dropping a Tear at the Funeral of our Laws, Liberties, and Parliaments, ſome Panegyricks were made upon their Murderers,

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Further Sufferings of the Whigs. Rapin, p. 354, 356. Eachard, p. 1043, 1044.

The Conſtitution of England *given up and deſtroyed.* Welw. Memoirs, p. 130.

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and Curſes denounced on thoſe who would have retrieved them from Deſtruction.

In this melancholy Situation of publick Affairs the Proſecution of the *Non-Conformiſts* was continued, and carried on to a Pitch hardly to be parallel'd in a Proteſtant Nation. Dr. *Barlow*, Biſhop of *Lincoln*, publiſhed a Letter for putting the Laws in Execution againſt the Diſſenters, in concurrence with another drawn up by the Juſtices of Peace of *Bedford*, bearing Date *Jan.* 14. 1684. Many were cited into the *Spiritual Courts*, excommunicated and ruined. Two hundred Warrants of Diſtreſs were iſſued out upon private Perſons and Families in the Town and Neighbourhood of *Uxbridge*, for frequenting Conventicles or not coming to Church. An Order was made by the Juſtices of *Exeter*, promiſing a Reward of forty Shillings to any one who ſhould apprehend a Non-Conformiſt Miniſter, which the Biſhop of the Dioceſe, Dr. *Lamplugh*, commanded to be publiſhed in all the Churches by his Clergy on the following Sunday. The Reverend Dr. *Bates*, Dr. *Anneſley*, and many of their Brethren in the Miniſtry, had their Goods ſeized and carried off. Mr. *Robert Mayot* of *Oxon*, a moderate Conformiſt, having left Mr. *Baxter* ſix hundred Pounds to diſtribute among ſixty poor ejected Miniſters; the Lord Keeper *North* took it from him, and gave it all to the King; the Money was put into *Chancery*, and lay there till it was reſtored by the Commiſſioners of the *Great Seal* under King *William*. Soon after the Juſtices ſent Warrants to apprehend Mr. *Baxter*, as being one in the Liſt of a thouſand Names, who were to be bound to their good Behaviour upon *latent Convictions*, that is, without ſeeing their Accuſers, or being made acquainted with their Charge. Mr. *Baxter* refuſing to open his Doors, the Officers forced into his Houſe, upon which he locked himſelf up in his Study, but being reſolved to ſtarve him from thence they ſet ſix Men at the Door, to whom he was obliged next Day to ſurrender. They then carried him to the *Seſſions Houſe*

Howe's *Life*, p. 80.

Mr. Baxter *again in Priſon.* Baxter, p. 198.

House two or three Times, and bound him in a Bond of four hundred Pounds, ſo that if his Friends had not been Sureties for him, contrary to his Deſire, he muſt have died in Priſon, being then almoſt Bedrid. Many excellent Perſons died in common Gaols, and thouſands were ruined. *King Charles II. 1684.*

Jefferies was now Lord Chief Juſtice, who was ſcandalouſly vitious, and drunk every Day, beſides a Drunkenneſs of Fury in his Temper that look'd like Madneſs: He was prepared for any dirty Work the Court ſhould put him upon. *September* 23. Mr. *Thomas Roſewel* the Diſſenting Miniſter at *Rotherhithe* was impriſoned in the *Gate-Houſe*, *Weſtminſter*, for High Treaſon; and a Bill was found againſt him at the Quarter Seſſions, upon which he was tried *November* 8. at the *King's Bench* Bar, by a *Surrey* Jury, before Lord Chief Juſtice *Jefferies*, and three others (*viz.*) *Withins*, *Holloway*, and *Walcot*. He was indicted for the following Expreſſions in his Sermon *Sept.* 14. *That the King could not cure the King's Evil, but that Prieſts and Prophets by their Prayers could heal the Griefs of the People — That we had had two wicked Kings* (meaning the preſent King and his Father) *whom we can reſemble to no other Perſon but to the moſt wicked* Jeroboam; *and that if they* (meaning his Hearers) *would ſtand to their Principles, he did not doubt but they ſhould overcome their Enemies* (meaning the King) *as in former Times, with Rams-Horns, broken Platters, and a Stone in a Sling.* The Witneſſes were three infamous Women, who ſwore to the Words without the *Innuendo's*; they were laden with the Guilt of many Perjuries already, and ſuch of them as could be found afterwards were convicted, and the chief of them pillory'd before the *Exchange*. The Trial laſted ſeven Hours, and Mr. *Roſewel* behaved with all the Decency and Reſpect to the Court that could be expected, and made a Defence that was applauded by moſt of the Hearers. He ſaid it was impoſſible the Witneſſes ſhould remember, and be able *Trial of Mr. Roſewel.* Burnet, p. 567.

to

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to pronounce ſo long a Period, when they could not ſo much as tell the *Text*, nor any Thing elſe in the Sermon beſides the Words they had ſworn: Several who heard the Sermon and writ it in Short Hand, declared they heard no ſuch Words. Mr. *Roſewel* offered his own Notes to prove it, but no Regard was had to them. The *Women* could not prove, (ſays *Burnet*) by any one Circumſtance, that they were at the Meeting; or that any Perſon ſaw them there on that Day; the Words they ſwore were ſo groſs that it was not to be imagined that any Man in his Wits would expreſs himſelf ſo, before a mixed Aſſembly, yet *Jefferies* urged the Matter with his uſual Vehemence. He laid it for a Foundation, that all preaching at Conventicles was treaſonable, and that this ought to diſpoſe the Jury to believe any Evidence upon that Head, ſo the Jury brought him in *Guilty*; *upon which* (ſays the Biſhop) *there was a ſhameful Rejoycing*; and it was now thought all Conventicles muſt be ſuppreſſed, when ſuch Evidence could be received againſt ſuch a Defence. But when the Words came to be examined by Men learned in the Law they were found not to be Treaſon by any Statute. So Mr. *Roſewel* moved for an Arreſt of Judgment till Council ſhould be heard; and tho' it was doubtful whether this ought to be allowed after the Verdict, yet the King was ſo put out of Countenance by the Accounts he heard of the *Witneſſes*, that he gave Orders to yield to it; and in the End he was pardoned. The Court loſt a great deal of Reputation by this Trial, for beſides that *Roſewel* made a ſtrong Defence, he proved that he had always been a Loyal Man even in *Cromwel*'s Days, that he prayed conſtantly for the King in his Family, and that in his Sermons he often inſiſted upon the Obligations to Loyalty.

He is condemned. P. 597.

Sufferings and Death of Mr. Jenkins.

But among other Sufferers for Non-Conformity we muſt not forget the Reverend Mr. *Will. Jenkins*, M. A. the ejected Miniſter of *Chriſt Church*, who died this Year in *Newgate*; he was educated in St. *John's College*,

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lege, *Cambridge*; and about the Year 1641. was chosen Miniſter of this Place, and Lecturer of *Black Friars*, both which Pulpits he filled with great Acceptance till the Deſtruction of Monarchy, after which he was ſequeſter'd for refuſing to comply with the Orders of Parliament. He was ſent to the *Tower* for *Love*'s *Plot*, but upon his humble Petition, and promiſe of Submiſſion to the *Powers in being* he was pardoned, and his Sequeſtration taken off, but he carefully avoided meddling in Politicks afterwards. He was ſummoned before the Council *Jan.* 2. 1661. and reprimanded, becauſe he forgot to pray for the King; and being ejected with his Brethren in 1662. he retired into the Country, but upon the Indulgence in 1671. he had a new Meeting-Houſe erected for him in *Jewen Street*, where he preached to a crouded Audience. He was one of the Merchants Lecturers at *Pinners Hall*. And when the Indulgence was revoked he continued preaching as he could, till this Year; but *September* 2. 1684. being at a private Faſt with ſome of his Brethren, the Soldiers broke in, and carried Mr. *Jenkins* before two Aldermen, who treated him very rudely, and upon his refuſing the *Oxford* Oath committed him to *Newgate*; when he was there he petitioned the King for a Releaſe, his Phyſicians declaring, that his Life was in danger from his cloſe Confinement; but no Security would be accepted. So that he ſoon declined in his Health, and died in *Newgate* in the Seventy third Year of his Age, *January* 19. 1684-5. when he had been Priſoner four Months and one Week. A little before his Death he ſaid, *A Man might be as effectually murdered in* Newgate *as at* Tyburn. He was buried by his Friends in *Bunhill Fields* with great Honour, many eminent Perſons, and ſome Scores of Coaches attending his Funeral.

K. Chron. p. 601.

This was the Uſage the Diſſenters met with from the Church of *England* at this Time, which had hardly a parallel in the Chriſtian World: Remarkable are the Words of the Earl of *Caſtlemain*, a *Roman* Catholick, on this

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Occaſion, "'Twas never known (ſays he) that *Rome* "perſecuted as the Biſhops do, thoſe who adhere to the "ſame Faith with themſelves; and eſtabliſhed an In- "quiſition againſt the Profeſſors of the ſtricteſt Piety "among themſelves; and however the Prelates com- "plain of the bloody Perſecution of Queen *Mary*, it "is manifeſt that their Perſecution exceeds it, for un- "der her there were not more than two or three hundred "put to Death, whereas under their Perſecution above "treble that Number have been rifled, deſtroyed, "and ruined in their Eſtates, Lives and Liberties, "being (as is moſt remarkable) Men for the moſt "part of the ſame Spirit with thoſe Proteſtants who "ſuffered under the Prelates in Queen *Mary*'s "Time."

Peirce, p. 259.

And of Mr. Benj. Wood- bridge.

Mr. *Benjamin Woodbridge*, M. A. the ejected Mi- niſter of *Newbury*, died this Year. He was bred up in *Magdalen College*, *Oxon*; from thence he went to *New England*, and was the firſt Graduate of the Col- lege there. When he came back to *England* he ſuc- ceeded Dr. *Twiſſe* at *Newbury*, where he had a mighty Reputation as a Scholar, a Preacher, a Caſuiſt, and a Chriſtian. He was a great Inſtrument of reducing the whole Town to Sobriety, and to Family as well as publick Worſhip. Upon the *Reſtoration* he was made one of the King's *Chaplains in ordinary*, and preached once before him. He was one of the *Com- miſſioners* at the *Savoy*, and very deſirous of an Accom- modation with the Church Party. He was offered a Canonry of *Windſor*, but refuſed it, and afterward ſuffered many Ways for his Non-Conformity, tho' he was generally reſpected and beloved by all that were Judges of real Worth. He had a ſound Judgment and was a fine Preacher, having a commanding Voice and Air. His Temper was chearful, and his Behav- our obliging; he was exemplary for his Moderation and of conſiderable Learning. When the five Mile Act took Place he removed from *Newbury* to a ſmall Diſtance, where he preached, as he had Opportunity

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He was liberal to the Poor, and was a Good and Great Man in all Reſpects. He died at *Ingleſield*, *Nov.* 1. 1684. in a good old Age, after he had been a Miniſter in thoſe Parts almoſt forty Years. *King* Charles II. 1684.

The Sufferings of the Preſbyterians in *Scotland* run parallel with thoſe of *England*, throughout the whole Courſe of this Reign; but the People were not quite ſo tame and ſubmiſſive: The ſame Acts of Severity that were made againſt the Non-Conformiſts in *England* were enacted in *Scotland*, or rather worſe. Epiſcopacy was reſtored *May* 8. 1662. and the *Covenant* declared to be an unlawful Oath. All Perſons in Office were to ſign a *Declaration of the Unlawfulneſs of taking up Arms againſt the King, or any commiſſioned by him, on any Pretence whatſoever*. The Act againſt Conventicles which paſt in *England*, was copied, and paſſed almoſt in the ſame Terms in *Scotland*. The *Biſhops* were ſome of the worſt of Men, and hated by the People as they deſerved, for their Deportment was unbecoming their Function (ſays Biſhop *Burnet*) ſome did not live within their Dioceſes, and thoſe that did ſeemed to take no Care of them: They ſhewed no Zeal againſt Vice; the moſt eminently Wicked in the Country were their peculiar Confidents; nor did they take any Care to keep their Clergy to their Duty, but were themſelves guilty of Levity, and a carnal Way of Living. *Summary of the Perſecution in Scotland,* p. 284. *Character of the Scots Biſhops and Clergy.* p. 217.

The People were generally of the Preſbyterian Perſuaſion, and ſtood firm by one another. In many Places they were fierce and untractable, and generally forſook the Churches; the whole Country complained of the new Epiſcopal Clergy, as immoral, ſtupid, ignorant, and ſet upon Gain; they treated them with an Averſion that ſometimes broke out into Violence. Many were brought before the Council, and *Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion*, for not coming to Church, but the Proofs were generally defective, for the People would not give Evidence againſt one another. However, great Numbers were caſt into Priſon, and ill uſed; *And of the People.*

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ſome were fined; and the younger Sort whipt publickly about the Streets; ſo that great Numbers tranſported their Families to *Ulſter* in *Ireland*, where they were well received.

Proceedings of the Government. p. 211, 212,

The Government obſerved no Meaſures with this People; they exacted exorbitant Fines for their not coming to Church, and quarter'd Soldiers upon them till they were ruined. The Truth is (ſays *Burnet*) the whole Face of the Government look'd more like the Proceedings of an *Inquiſition* than of legal Courts. At length, in the Year 1666. Sir *James Turner* being ſent into the Weſt to levy Fines at *Diſcretion*, the People roſe up in Arms, and publiſhed a Manifeſto, that they did not take Arms againſt the King, but only *that they might be delivered from the Tyranny of the Biſhops, and that Presbytery and the Covenant might be ſet up, and their old Miniſters reſtored.* They took *Turner* and all his Soldiers Priſoners, but marching out of their own Country they were diſperſed by the King's Forces, about forty being killed, and one hundred and thirty taken Priſoners; many of whom were hanged before their own Doors, and died with great Firmneſs and Joy. Mr. *Maccail* their Miniſter underwent the Torture, and died with great Conſtancy; his laſt Words were, *Farewel Sun, Moon and Stars; farewel Kindred and Friends, World and Time, and this weak and frail Body; and welcome Eternity, welcome Angels and Saints, welcome Saviour of the World, and God, the Judge of all!* Which he ſpoke in a Manner that ſtruck all that heard it. The Commander of the King's Forces killed ſome in cold Blood, and threaten'd to ſpit others and roaſt them alive.

Occaſions an Inſurrection. Burnet, p. 237.

Of Houſe and Field Conventicles.

When the Indulgence was publiſhed in *England* the *Scots* had the Benefit of it, but when it was taken away the Perſecution revived, with inexpreſſible Severity, under the Adminiſtration of Duke *Lauderdale*. Conventicles abounded in all Parts of the Country; the Preſbyterian Miniſters preached in their own Houſes to Numbers of People that ſtood without Doors to hear them;

them; and when they were diſperſed by the Magiſtrates they went out into the Fields with their Miniſters to hear the Word of God; and to prevent being diſturbed, they carried Arms ſufficient for their Defence. Upon which a very ſevere Act was paſſed againſt *Houſe Conventicles* and *Field Conventicles*, declaring them treaſonable; and the Landlords in whoſe Grounds they were held, were to be ſeverely fined, unleſs they diſcovered the Perſons preſent. But ſtill this did not terrify the People, who met together in Defiance of the Law. Writs were iſſued out againſt many who were called *Cameronians*, who were outlawed, and therefore left their Houſes, and travelled about the Country, till at length they collected into a Body, and declared that *the King had forfeited the Crown of that Kingdom by renouncing the Covenant*; but the Duke of *Monmouth* being ſent to diſperſe them, routed them at *Bothwel Bridge*, killing four hundred, and taking twelve hundred Priſoners; two Miniſters were hanged, and two hundred baniſhed to the Plantations, who were all loſt at Sea. *Camero* their Preacher fell in Battel, but *Hackſton* and *Cargil*, the two other Preachers, died with invincible Courage; as did all the reſt, who were offered their Lives if they would ſay, *God bleſs the King! Hackſton* had both his Hands cut off, which he ſuffered with a Conſtancy and Rapture that amazed all People. When both his Hands were cut off, he aſked, Whether they would cut off his Feet too? And notwithſtanding all his loſs of Blood, when he was hanged, and his Heart cut out of his Body, it was alive upon the Hangman's Knife.

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p. 291, 370, 399.

p. 511.

At length (ſays Biſhop *Burnet*) Things came to that Extremity, that the People ſaw they muſt come to Church or be undone, but they came in ſo aukard a Manner that it was viſible they did not come to ſerve God but to ſave their Subſtance, for they were talking or ſleeping during the whole Service. This introduced a Sort of Atheiſm among the younger People.

Effects of the Perſecution.

p. 519, 524.

King Charles II. 1684.

But the *Inquiſition* was ſo terrible, that great Numbers left their native Country and ſettled in the Plantations. Theſe Methods of Converſion were ſubverſive of Chriſtianity, and a Reproach to a Proteſtant Church and Nation; but Oppreſſion and Tyranny had overſpread the *Engliſh* Dominions; the Hearts of all good Men failed them for Fear, and for looking after thoſe Things that were coming on the Land; the Clouds were gathering thick over their Heads, and there was no other Defence againſt an Inundation of Popery and Slavery, but the thin Security of the King's Life.

King Charles the 2d's Death.

To return to *England*: When the King had made Way for a Popiſh Succeſſor, by introducing an arbitrary and tyrannical Government, his Majeſty began to think himſelf neglected, all the *Court* being made to the Riſing Sun; upon which he was heard to ſay in ſome Paſſion, That *if he lived a Month longer he would find a Way to make himſelf Eaſy for the Remainder of his Life.* This was interpreted as a Deſign to change Hands, by ſending Abroad the Duke of *York*, and Recalling the Duke of *Monmouth*; which ſtruck Terror into the Popiſh Party, and is thought to have haſten'd the King's Death, who was ſeized with a kind of Apoplexy, *Feb.* 2. and died on the *Friday* following, *Feb.* 6. 1684-5. in the Fifty fourth Year of his Age, not without remarkable Suſpicion of Poiſon, either by Snuff, or an Infuſion in Broth, as Biſhop *Burnet*, and others of undoubted Credit have aſſured us, for the Body was not ſuffered to be thoroughly examined.

Burnet, p. 609.

And Character.

King CHARLES II. was a Gentleman of Wit and Good-Nature, till his Temper was ſoured in the latter Part of Life by his Popiſh Counſellors. His Court was a Scene of Luxury, and all Kinds of Lewdneſs, and his profuſe Expences upon unlawful Pleaſures, reduced him to the Neceſſity of being a *Penſioner* of *France* —— If he had any Religion it was that of a *Diſguiſed Papiſt*, or rather a *Deiſt*; but he was ſtrangely entangled all his Life long with the Obligations he had been brought under ſomewhere to the *Roman Catholicks*.

tholicks. He aimed at being an abſolute Monarch, but would be at no further Trouble than to give his corrupt Miniſtry Liberty to do what they would to accompliſh it. The King had a great many Vices (ſays *Burnet*) but few Virtues to correct them. Religion was with him no more than an Engine of State. He hated the *Non-Conformiſts* becauſe they appeared againſt the Prerogative, and received the Fire of all the Enemies of the Conſtitution and Proteſtant Religion, with an unſhaken Firmneſs. His Majeſty's chief Concern at laſt was for his *Brother's Succeſſion*; and when he came to die he ſhewed no Remorſe for an ill ſpent Life; not a Word of Religion was heard from him: No Tenderneſs for his Subjects, nor Concern for his Queen, but only a Recommendation of his Miſtreſſes and their Children to his Brother. So that no *Engliſh-Man*, or Lover of his Country, could wiſh for the Life of ſuch a Prince, from any other Motive, than his keeping out a Succeſſor who was worſe than himſelf.

King Charles II. 1684.

CHAP. XI.

From the Death of King CHARLES II. *to King* JAMES II*d's Declaration for* Liberty *of* Conſcience.

King James II. 1685.

State of the Nation.

WHEN the News of the late King's Death was ſpread over the City, a penſive Sadneſs was viſible in moſt Countenances for the Fate of the Kingdom. His Majeſty told the Privy Council at his firſt Meeting them, that "*as he would never depart from* "*any Branch of the Prerogative, ſo he would not in-*"*vade any Man's Property, but would preſerve the* "*Government as by Law eſtabliſhed in Church and* "*State.*" Which pleaſed the Clergy ſo much, that the Pulpits all over *England* reſounded with Thankſgivings; and a Set of Addreſſes from all Counties flatter'd his Majeſty in the ſtrongeſt Expreſſions with Aſſurances of unſhaken *Loyalty* and *Obedience, without Limitation or Reſerve.* Among others was the humble Addreſs of the Univerſity of *Oxford*; in which, after expreſſing their Sorrow for the Death of the late King, they add, that *they can never ſwerve from the Principles of their Inſtitution, and their Religion by Law eſtabliſhed, which indiſpenſably binds them to bear Faith and true Obedience to their Sovereign without any* LIMITATION *or* RESTRICTION, *and that no Conſideration whatſoever ſhould ſhake their Loyalty and Allegiance.* And the Univerſity of *Cambridge* add, that *Loyalty* [or unlimited Obedience] *is a Duty flowing from the very Principle of their Religion, by which they have been enabled to breed up as true and ſteady Subjects as the World can ſhew, as well in Doctrine as Practice, from which they can never depart.* The *Quakers* Addreſs was more plain and honeſt; "We "are come (ſay they) to teſtify our Sorrow for the "Death of our good Friend CHARLES, and our Joy "for

Burnet, p. 620.

Gazette, N° 2018.

Sewel, p. 594. Eachard, p. 1051.

" for thy being made our Governor. We are told " thou art not of the Perſuaſion of the Church of " *England*, no more than we, therefore we hope thou " wilt grant us the ſame Liberty which thou alloweſt " thy ſelf; which doing we wiſh thee all Manner of " Happineſs."

King James II. 1685.

The King began his Reign with a frank and open Declaration of his Religion, for the firſt *Sunday* after his Acceſſion he went publickly to Maſs, and obliged Father *Huddleſton*, who attended the late King in his laſt Hours, to declare to the World that he died a *Roman Catholick*. His Majeſty acted the Part of an abſolute Sovereign from the very firſt, for tho' he declared he would invade no Man's Property, yet he iſſued out a Proclamation for collecting the Duties of *Tonnage* and *Poundage*, &c. which were given to the late King only for Life, for which the Lawyers at the *Temple* returned him Thanks; and in his Letter to the *Scots* Parliament, which met *March* 28. he ſays, " *I* " *am reſolved to maintain my Power in its greateſt* " *Luſtre, that I may be better able to defend your Re-* " *ligion againſt Fanaticks.*"

The King begins his Reign with arbitrary and ſevere Methods.

Before the King had reigned above two Months he began to diſcover ſevere Reſentments againſt the *Enemies of his Religion, and of his Succeſſion to the Crown.* Dr. *Oates* was brought out of Priſon and tried for *Perjury*, in the Affair of the Popiſh Plot, for which he was ſentenced to ſtand in the Pillory ſeveral Times, to be whipt from *Aldgate* to *Newgate*, and from thence to *Tyburn*; which was exerciſed with a Severity unknown to the *Engliſh* Nation. And *Dangerfield*, who had invented the *Meal Tub Plot*, for which he declared he had received Money from the Duke of *York*, was indicted for a Libel, and was fined five hundred Pounds. He was alſo ſentenced to be pillory'd and whipt from *Newgate* to *Tyburn*, and in his return home was murdered in the Coach, by one *Frances* a Barriſter at Law, for which he was hanged. The *Whigs* who went to Court to pay their Duty to the King, were received

His Severity towards his Enemies. Burnet, p. 637.

but

King James II. 1685.

but coldly; ſome were reproached, and others denied Acceſs, eſpecially thoſe who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves for the *Bill of Excluſion*. In the Election of a new Parliament all Methods of Corruption and Violence were uſed to have ſuch Members returned as would ſerve the King's arbitrary Deſigns, which gave all conſidering People a melancholy Proſpect. When the Houſes met, *May* 22. the King repeated what he had ſaid in Council, That *he would preſerve the Government in Church and State as by Law eſtabliſhed.* Which, *Rapin* ſays, he never intended; for he inſinuated in his Speech, that he would not depend on the precarious Aids of Parliament, nor meet them often, if they did not uſe him well. But the Parliament unanimouſly ſettled all the Revenues of his late Majeſty upon the King for Life, which amounted to more than *two Millions a Year*; and preſented an Addreſs to his Majeſty, *May* 27. to deſire him to iſſue forth his Royal Proclamation, to cauſe the *Penal Laws to be put in Execution againſt Diſſenters from the Church of* England.

A new Parliament.

Burnet, p. 622, 625.

Gazette, N° 2036.

Perſecution revived.

This brought down the Storm, and revived the Perſecution, which had ſlacken'd a little upon the late King's Death. His Majeſty was now encouraged to purſue his Brother's Meaſures. The *Tories*, who adhered firmly to the Prerogative, were gratified with all the Liberty they could wiſh for to diſtreſs the *Diſſenters*, who were to be ſacrificed over again to a bigotted Clergy, and an incenſed King, who was zealous for their Deſtruction (ſays Biſhop *Kennet*) in order to unite and encreaſe the Strength of Popery, which he favoured without Reſerve. Upon this all Meeting-Houſes of Proteſtant Diſſenters were ſhut up, the new Trade of *Informing* revived and flouriſhed; the *Spiritual Courts* were crouded with Buſineſs; private Conventicles were broke up in all Parts of the City and Country. If they ſurprized the Miniſter he was pulled out of his Pulpit by Conſtables or Soldiers, and together with his People carried before a *conſiding Juſtice of Peace*, who

who obliged them to pay their Fines or go immediately to Priſon. If the Miniſter was gone they ranſacked the Houſe from top to bottom; tore down Hangings, broke open Chambers and Cloſets; enter'd the Rooms of thoſe who were ſick; and offered all Kinds of Rudeneſs and Incivilities to the Family, tho' they met with no Manner of Oppoſition or Reſiſtance. Shop-Keepers were ſeparated from their Trades and Buſineſs; and ſometimes Wives from their Huſbands and young Children; ſeveral Families were obliged to remove to diſtant Places to avoid the direful Effects of an *Excommunication* from the *Commons*; and great Sums of Money were extorted from the honeſt Induſtry of the People. Diſſenting Miniſters could neither travel the Road, nor appear in publick but in diſguiſe; nay, they were afraid to be ſeen in the Houſes of their Friends, Purſuivants from the *Spiritual Courts* being always abroad upon the Watch. *King James* II. 1685.

One of the Firſt that came into Trouble was the Reverend Mr. *Baxter*, who was committed to the *King's Bench Priſon*, *February* 28. for ſome exceptionable Paſſages in his Paraphraſe on the *New Teſtament*, reflecting on the Order of *Dioceſan Biſhops*, and the Lawfulneſs of Reſiſtance in ſome poſſible Caſes. The Paſſages were in his Paraphraſe on *Matth.* v. 19. *Mark* ix. 39. *Mark* xi. 31. *Mark* xii. 38, 39, 40. *Luke* x. 2. *John* xi. 57. and *Acts* xv. 2. They were collected by Sir *Roger L'Eſtrange*; and a certain noted Clergyman, reported to be Dr. *Sh——ck*, put into the Hands of his Enemies ſome Accuſations from *Rom.* xiii. that might touch his Life, but no Uſe was made of them. Mr. *Baxter* being ill, moved by his Council for Time; but *Jefferies* ſaid, He would not give him a Minute's Time to ſave his Life. *Yonder ſtands* Oates *in the Pillory* (ſays he) *and if* Baxter *ſtood on the other ſide, I would ſay two of the greateſt Rogues in* England *ſtood there.* He was brought to his Trial *May* 30. but the chief *Juſtice* would not admit his Council to plead for their Client. When *Mr. Baxter's Trial.*

Mr.

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Mr. *Baxter* offered to ſpeak for himſelf, *Jefferies* call-ed him a ſnivelling, canting *Presbyterian*, and ſaid, "*Richard, Richard*, don't thou think we will hear "thee poiſon the Court. *Richard*, Thou art an old "Fellow, and an old Knave; thou haſt written Books "enough to load a Cart, every one as full of Sedition "I might ſay of Treaſon, as an Egg is full of Meat. "Hadſt thou been whipt out of thy writing Trade "forty Years ago it had been happy. Thou pretend-"eſt to be a Preacher of the Goſpel of Peace, and "thou haſt one Foot in the Grave, 'tis Time for thee "to begin to think what Account thou intendeſt to "give; but leave thee to thy ſelf and I ſee thou will "go on as thou haſt begun, but by the Grace of God "I'll look after thee. I know thou haſt a mighty "Party, and I ſee a great many of the Brotherhood "in Corners, waiting to ſee what will become of their "mighty Don, and a Doctor of the Party [Doctor "*Bates*] at your Elbow, but by the Grace of Al-"mighty God I will cruſh you all." *Jefferies* having directed the Jury, they found him Guilty without go-ing from the Bar, and fined him five hundred Marks to lay in Priſon till he paid it, and be bound to his good Behaviour for ſeven Years. Mr. *Baxter* conti-nued in Priſon about two Years, and when the *Court* changed Meaſures his Fine was remitted, and he was releaſed.

Duke of Monmouth's Rebellion.

The Rebellion of the Duke of *Monmouth* gave the Court a plauſible Handle to carry the Proſecution of the *Whigs* and *Diſſenters* to a further Extremity. There was a conſiderable Number of *Engliſh* Fugi-tives in *Holland* at this Time, ſome on political Ac-counts, and others on the Score of Religion. The King being apprehenſive of Danger from thence obli-ged the Prince of *Orange* to diſmiſs the Duke of *Mon-mouth* from his Court, and to break all thoſe Officers that had waited upon him, and who were in his Ser-vice; this precipitated the Counſels of the Malecon-tents, and made them reſolve upon a raſh and ill con-

erted Invaſion, which proved their Ruin. The Earl *King James II. 1685.*
f *Argyle* imagining all the *Scots* Preſbyterians would evolt, ſailed to the North of *Scotland* with a very ſmall Force, but was defeated with the Effuſion of very little Blood, before the *Declaration* which he brought with im could have any Effect. After him the Duke of *Monmouth*, with a like precipitate Raſhneſs, landed *June* 11. with an inconſiderable Force at *Lime* in *Dorſetſhire*; and tho' he was joined by great Numbers in he Weſt Country, he was defeated by the King's Forces; taken Priſoner, and executed on *Tower Hill*; as he Earl of *Argyle* was at *Edinburgh*.

Tho' the Body of the Diſſenters were not concerned in either of the Invaſions, they ſuffered conſiderably on this Occaſion. Great Numbers of their chief Merchants and Tradeſmen in the City being taken up by Warrants and ſecured in Gaols, and in the publick Halls; as were many Country Whig Gentlemen, and others, in *York Caſtle*, *Hull*, and the Priſons all over *England*, which had this good Effect, that it kept them out of Harms way, while many of their Friends were ruined by joining the Duke; ſome from a Perſuaſion that the late King was married to his Mother; and others in Hopes of a merciful Deliverance from Popery and Slavery. *It affects the* Non-Conformiſts.

The King lifted up with Succeſs reſolved to let both *Whigs* and *Diſſenters* feel the Weight of his conquering Arm: His Army lived upon Free-Quarter in the *Weſt*, and treated all who were ſuppoſed to be diſaffected with great Rudeneſs and Violence. Some Days after the Battel Colonel *Kirk* ordered ſeveral of the Priſoners to be hanged up at *Taunton* without any Trial or Form of Law, while he and his Company were Dancing, Revelling, and drinking Healths at a neighbouring Window, with a Variety of Muſick, from whence they beheld with a more than brutiſh Triumph the dreadful Spectacle. The Gaols being full of Priſoners the King appointed Lord Chief Juſtice *Jefferies* to go the Weſtern Circuit, whoſe cruel Behaviour was beyond *Jefferies and Col. Kirk's Cruelties in the Weſt.* Burnet, p. 647, 648.

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beyond any Thing that was ever heard of in a civilized Nation: He was always either Drunk or in a Fury. When the Juries brought in Perſons *Not Guilty* he threaten'd and confined them till they brought in a Verdict to his mind, as in the Caſe of the old Lady *Liſle*, who was beheaded, for admitting Mr. *Hicks*, a Non-Conformiſt Miniſter, into her Houſe, tho' the Jury brought her in three Times *Not Guilty*; and ſhe ſolemnly declared, that ſhe knew not that he had been in the Duke's Army. He perſuaded many of the Priſoners to plead *Guilty* in hopes of Favour, and then taking Advantage of their Confeſſion, ordered their immediate Execution, without giving them a Minute's Time to ſay their Prayers. Mr. *Tutchin*, who writ the *Obſervator*, was ſentenced to be impriſon'd ſeven Years, and to be whipt once every Year through all the Towns in *Dorſetſhire*; upon which he petitioned the King that he might be hanged. Biſhop *Burnet* ſays, that in ſeveral Places of the *Weſt* there were executed near ſix hundred Perſons, and that the Quarters of two or three hundred were fixed upon Gibbets, and hung upon Trees all over the Country for fifty or ſixty Miles about, to the great Annoyance of Travellers. The Manner in which he treated the Priſoners was barbarous and inhumane; and his Behaviour towards ſome of the Nobility and Gentry who were well affected, but came to plead in favour of ſome of the Criminals, would have amazed one (ſays Biſhop *Burnet*) if done by a *Baſhaw* in *Turkey*: *England* had never known any Thing like it. The King was acquainted with his Proceedings every Day, and ſpoke of it in a Stile that neither became the Majeſty nor Mercy of a great Prince. And *Jefferies*, beſides ſatiating himſelf with Blood, got great Sums of Money by ſelling Pardons to ſuch as were able to purchaſe them, from ten Pounds to fourteen thouſand Guineas a-piece.

Bennet's Mem. p. 300.

Ib. p. 299.

His ſevere Proſecution of the Whigs.

After the Executions in the *Weſt*, the King being in the Height of his Power, reſolved to be revenged of his

his old Enemies, the *Whigs*, by making Examples of their chief Leaders: Alderman *Corniſh*, who had ſignalized himſelf in proſecuting the *Popiſh Plot*, and was frequently in Company with the late Lord *Ruſſel*, was taken off the *Exchange*, *October* 13. and within little more than a Week tried, condemned, and executed for High Treaſon in *Cheapſide*, without any tolerable Evidence, and his Quarters ſet upon *Guildhall*. On the ſame Day Mrs. *Gaunt*, a Diſſenter, who ſpent a great Part of her Life in Acts of Charity, viſiting the Gaols, and looking after the Poor of what Perſuaſion ſo ever, having entertained *Burton*, one of *Monmouth*'s Men in her Houſe, he, by an unheard of Baſeneſs, while ſhe was looking out for an Opportunity to ſend him out of the Kingdom, went out and accuſed her for harbouring him, and by that means ſaved his own Life by taking away hers; ſhe was burnt alive at *Tyburn*, and died with great Courage and Devotion. Mr. *Bateman* a Surgeon, Mr. *Rouſe*, Mr. *Ferneley*, Col. *Ayloffe*, Mr. *Nelthorpe*, and others, ſuffered in like manner. Lord *Stamford* was admitted to Bail, and Lord *Delamere* was tried by his Peers and acquitted. Many that had correſponded with the Duke of *Monmouth* abſconded, and had Proclamations againſt them, as *John Trenchard*, Eſq; Mr. *Speke*, and others. But all that ſuffer'd in this Cauſe expreſſed ſuch a Zeal for the Proteſtant Religion, which they apprehended in Danger, as made great Impreſſions on the Spectators. Some ſaid the King was hurried on by *Jefferies*; but if his own Inclinations had not been biaſſed this way, and if his *Prieſts* had not thought it their Intereſt to take off ſo many active Proteſtants, who oppoſed their Meaſures, they would not have let *that Butcher* looſe (ſays *Burnet*) to commit ſo many barbarous Acts of Cruelty as ſtruck an univerſal Horror over the Body of the Nation. It was a bloody Summer, and a dangerous Time for honeſt Men to live in.

King James II. 1685.

Burnet, p. 649.

When the King met his Parliament, *November* 9. he congratulated them on the Succeſs of his Arms; but told

King James II. 1685.

told them, that in order to prevent any new Disturbances, he was determined to keep the present Army together; and let no "Man (says his Majesty) take "Exceptions that some Officers are not qualified, for "they are most of them known to me for the Loyal- "ty of their Principles and Practices; and therefore "to deal plainly with you, after having had the Bene- "fit of their Services in a Time of Need and Danger, "I will neither expose them to Disgrace, nor my self "to the Want of them —" Thus we were to have a Standing Army under Popish Officers, in Defiance of the Penal Laws and Test. The *Commons* would have given them an Act of Indemnity for what was past, but the King would not accept it; and because the House was not disposed to his *Dispensing Power*, he prorogued them *Nov.* 20. when they had sat but eleven Days; and after many successive Prorogations for two Years dissolved them.

King's Speech to his Parliament. Gazette, N° 2085.

Burn. p. 667.

1686. *Some turn from the Church to the Dissenters.* Calamy's Abridg. p. 460, &c.

The Prosecution of the Dissenters, which was carried on with all imaginable Severity this and the last Year, forced some of their Ministers into the Church, but it had a different, and more surprising Influence upon others, who had the Courage in these difficult Times to renounce the Church as a *persecuting Establishment*, and to take their Lot among the Non-Conformists; as the Reverend Mr. *John Spademan*, M. A. of *Swayton* in *Lincolnshire*; Mr. *John Rastrick*, Vicar of *Kirkton* near *Boston*; Mr. *Burroughs* of *Frampton*; Mr. *Scoffin* of *Brotherton*; Mr. *Quipp* of *Moreton*; and a few others, who could be influenced by no other Principle but Conscience, in a Cause that had nothing in this World to recommend it but Bonds and Imprisonment, and the Loss of all Things.

Progress of the Persecution. Calamy, p. 372, 373.

Great were the Oppressions of those who frequented the *separate Meetings* in several Counties; the Informers broke in upon Sir *John Hartoppe*, Mr. *Fleetwood*, and others at *Stoke-Newington*, to levy Distresses for Conventicles, to the Value of six or seven thousand Pounds; the like at *Enfield*, *Hackney*, and all the neigh-

neighbouring Villages about *London*. The Juſtices and *confiding Clergy* were equally diligent in their ſeveral Pariſhes. Injunctions were ſent out from ſeveral of the Biſhops under the Seal of their Offices, requiring all Church-Wardens to preſent ſuch as did not come to Church nor receive the Sacrament at *Eaſter*; which were read publickly in *Hertfordſhire*, *Eſſex*, &c. And the *Juries* at the Aſſizes gave it as their Opinion, That the Diſſenters ſhould be effectually proſecuted; but the ſcandalous Villanies and Perjuries of the *Informers* made wiſe Men begin to abhor the Trade; however, ſo terrible were the Times, that many Families and Miniſters removed with their Effects to *New England*, and other Plantations in *America*; among whom we may reckon the Reverend and Worthy Mr. *Samuel Lee*, the ejected Miniſter of *Biſhopſgate*, who, in his Return to his Flock, after the Revolution, was taken Priſoner by the *French*, and carried to St. *Maloes*, where he died in a Dungeon, by the Hands of thoſe whoſe tender Mercies are Cruelty. Many Miniſters were fined and impriſoned, and great Numbers of their moſt ſubſtantial Hearers cited into the *Commons*, their Names being fixed upon the Doors of their Pariſh Churches, and if they did not appear, an Excommunication and a *Capias* followed, unleſs they found Means, by Preſents of Wine, by Gold in the Fingers of a Pair of Gloves, or ſome powerful Bribe of the like Nature, to get themſelves excuſed; for which, among others, the Name of Doctor *Pinfold* is famous to this Day.

King James II. 1686.

Methods of the Diſſenters to conceal their Meetings.

The Diſſenters continued to take the moſt prudent Meaſures to cover their private Meetings from their Adverſaries. They aſſembled in ſmall Numbers — they frequently ſhifted their Places of Worſhip, and met together late in the Evenings, or early in the Mornings — There were Friends without Doors always on the Watch, to give Notice of approaching Danger — When the Dwellings of Diſſenters joined they made Windows or Holes in the Walls, that the Preacher's Voice might be heard in two or three Hou-

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ſes —— They had ſometimes private Paſſages from one Houſe to another, and *Trap Doors* for the Eſcape of the Miniſter, who went always in Diſguiſe, except when he was diſcharging his Office —— In Country Towns and Villages they went through Back Yards and Gardens into the Houſe, to avoid the Obſervation of Neighbours and Paſſengers —— For the ſame Reaſon they never ſung Pſalms —— and the Miniſter was placed in ſuch an inward Part of the Houſe that his Voice might not be heard in the Streets — The Doors were always locked, and a Centinel placed near it, to give Notice of an Alarm, that the Preacher might eſcape by ſome private Paſſage, with as many of the Congregation as could avoid the *Informers*. But notwithſtanding all their Precautions, *Spies* and *Falſe Brethren* crept in among them in Diſguiſe, their Aſſemblies were frequently interrupted, and great Sums of Money raiſed by Fines or Compoſitions, to the Diſcouragement of Trade and Induſtry, and inriching the Officers of the *Spiritual Courts*. How warm was the Zeal of our Forefathers! And what Hazards did they run for the Freedom of their Conſciences!

Progreſs of Popery.

Thus were the Non-Conformiſts ground between the *Papiſts* on one hand, and the *High Church Clergy* on the other, while the former made their Advantage of the latter, concluding, that when the *Diſſenters* were deſtroyed, or thoroughly exaſperated, and the Clergy divided among themſelves, they ſhould be a Match for the Eſtabliſhment, and be capable of introducing that Religion they had been ſo long aiming at. To make Way for this, Swarms of *Jeſuits* and *Regular Prieſts* were ſent for from abroad; *Jeſuits Schools*, and other Seminaries, were ſet up in *London* and the Country; *Maſs Houſes* were erected in the moſt conſiderable Towns; four *Roman Catholick* Biſhops were conſecrated in the Royal Chapel, and exerciſed their Functions under the Character of *Vicars Apoſtolical*; their regular Clergy appeared at *Whitehall* and St. *James*'s in their Habits, and were unwearied in

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their Attempts to ſeduce the common People. The Way to Preferment was to be a *Catholick*, or to *declare for the Prerogative*; for all State Affairs were managed by ſuch Men. An open Correſpondence was held with *Rome*, and many Pamphlets were diſperſed over the Countries, to captivate the common People to the Romiſh Faith, or at leaſt to a Coalition with it. Multitudes of the King's Subjects frequented the Popiſh Chapels, ſome changed their *Profeſſion*; and all Men were forbid to ſpeak diſreſpectfully of the King's Religion.

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This opened the Eyes of many of the Clergy, and put them upon *preaching againſt the Popiſh Doctrines*, that they might recover the People who were running from them, and reſcue the Proteſtant Religion from the Danger their own Follies had brought it into. The King being made acquainted with this, his Majeſty, by the Advice of his Prieſts, ſent circular Letters to the Biſhops, with an Order, *prohibiting the inferior Clergy from preaching on the controverted Points of Religion*; which many complained of, tho' it was no more than King *James* and *Charles* I. had done before. However, when their Mouths were ſtopt in the Pulpit, ſome of the moſt learned and zealous agreed to fight the *Catholicks* with their own Weapons, and to publiſh ſmall Pamphlets for the Benefit of the *Vulgar* in defence of the Proteſtant Doctrines. When a Popiſh Pamphlet was in the Preſs they made Intereſt with the Workmen, and got the Sheets as they were wrought off, ſo that an Anſwer was ready as ſoon as the Pamphlet was publiſhed. There was hardly a Week but ſome Sermon or ſmall Treatiſe againſt Popery was printed and diſperſed among the common People, which in the Compaſs of a Year or two produced a valuable Set of Controverſial Writings againſt the Errors of that Church. The chief Writers were Dr. *Tillotſon*, *Stillingfleet*, *Teniſon*, *Patrick*, *Wake*, *Whitby*, *Sharp*, *Atterbury*, *Williams*, *Aldrich*, *Burnet*, *Fowler*, &c. Men of great Name and Character in thoſe Times, who gained immortal Honour, and were af-

Clergy forbid to preach againſt Popery.

Burnet, p. 674.

But they write againſt it.

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terwards preferr'd to the higheſt Dignities in the Church. Never was a bad Cauſe more weakly managed by the Papiſts, nor a more compleat Victory and Triumph obtained by the Proteſtants.

Reaſons of the Diſſenters not writing. Calamy, p. 373.

But the Church Party not content with their Conqueſt, *have of late cenſured the Non-Conformiſts for appearing only as Spectators, and not joining them in the Combat.* But how could the Clergy expect this from a Set of Men whom they had been perſecuting for above twenty Years, and who had the Yoke ſtill upon their Necks? Had not the Non-Conformiſts been before-hand with them in their *Morning Exerciſes againſt Popery?* And did not Dr. *Owen*, Mr. *Pool*, *Baxter*, *Clarkſon*, and others, write againſt the Errors of the Church of *Rome*, throughout the whole Reign of King *Charles* II? Had not the Non-Conformiſts ſtood in the Gap, and expoſed themſelves long enough to the Reſentments of the Papiſts, for refuſing to come into their Meaſures for an *univerſal Toleration*, in which they might be included? Beſides, the *poor Miniſters* were hardly crept out of Corners, their Papers had been rifled, and their Books ſold or hid, to avoid Seizure; they had but little Time to ſtudy, and therefore might not be ſo well prepared as thoſe who had lived in Eaſe and Plenty. Farther, the *Church Party* was moſt nearly concerned, for the *Non-Conformiſts* had nothing to loſe, whereas all the Emoluments of the Church were at ſtake; and after all, ſome of the Diſſenters did write; and if we may believe Dr. *Calamy*, Mr. *Baxter*, and others, their Tracts being thought too warm, were refuſed to be licenſed. Upon the Whole, Biſhop *Burnet* wiſely obſerves, that as the *Diſſenters* would not engage on the Side of Popery and the Prerogative, nor appear for taking off the Teſts in the preſent Circumſtances; ſo on the other hand, they were unwilling to provoke the King, who had lately given them Hopes of Liberty, leſt he ſhould make up Matters upon any Terms with the Church Party at their Expence; nor would they provoke the *Church Party*

p. 702.

or by any ill Behaviour drive them into a Reconciliation with the Court; therefore they reſolved to let the *Points of Controverſy* alone, and leave them to the Management of the Clergy who had a legal Bottom to ſupport them. *King* James II. 1686.

The Clergy's writing thus zealouſly againſt Popery broke all Meaſures between the King and the Church of *England*, and made each Party court that *Body of Men* for their *Auxiliaries* whom they had been perſecuting and deſtroying for ſo many Years. His Majeſty now reſolved to introduce an *univerſal Toleration* in deſpite of the Church, and at their Expence. The *Cruelty* of the Church of *England* was his common Subject of Diſcourſe; he reproached them for their violent Perſecutions of the Diſſenters, and ſaid, he had intended to ſet on foot a *Toleration* ſooner, but *that he was reſtrained by* SOME OF THEM *who had treated with him, and had undertaken to ſhew Favour to the Papiſts, provided they might be ſtill ſuffered to vex the Diſſenters*; and he named the very Men, tho' they thought fit afterwards to deny it: But how far the Fact is probable muſt be left with the Reader. *The Clergy's writing begins an open War between the King and Church.* Burnet, P. 715. *And brings Liberty to the Diſſenters.*

It being tho't impracticable to obtain a *legal Toleration* in the preſent Circumſtances of the Nation, his Majeſty determined to attempt it by the *Diſpenſing Power*; for this purpoſe Sir *Edward Hales*, a Popiſh Gentleman of *Kent* was brought to Trial for breaking through the *Teſt Act*, when Sir *Edward Herbert*, Lord Chief Juſtice, gave Judgment in his Favour, and declared *the Powers of the Crown to be abſolute*. The other Judges were cloſetted, and ſuch diſplaced as were of a different Sentiment; and the King being reſolved to have twelve Judges of his own Opinion, four had their *Quietus*, and as many new ones were advanced, from whom the King exacted a Promiſe to ſupport the Prerogative in all its Branches. There was a *new Call of Serjeants*, who gave Rings with this Motto, DEUS, REX, LEX, *God*, the *King*, and the *Law*, the King being placed before the Law. The Privy Council was new modell'd, and *By virtue of the diſpenſing Power.* Burnet, p. 669.

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ſeveral declared Papiſts admitted into it; two *confiding Clergymen* were promoted to Biſhopricks, *Parker* to *Oxford*, and *Cartwright* to *Cheſter*. Many Pamphlets were writ and diſperſed in favour of *Liberty of Conſcience*; and Sir *Roger L'Eſtrange*, with other mercenary Writers, were employed to maintain, that *a Power in the King to diſpenſe with the Laws, is Law*. But the Judgment of private Writers not being thought ſufficient, it was reſolved to have the Determination of the *Judges*, who All but One gave it as their Opinion; 1. *That the Laws of* England *were the King's Laws*. 2. *That it is an inſeparable Branch of the Prerogative of the Kings of* England, *as of all other ſovereign Princes, to diſpenſe with all Penal Laws on particular Caſes, and on particular Occaſions.* 3. *That of theſe Reaſons and Neceſſity the King is ſole Judge.* 4. *That this is not a Truſt now inveſted in, and granted to the preſent King, but the antient Remains of the ſovereign Power of the Kings of* England, *which was never yet taken from them, nor can be.* Thus the Laws of *England* were given up at once into the Hands of the King, by the Voice of his Judges.

Wel. Memoirs, p. 194.

Which is declared legal by the Judges.

Non-Conform. *careſſed by the Court.* p. 672.

This Point being ſecured, his Majeſty began to careſs the *Non-Conformiſts*; "All on a ſudden (ſays Biſhop *Burnet*) the Churchmen were diſgraced, and "the Diſſenters in high Favour. Lord Chief Juſtice "*Herbert* went the Weſtern Circuit after *Jefferies*, "who was now made Lord Chancellor, and all was "Grace and Favour to them; their former Sufferings "were much reflected upon and pitied; every Thing "was offered that might alleviate them; *their Miniſters* were encouraged to ſet up their Conventicles, "which had been diſcontinued, or held very ſecretly "for four or five Years; Intimations were given eve-"ry where, that the King would not have them nor "their Meetings diſturbed." A *Diſpenſation*, or *Licenſe Office* was ſet up, where all that applied might have an Indulgence, paying only fifty Shillings for them-

themſelves and their Families. Many who had been proſecuted for *Conventicles* took out thoſe Licenſes, which not only ſtopt all Proceſſes that were commenced, but gave them Liberty to go publickly to Meetings for the future. "Upon this (ſays the ſame Reverend Prelate) ſome of the Diſſenters grew inſolent, but wiſer Men among them perceived the Deſign of the Papiſts was now to ſet on the *Diſſenters* againſt the *Church*, and therefore tho' they returned to their *Conventicles*, yet they had a juſt Jealouſy of the ill Deſigns that lay hid under all this ſudden, and unexpected Shew of Grace and Kindneſs, and *they took Care not to provoke the Church Party*." But where then were the Eyes of the High Church Clergy, during the whole Reign of King *Charles* II. when they rain'd down Vengeance upon the Non-Conformiſts and their Families, and took Advantage of every perſecuting Law for a long Courſe of Years. Did they not perceive the Deſign of the Papiſts? Or were they not willing rather to court them at the Expence of the whole Body of *Diſſenting Proteſtants?* Biſhop *Laud*'s Scheme of uniting with the Papiſts, and meeting them half Way, was never out of their ſight; however, when the Reader calls to mind the Oppreſſion and Cruelties that the conſcientious Non-Conformiſts underwent from the *High Church Party* for twenty five Years, he will be ready to conclude, they would have deſerved no Regard, if the Proteſtant Religion it ſelf had not been at Stake.

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Thus the Allwiſe Providence of God put a Period to the Proſecution of the *Proteſtant Diſſenters* from the Penal Laws, tho' the Laws themſelves were not legally repealed, or ſuſpended till after the Revolution of King *William* and Queen *Mary*. It may not therefore be improper to give the Reader a ſummary View of their Uſage in this and the laſt Reign, and of the Damages they ſuſtained in their Perſons, Families and Eſtates.

The End of the Proſecution of the Diſſenters by the Penal Laws.

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Account of the Quakers. Sewel, p. 588, 593.

The QUAKERS in their Petition to King JAMES the laſt Year, inform his Majeſty, That of late above *one thouſand five hundred* of their Friends were in Priſon, both Men and Women; and that now there remain one thouſand three hundred eighty three, of which two hundred are Women; many under Sentence of *Præmunire*; and more than three hundred near it, for refuſing the Oath of Allegiance *becauſe they could not ſwear*. — Above three hundred and fifty have died in Priſon ſince the Year 1660, near one hundred of which ſince the Year 1680. — In *London*, the Gaol of *Newgate* has been crouded within theſe two Years, ſometimes with near twenty in a Room, whereby ſeveral have been ſuffocated, and others, who have been taken out ſick, have died of malignant Fevers within a few Days — Great Violences, outragious Diſtreſſes, and woful Havock and Spoil have been made on Peoples Goods and Eſtates, by a Company of idle, extravagant, and mercileſs *Informers*, by Proſecutions on the Conventicle Act, and others, as may be ſeen in the Margin *. Alſo on *Qui tam* Writs, and on other Proceſſes, for twenty Pounds a Month; and two thirds of their Eſtates ſeized for the King — Some had not a Bed left to reſt upon;

* The Acts or Penal Laws on which they ſuffered were theſe; Some few ſuffered on the 27 *Henry* VIII. cap. 20.
Others on 1 *Eliz.* cap. 2. for twelve Pence a *Sunday*.
5 *Eliz.* cap. 23. *De excommu. capiendo.*
23 *Eliz.* cap. 1. for 20 *l.* a Month.
29 *Eliz.* cap. 6. *for Continuation.*
35 *Eliz.* cap. 1. *for Abjuring the Realm on Pain of Death.*
3 King *James* I. cap. 4. *for Præmunire, Impriſonment during Life, and Eſtates confiſcated.*
13th and 14th of King *Charles* II. againſt *Quakers*, &c. Tranſportation.
17 *Charles* II. cap. 2. *againſt Non-Conformiſts.*
22 King *Charles* II. cap. 1. *againſt ſeditious Conventicles.*
N.B. The *Quakers* were not much affected with the *Corporation and Teſt Acts*, becauſe they would not take an *Oath*.
Nor with the *Oxford five Mile Act*, which cut the others to pieces.

Others

Others had no Cattel to till the Ground, nor Corn for Seed or Bread, nor Tools to work with: The ſaid Informers and Bailiffs in ſome Places breaking into Houſes, and making great Waſte and Spoil, under pretence of ſerving the King and the Church. —— Our Religious Aſſemblies have been charged at common Law with being *Riotous Routs, and Diſturbances of the Peace*, whereby great Numbers have been confined in Priſons, without regard to Age or Sex; and many in Holes and Dungeons —— The Seizures for twenty Pounds a Month have amounted to ſeveral thouſand Pounds; ſometimes they have ſeized for eleven Months at once, and made Sale of all Goods and Chattels both within Doors and without for Payment —— Several who have employed ſome hundreds of poor Families in Manufacture, are by thoſe Writs and Seizures diſabled, as well as by long Impriſonment; one in particular, who employed two hundred People in the Woollen Manufacture —— Many *Informers*, and eſpecially *impudent Women*, whoſe Huſbands are in Priſon, ſwear for their Share of the Profit of the Seizures —— The Fines upon one Juſtice's Warrant have amounted to many hundred Pounds; frequently ten Pounds a Warrant, and five Warrants together for fifty Pounds to one Man; and for Non-Payment all his Goods carried away in about ten Cart Loads. They ſpare neither Widows nor Fatherleſs, nor poor Families, nor leave them ſo much as a Bed to lie upon —— Thus the *Informers* are both Witneſſes and Parties, to the Ruin of great Numbers of ſober Families; and Juſtices of Peace have been threaten'd with the Forfeiture of one hundred Pounds, if they do not iſſue out Warrants upon their Informations —— With this Petition they preſented to the King and Parliament a Liſt of their *Friends* in Priſon in the ſeveral Counties, amounting to one thouſand four hundred and ſixty.

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But

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Computation of the Number of Sufferers, and Eſtimate of Damages ſuſtained by the Non-Conformiſts *in the two laſt Reigns.*

But 'tis impoſſible to make an exact Computation of the Number of Sufferers, or Eſtimate of the Damages his Majeſty's *Diſſenting Subjects* of the ſeveral Denominations ſuſtained, by the Proſecutions of this and the laſt Reign; how many Families were impoveriſhed, and reduced to Beggary; how many Lives were loſt in Priſons and ſtinking Gaols; how many *Miniſters* were divorced from their People, and forced to live as they could, *five Miles from a Corporation*; how many induſtrious and laborious *Tradeſmen* were cut off from their Trades; and their Subſtance and Houſhold Goods carried off by Soldiers, and divided among idle and infamous Informers. The vexatious Suits of the *Commons*, and the Expences of *thoſe Courts* were immenſe.

Preface *to* Delaune's Plea, p. 5.

The Writer of the *Preface* of Mr. *Delaune's Plea for the Non-Conformiſts*, ſays, that *Delaune* was one of near eight thouſand *Proteſtant Diſſenters*, who had periſhed in Priſon in the Reign of King *Charles* II. and that *meerly for Diſſenting from the Church in ſome Points which they were able to give good Reaſon for*; and yet for no other Cauſe (ſays he) were they ſtifled, I had almoſt ſaid, murder'd in Gaols — As for the ſevere Penalties inflicted on them for ſeditious and riotous Aſſemblies, deſigned only for the Worſhip of God, he adds, that they ſuffered in their Trades and Eſtates, within the Compaſs of three Years, at leaſt two Millions; and doubts, whether in all the Times ſince the Reformation, including alſo the Reign of Queen MARY, there can be produced any Thing like ſuch a Number of Chriſtians who have ſuffered Death; and ſuch Numbers who have loſt their Subſtance for Religion. Another Writer adds, that Mr. *Jeremy White*, had carefully collected *a Liſt of the Diſſenting Sufferers, and of their Sufferings*; and had the Names of ſixty thouſand Perſons who had ſuffered on a Religious Account, between the Reſtoration of King *Charles* II. and the Revolution of King *William*; five thouſand of whom died in Priſon. That Mr. *White* told

Hiſt. Stuarts, p. 715.

told Lord *Dorſet*, that King *James* had offered him a thouſand Guineas for the Manuſcript, but that he refuſed all Invitations and Rewards, and concealed the black Record, that it might not appear to the Diſreputation of the Church of *England*, for which ſome of the Clergy ſent him their Thanks, and offered him an Acknowledgment, which he generouſly refuſed. The Reader will form his own Judgment of the Truth of theſe Facts. 'Tis certain, that beſides thoſe that ſuffered at home, great Numbers retired to the Plantations of *New England*, *Penſilvania*, and other Parts of *America*. Many tranſported themſelves and their Effects into *Holland*, and filled the *Engliſh* Churches of *Amſterdam*, the *Hague*, *Utrecht*, *Leyden*, *Rotterdam*, and other Parts. If we admit the Diſſenting Families of the ſeveral Denominations in *England* to be no more than one hundred and fifty thouſand, and that each Family ſuffered no more than the Loſs of three or four Pounds *per Annum* from the *Act of Uniformity*, the whole will amount to twelve or fourteen Millions; a prodigious Sum for thoſe Times! But theſe are only Conjectures; the Damage to the Trade and Property of the Nation was undoubtedly immenſe; and the Wounds that were made in the Eſtates of private Families were deep and large, many of whom, to my certain Knowledge, wear the Scars of them to this Day.

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When the *Proteſtant Diſſenters* roſe up into publick View as a diſtinct Body, their long Sufferings had not very much diminiſhed their Numbers, which tho' not to be compared with thoſe of the Eſtabliſhment, or the *Tories* and *Roman Catholicks*, were yet ſo conſiderable as to be capable of turning the Scale on either Side, according as they ſhould throw in their Weight, which might poſſibly be owing to ſome of the following Reaſons:

Reaſons of their Numbers not decreaſing.

1. To *their Firmneſs and Conſtancy in a long Courſe of Suffering*, which convinced the World that they were not governed by Humour, but by Conſcience.

2. To

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2. To *their Doctrine and Manner of Preaching*, which was plain and practical, accompanied with a warm and awakening Addreſs to the Conſcience. Their Doctrines were thoſe of the *firſt Reformers*, which were grown out of Faſhion in the Church; and their Way of Worſhip was ſimple and plain, without the Ornament of human Rites and Ceremonies.

3. To *the Severity of their Morals*, at a Time when the Nation was ſunk into all Kinds of Vice and Prophaneneſs, from which they kept at a remarkable Diſtance. Their Converſation was ſober and virtuous. They obſerved the Lord's Day with Religious Strictneſs in their Families, and had an univerſal Reputation for Juſtice and Integrity in their Dealings.

4. The Support of their Numbers was further owing to the *careful and ſtrict Education of their Children*, whom they impreſſed with an early Senſe of ſcriptural Religion, and educated in their own Way, as they had Opportunity, under private School-Maſters of their own Principles.

5. They had no leſs a Concern for *a Succeſſion of able and learned Miniſters*, and therefore encouraged the ſetting up *private Academies* in ſeveral Parts of the Nation; and 'tis remarkable that many Gentlemen and ſubſtantial Citizens devoted their Children to the Miniſtry, at a Time when they had nothing in view but Bonds and Impriſonment.

6. It might be owing further, to *the perſecuting Zeal of the High Church Party*, attended with an uncommon Licentiouſneſs of Manners. If their Zeal againſt the Non-Conformiſts had produced a greater Sanctity of Life, and Severity of Morals, it had been leſs offenſive; but to ſee Men of bad Morals ſigning Warrants of Diſtreſs upon their Neighbours, only for worſhipping God peaceably at a *ſeparate Meeting*, when themſelves hardly worſhipped God at all, but were infamous for all Kinds of Immorality, made ſome apprehend there was nothing at all in Religion; and others reſolve to take their Lot with a more ſober People.

Finally,

Finally, *The Spirit and Principles of Toriſm began to appear Ruinous to the Nation.* The old *Engliſh* Conſtitution, by which the Diſſenters had ſtood firm for above twenty Years, was in a Manner loſt, which raiſed their Reputation with all true Lovers of their Country. Their Sufferings were now regretted, and many who had contracted a ſettled Abhorrence of Popery, and of the deſtructive Meaſures of the *Tories*, appeared in the Cauſe of Non-Conformity, and joined their Congregations. *King James II. 1686.*

To return to the Hiſtory; the *Diſſenters* being now made eaſy, it was reſolved to turn the Artillery of the *Prerogative* againſt the Church, and make them feel a little of the Smart they had given others; the King and his Prieſts were thoroughly inraged with their Oppoſition to the Court, and therefore appointed Commiſſioners all over *England* to enquire, *What Money had been raiſed? Or what Goods had been ſeized by Diſtreſs on Diſſenters or Proſecutions for Recuſancy*, and not brought to account in the *Exchequer?* In the *Gazette* of *March* 5. 1687. it is advertiſed, That the *Commiſſioners* appointed to examine into the Loſſes of Diſſenters and Recuſants within the ſeveral Counties of *Glouceſter*, *Worceſter*, and *Monmouth*, were to hold their Seſſions for the ſaid Counties, at the Places therein mentioned. Others were appointed for the Counties of *Middleſex*, *Eſſex*, &c. to enquire what Money or Goods had been taken or received for any Matters relating to Religion ſince *September* 29. 1677. in any of the Counties for which they were named. They were to return the Names of all Perſons who had ſeized Goods, or received Money. The Parties themſelves, if alive, were obliged to appear, and give Account; and if dead their Relations were to appear before the Commiſſioners for them. This ſtruck Terror into the whole *Tribe of Informers*, the *confiding Juſtices*, and others who expected now to be ruined; but (ſays Dr. *Calamy*) the *Proteſtant Diſſenters* generouſly refuſed to appear againſt their Enemies, upon Aſſurances gi-

A Commiſſion of Enquiry into the Loſſes the Diſſenters had ſuſtained by the Church Party.

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ven by leading Perſons, both Clergy and Laity, that no ſuch Methods ſhould be uſed for the Future. But if *this Enquiry* had proceeded, and the Diſſenters all over *England* had come into it, a black and fraudulent Scene would have been opened, which now will be concealed. Biſhop *Burnet* ſays, "The King ordered "them to enquire into all *vexatious Suits* into which "the Diſſenters had been brought in the *Spiritual* "*Courts*, and into all the *Compoſitions* they had been "forced to make to redeem themſelves from further "Trouble, *which, as was ſaid, would have brought* "*to light a ſcandalous Diſcovery of all the ill Practi-* "*ſes of thoſe Courts*; for the Uſe that many who be-"long to thoſe Courts had made of the Laws with "relation to Diſſenters, was, *to draw Preſents from* "*ſuch as could make them*, threatening them with a "Proceſs in caſe they failed to do that, and upon do-"ing it, leaving them at full Liberty to neglect the "Laws as much as they pleaſed. The *Commiſſion* "ſubſiſted till the *Revolution*, and it was hoped (ſays "his Lordſhip) that this would have animated the "*Diſſenters* to turn upon the Clergy with ſome of "that Fierceneſs with which they themſelves had been "lately treated." But they made no Advantage of the Diſpoſition of the Court, nor of the Opportunity that was put into their Hands of making Repriſals on their Adverſaries; which ſhews the truly generous, and Chriſtian Spirit of thoſe *Confeſſors for Religion*; and deſerved a more grateful Acknowledgment.

p. 715.

An Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion erected. Burnet, p. 675.

To humble the Clergy yet further, his Majeſty, by the Advice of *Jefferies*, erected a *new Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion*, tho' the Act which took away the *High Commiſſion* in 1641. had provided, that no Court of that Nature ſhould be erected for the Future; but the King, though a Papiſt, aſſumed the *Supremacy*, and directed a Commiſſion to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the Biſhops of *Durham* and *Rocheſter*; to the Earl of *Sunderland* Preſident of the Council; *Herbert* and *Wright*, Lord Chief Juſtices, *Jenner* Recorder

of *London*, and *Jefferies* the Chancellor, or any three of them, provided the *Chancellor* was one, "To exercise all Manner of Jurisdiction and Pre-eminence, "touching any Spiritual or Ecclesiastical Jurisdictions, "to visit, reform, redress, and amend all Abuses, "Offences, Contempts and Enormities, which by "the Spiritual or Ecclesiastical Laws might be corrected. They were also to enquire into all Misdemeanors and Contempts which might be punished "by the Censures of the Church, and to call before "them all Ecclesiastical Persons of what Degree and "Dignity soever, and punish the Offenders by Excommunications, Suspensions, Deprivations, or "other Ecclesiastical Censures, *&c.*" This was a terrible Rod hung up over the Clergy, and if the *Commissioners* had had Time to proceed in their *Enquiries*, according to the Mandates sent to the Chancellors and Archdeacons of the several Dioceses, they would have felt more of the Effects of that arbitrary Power which their unwise Conduct had brought on the Nation; but Providence was kinder to them than they had been to their Neighbours. The Commission was granted the beginning of *April*, but was not opened till the beginning of *August*; the Archbishop of *Canterbury* was afraid to act in it; *Durham* was so lifted up (says *Burnet*) that he said his Name would now be recorded in History; and *Sprat* Bishop of *Rochester*, in hopes of further Preferment, went with the Stream. Some *Roman Catholicks* were in the Commission, and consequently the Enemies of the Protestant Religion were to be its Judges.

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We'w. p. 198.

But his Majesty not being willing to rely altogether on the *Oxford Decree*, nor on the fashionable Doctrines of *Passive-Obedience* and *Non-Resistance*, which had been preached up for above twenty Years as the unalterable Doctrines of the Church of *England*; in order to support his extraordinary Proceedings, resolved to augment his standing Forces to fifteen thousand Men. He was apprehensive of a *Snake in the Grass*, or a *secret*

A Standing Army to support it.

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cret Reſerve, that might break out when the Church it ſelf came to be pinched; he therefore ordered his Army to encamp on *Blackheath*, under the Command of the Earl of *Feverſham*, to awe the City, and be at hand upon any Emergency; the Officers and many of the Soldiers were *Iriſh Papiſts*, and they had a publick Chapel in which Maſs was ſaid every Day, ſo that it was believed the King might introduce what Religion he pleaſed. It was dangerous to ſpeak or write againſt his Majeſty's Proceedings; for when the Reverend Mr. *Johnſon*, a Clergyman, ventured to publiſh a Writing, directed to the Proteſtant Officers of the Army, to diſſuade them from being Tools of the Court to ſubvert the Conſtitution and Proteſtant Religion; diligent Search was made for him, and being apprehended, he was ſentenced to ſtand three Times in the Pillory, to be degraded of his Orders, to be whipt from *Newgate* to *Tyburn*, and to be fined five hundred Marks; all which was executed with great Severity.

Gazette, N° 2192.

Affairs of Scotland. Burnet, p. 678.

Affairs in *Scotland* were in equal Forwardneſs with thoſe of *England*; the Parliament which met at *Edinburgh* in *May* 1685. while the Perſecution continued, declared their Abhorrence of all Principles derogatory to the King's *abſolute Power*, and offered their Lives and Fortunes to defend it againſt all Oppoſers. They paſſed an Act, making it Death to reſort to any Conventicles in Houſes or Fields; and declared it High Treaſon to give or take the *National Covenant*, or to write in defence of it. They alſo obliged the Subjects of *Scotland* to take an Oath, when required, to maintain the *King's abſolute Power*, on pain of Baniſhment. Popery made very conſiderable Advances in that Kingdom, and ſeveral Perſons of Character changed their Religion with the Times. But the Populace were in the other Extream; the Earl of *Perth* having ſet up a private Chapel for Maſs, the Mob broke into it with ſuch Fury that they defaced and deſtroyed the whole Furniture, for which one of them was apprehended and

and hanged. When the *Engliſh* Court changed Meaſures the *Scots* Parliament agreed to a Suſpenſion of the Penal Laws for the King's Life; but his Majeſty inſiſting upon an entire Repeal, which they declined, he diſſolved them. The Epiſcopal Clergy were obſequious to the Court, and in many Places ſo ſunk into Sloth and Ignorance, that the lower People were grown quite indifferent in Matters of Religion; but the *Presbyterians*, tho' now freed from the Severities they had ſmarted under for many Years, expreſſed upon all Occaſions an unconquerable Averſion to Popery, and by Degrees rouſed the whole Nation out of their Lethargy. *King James II. 1686.*

In *Ireland* Things had ſtill a more favourable Aſpect for the Court: The King had a greater Dependance on the *Iriſh Catholicks* than upon any of his other Subjects. Colonel *Talbot*, Earl of *Tyrconnel*, was made Lord Lieutenant of that Country, a vile and profligate Officer, who ſcrupled no kind of Barbarity and Wickedneſs to ſerve his Cauſe; he broke ſeveral Proteſtant Officers in the Army, and by degrees turned them all out to make room for *Papiſts*. All Offices both Civil and Military were put into the Hands of the vileſt Miſcreants; there was not a Proteſtant Sheriff left in that Kingdom; the *Charters* were taken away, and new model'd in favour of Papiſts. The Corporations were diſſolved, and all Things manag'd with an arbitrary Hand, ſo that many imagining the maſſacring Knife to be at their Throats left the Kingdom; ſome tranſporting themſelves into *England*, and others into more remote and diſtant Countries. Thus far the Prerogative prevailed without any Repulſe. *Of Ireland.*

All Things being now ready to attack the Church of *England* in Form, it was reſolved to begin with making an Example of ſome of their leading Divines: Dr. *Sharp*, Rector of St. *Giles*'s, having broke thro' the King's Order, of *not preaching on the controverted Points*, and ſpoken diſreſpectfully of the King's Religion in one of his Sermons, the Biſhop of *London* *Biſhop of London ſuſpended.*

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was ordered to ſuſpend him; but the Biſhop, with all dutiful Reſpect to his Majeſty, ſent Word, That he could not proceed in ſuch a ſummary Way, but that when the Cauſe was heard in the *Commons* he would pronounce ſuch Sentence as the *Canons* ſhould warrant; and in the mean Time would deſire the Doctor to forbear preaching. The Court reſenting the Biſhop's Denial, cited him before the *Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion* *Aug.* 4. where he was treated by *Jefferies* in a Manner unbecoming his Character. The Biſhop excepted to the Authority of the Court, as contrary to Law, and added, that he had complied in the Doctor's Caſe as far as the *Eccleſiaſtical Laws* would permit. But notwithſtanding all that his Lordſhip could ſay in his Defence he was ſuſpended *ab Officio*, and the Biſhops of *Durham*, *Rocheſter*, and *Peterborough*, were appointed Commiſſioners to exerciſe Juriſdiction during his Suſpenſion. But Dr. *Sharp*, after having expreſſed his Sorrow in a Petition for falling under the King's Diſpleaſure, was diſmiſſed with a gentle Reprimand, and ſuffered to return to the Exerciſe of his Function.

Burnet, p. 676.

Ib. p. 677.

Privileges of the Univerſity of Camb. *invaded.* Burn. p. 700.

The King's next Attempt was upon the *Univerſities*. He began with *Cambridge*, and commanded Dr. *Peachel* the Vicechancellor to admit one *Alban Francis*, a Benedictine Monk, to the Degree of *M. A.* without adminiſtring to him any Oath or Oaths whatſoever; all which his Majeſty declared he would diſpenſe with. The *Vicechancellor* having read the Letter to the *Congregation of Regents*, it was agreed to petition the King to revoke his *Mandate*; but inſtead of complying with their Petition, the King ſent for the Vicechancellor before the *Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion*, by whom he was ſuſpended *ab Officio & Beneficio*, for Diſobedience and Contempt of the King's Commands; and Dr. *Balderſton*, Maſter of *Emanuel College*, was choſen Vicechancellor in his Room.

And of Magd. Coll. Oxford.

Soon after the King ſent a *Mandamus* to the Vice-preſident of *Magdalen College*, *Oxford*, and to the Fe-

Fellows, to chooſe Mr. *Farmer*, a Man of ill Reputation, their Preſident, in the Room of Dr. *Clarke*, deceaſed; but in defiance of the King's Mandate they choſe Dr. *Hough*; for which they were cited before the *Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſioners*, but having proved *Farmer* to be a Man of bad Character, the King relinquiſhed him, and order'd them by another Mandate to chooſe Dr. *Parker*, Biſhop of *Oxford*. The Fellows having agreed to abide by their firſt Choice refuſed to elect the Biſhop, as contrary to their Statutes. Upon which the *Commiſſioners* were ſent to viſit them, who after ſundry Enquiries and Examinations, deprived Dr. *Hough*, and inſtalled the Biſhop of *Oxford* by Proxy; and the *Fellows* refuſing to ſign a Submiſſion to their new *Preſident*, twenty five of them were deprived, and made incapable of any Benefice. *Parker* died ſoon after, and one of the Popiſh Biſhops was by *Mandamus* choſen Preſident in his Place; which inflamed the Church Party ſo far, that they ſent preſſing Meſſages to the Prince of *Orange*, deſiring him to eſpouſe the Cauſe of the Church, and break with the King if he would not redreſs their Grievances. Thus the very firſt beginnings of Reſiſtance to King *James* came from that very Univerſity who but four Years before had pronounced this Doctrine *damnable* by a *ſolemn Decree*; and from thoſe very Men who were afterwards King *William*'s moſt bitter Enemies.

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Burnet, p. 701.

But the wider and more deſperate the War was between the King and the Church, the more neceſſary did both Parties find it to ſhew Kindneſs to the *Diſſenters*; for this Purpoſe his Majeſty ſent Agents among them, offering them the Royal Favour, and all Manner of Encouragement, if they would concur with his Majeſty *in abrogating the Penal Laws and Teſt*; he invited ſome of their Miniſters to Court, and pretended to conſult them in the preſent Criſis. The Clergy, at the ſame Time, prayed and entreated the *Diſſenters* to appear on their Side, and ſtand by the Eſtabliſhment, making large Promiſes of Favour and brotherly

Both King and Church court the Diſſenters.

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therly Affection if ever they got out of their Troubles.

The King, notwithſtanding the Stubbornneſs of the Clergy, called a Council, in which he declared his Reſolution to iſſue out a Declaration for a *general Liberty of Conſcience to all Perſons of what Perſuaſion ſo ever*, " which he was moved to do, by having " obſerved, that tho' an Uniformity of Worſhip had " been endeavoured to be eſtabliſhed within this " Kingdom in the ſucceſſive Reigns of four of his " Predeceſſors, aſſiſted by their reſpective Parliaments, " yet it had proved altogether ineffectual. That the " Reſtraint upon the Conſciences of Diſſenters had " been very prejudicial to the Nation, as was ſadly " experienced by the horrid Rebellion in the Time of " his Majeſty's Father. That the many Penal Laws " made againſt Diſſenters had rather encreaſed than " leſſened the Number of them; and that nothing " could more conduce to the Peace and Quiet of this " Kingdom, and the Increaſe of the Number as well " as of the Trade of his Subjects, than an entire Li- " berty of Conſcience, it having always been his Opi- " nion, as moſt ſuitable to the Principles of Chriſti- " anity, *That no Man ſhould be perſecuted for Conſci- " ence ſake*; for he thought Conſcience could not be " forced, and that it could never be the true Intereſt " of a King of *England* to endeavour to do it."

1687. *King's Speech in Council for Liberty of Conſcience.* Gazette, N° 2226.

This Speech meeting with no Oppoſition in the Council, his Majeſty on the 4th of *April* cauſed his gracious Declaration for Liberty of Conſcience to be publiſhed. In the Preamble to which his Majeſty does not ſcruple to ſay, " That he cannot but heartily " wiſh (as it will eaſily be believed) that all his Subjects " were Members of the *Catholick Church*, yet it is his " Opinion, that *Conſcience ought not to be forced*, for " the Reaſons mentioned in the foregoing Speech, which he recites at large; and then adds. " By virtue of his " Royal Prerogative, he thinks fit to iſſue out his *De- " claration of Indulgence*, making no doubt of the " Con-

His Majeſty's Declaration of Indulgence. Gazette, N° 2231.

" Concurrence of his two Houſes of Parliament, when he ſhall think it convenient for them to meet. And, *Firſt*, He declares, That he will protect and maintain his Archbiſhops, Biſhops and Clergy, and all other his Subjects of the Church of *England*, in the free Exerciſe of their Religion as by Law eſtabliſhed, and in the quiet and full Enjoyment of their Poſſeſſions. *Secondly*, That it is his Royal Will and Pleaſure, that all Penal Laws for Non-Conformity to the Religion eſtabliſhed, or by reaſon of the Exerciſe of Religion in any Manner whatſoever, be immediately ſuſpended. And to the End, that by the Liberty hereby granted, the Peace and Security of the Government in the Practice thereof may not be endangered, he ſtrictly charges and commands all his Subjects, that as he freely gives them leave to meet, and ſerve God after their own way, be it in private Houſes, or Places purpoſely hired and built for that Uſe, ſo that they take ſpecial Care that nothing be preached or taught among them which may tend to alienate the Hearts of his People from him or his Government; and that their Meetings and Aſſemblies be peaceably, openly, and publickly held, and all Perſons freely admitted to them; and that they ſignify and make known to ſome one or more of the next Juſtices of Peace, what Place or Places they ſet apart for ſuch Uſes. And he is deſirous to have the Benefit of the Service of all his Subjects, which by the Law of Nature is inſeparably annexed and inherent to his Royal Perſon. And that none of his Subjects may be for the future under any Diſcouragements or Diſability, who are otherwiſe well enclined, and fit to ſerve him, by reaſon of ſome *Oaths* or *Teſts*, that have uſually been adminiſter'd upon ſuch Occaſions, he hereby further declares, that it is his Will and Pleaſure, that the *Oaths of Supremacy and Allegiance, and the ſeveral Teſts and Declarations mentioned in the Acts of Parliament made in the 25th and 30th of his Bro-*

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"*ther's Reign ſhall not hereafter be required to be taken, declared, or ſubſcribed by any Perſons whatſoever, who are or ſhall be employed in any Office, or Place of Truſt, either Civil or Military under him, or in his Government.* And it is his Intention from Time to Time hereafter to grant his Royal *Diſpenſation* to all his Subjects, ſo to be employed, who ſhall not take the ſaid Oaths, or ſubſcribe or declare the ſaid Teſts or Declarations. And he does hereby give his free and ample Pardon to all *Non-Conformiſt Recuſants*, and other his Subjects, for all Crimes and Things by them committed, or done contrary to the Penal Laws formerly made relating to Religion, and the Profeſſion or Exerciſe thereof. And although the Freedom and Aſſurance he has hereby given in relation to Liberty and Property might be ſufficient to remove from the Minds of his Subjects all Fears and Jealouſies in relation to either, yet he thinks fit to declare, that he will maintain them in all their Properties and Poſſeſſions, as well of Church and Abbey Lands, as in other their Eſtates and Properties whatſoever."

Another for Scotland. Eachard, p. 1083. Burnet, p. 713.

A Declaration of the ſame Nature was ſent to *Scotland*, in which the King, "*by Virtue of his Prerogative Royal, abſolute Authority and Power over all his Subjects, who are bound to obey him without reſerve*, repeals all the ſevere Laws made by his Grandfather King *James* I. and takes off all Diſabilities from his *Roman Catholick Subjects*, which render'd them incapable of Employments and Benefices. He alſo ſlackened the Laws againſt moderate Preſbyterians, and promiſed never to force his Subjects by any *invincible Neceſſity* to change their Religion. He alſo repealed all Laws impoſing Teſts on thoſe who held any Employments."

Remarks.

This was ſtrange Conduct (ſays Bp. *Burnet*) in a *Roman Catholick* Monarch, at a Time when his *Brother* of *France* had juſt broke the *Edict of Nantz*, and was Dragooning his

his Proteſtant Subjects out of his Kingdom. But the Biſhop ſuſpects the King's Sincerity in his Declaration, from his promiſing to uſe no *invincible Neceſſity to force his Subjects* to change their Religion, as if there was a *Reſerve*, and that ſome Degrees of Compulſion might be proper one Time or other; which ſeems to have been a parallel Caſe to the *Doctrine of the Church* concerning *Non-Reſiſtance*. However, by another Proclamation the King granted full Liberty to the *Scots Presbyterians* to ſet up Conventicles in their own Way, which they thankfully accepted; but when his Majeſty preſſed them to diſpoſe their Friends to concur with him in taking off the Teſt and Penal Laws, which they knew was only to ſerve the *Papiſts*, they anſwered only in cold and general Terms.

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In purſuance of theſe *Declarations* the Diſſenters of all Sorts were not only ſet at Liberty, but admitted to ſerve *in all Offices of Profit and Truſt*. *Nov.* 6. the King ſent an Order to the Lord Mayor of *London* to diſpenſe with the *Quakers* not ſwearing, or at leaſt not to fine them if they refuſed to ſerve, by which means a Door was open to the *Roman Catholicks*, and to all others to bear Offices in the State without a legal Qualification. Several Addreſſes were preſented to the King upon this Occaſion from the *Companies in the City of* London, *from the Corporations in the Country*, and even from the Clergy themſelves, thanking his Majeſty for *his Declaration for Liberty of Conſcience*; *and his Promiſe to ſupport the Church of* England *as by Law eſtabliſhed*, aſſuring him of their Endeavours to chooſe ſuch Members for the next Parliament as ſhould give it a more legal Sanction.

Diſſenters admitted to ſerve Offices.

Sewel, P. 609.

The ſeveral Denominations of *Diſſenters* alſo were no leſs thankful for their Liberty, and addreſſed his Majeſty in higher Strains than ſome of their elder and more cautious Miniſters approved of, for neither Mr. *Baxter*, Mr. *Stretton*, nor a great many others, would join in them; Biſhop *Burnet* admits, that few concurred in thoſe Addreſſes, and that the Perſons

But will not acknowledge the Diſpenſing Power.

P. 718.

King James II. 1687.

who carried them up were mean and inconſiderable. When there was a general Meeting of the Miniſters to conſider of their Behaviour in this Criſis, and two Meſſengers from Court waited to carry back an Account of the Reſult, Mr. *Howe* gave his Opinion againſt the *Diſpenſing Power*, and every Thing that might contribute Aſſiſtance to the Papiſts to enable them to ſubvert the Proteſtant Religion. Another Miniſter ſtood up and ſaid, that he apprehended their late Sufferings were occaſioned more by their firm Adherence to the *Conſtitution*, than their Religious Differences from the *Eſtabliſhment*, and therefore if the King expected they ſhould give up the Conſtitution and declare for the *Diſpenſing Power*, he had rather, for his Part, loſe his Liberty, and return to his former Bondage. In concluſion, Mr. *Howe* in ſumming up the whole Debate, ſignified to the *Courtiers that they were in general of the ſame Opinion*. Mr. *Coke* adds, that to his Knowledge the Diſſenters did both dread and deteſt the *Diſpenſing Power*; which was a bold Declaration in this Criſis from a Number of Men who ſubſiſted only by the Royal Favour, and ought to have been remember'd in better Times.

Gazette, N° 2234.

Howe's *Life*, p. 134.

Their Addreſſes of Thanks.

But tho' the Court were a little diſappointed in their Expectations from the Diſſenters, they put the beſt Face they could on the Affair, and received the Addreſſes of thoſe who came to Court with high Commendations. The firſt that went up were the *London Anabaptiſts*, who ſay, that "the Senſe of this invaluable Favour and Benefit derived to us from your Royal Clemency, compel "us to proſtrate our ſelves at your Majeſty's Feet "with the Tender of our moſt humble Thanks for "that Peace and Liberty which both we, and all "other *Diſſenters* from the National Church now enjoy —" Next came the *Presbyterians*, "who acknowledge his Majeſty's Princely Compaſſion in reſcuing them from their long Sufferings, in reſtoring "to God the Empire over Conſcience, and publiſhing "to the World his Royal Chriſtian Judgment, *That* "*Con-*

Gazette, N° 2234.

" *Conſcience may not be forced*; and his Reſolution " that ſuch Force ſhould not be attempted in his " Reign, which they pray may be long —" Then followed the *Independants*: " Sir, The great Cala- " mity we have been a long Time under, through the " ſevere Execution of the Penal Laws in Matters of " Religion, has made us deeply ſenſible of your Ma- " jeſty's Princely Clemency towards us your Diſſent- " ting Subjects, eſpecially ſince in the Indulgence " vouchſafed there are no Limitations hindring the " Enjoyment of it with a good Conſcience, and that " your Majeſty publiſheth to the World that it has " been your conſtant Senſe and Opinion, that *Conſci-* " *ence ought not to be conſtrained, nor People forced in* " *Matters of meer Religion* —" About the ſame Time was publiſhed the humble and thankful Addreſs of the *London Quakers*, to this Purpoſe, " May it " pleaſe the King! Tho' we are not the firſt in this " Way, yet we hope we are not the leaſt ſenſible of " the great Favours we are come to preſent the King " our humble, open, and hearty Thanks for — We " rejoice to ſee the Day that a King of *England* ſhould " from his Royal Seat ſo univerſally aſſert this Royal " Principle, that *Conſcience ought not to be reſtrained*, " *nor People forced for Matters of Religion* —" The ſeveral Addreſſes above-mentioned expreſs their humble Dependance on his Majeſty's Royal Promiſe *to ſecure their Rights and Properties*, and that he will endeavour to engage his two Houſes of Parliament to concur with him in this good Work. Here are no Flights of Expreſſion, nor Promiſes of *Obedience without Reſerve*, but purely a Senſe of Gratitude and Thankfulneſs for their Liberty.

King James II. 1687. *Gazette, N° 2238.*

And tho' it muſt be allowed that ſome *few Diſſenters*, from an Exceſs of Joy for their Liberty, or it may be, from a ſtrong Reſentment againſt their late *Perſecutors*, publiſhed ſome ſevere Pamphlets, and gave too much Countenance to the Meaſures of the Court, as Mr. *Lobb*, *Alſop*, and *Pen* the *Quaker*, yet the Body of them

They are nevertheleſs jealous of the King's Conduct.

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them kept at a Diſtance, and "as thankful as they "were for their Liberty (ſays Lord *Halifax*) they "were fearful of the Iſſue; neither can any Num- "ber of Conſideration among them, be charged with "hazarding the publick Safety by falling in with the "Meaſures of the Court, of which they had as great "a Dread as their Neighbours." And the Lords, in a Conference with the Houſe of Commons upon the *Occaſional Bill*, in the firſt Year of Queen *Anne*, ſay, "That in the laſt and greateſt Danger the Church "was expoſed to, the *Diſſenters* joined with her, with "all imaginable Zeal and Sincerity againſt the Papiſts "their common Enemies, ſhewing no Prejudice to "the Church, but the utmoſt Reſpect to the Biſhops "when ſent to the *Tower*."

The Church in Diſtreſs apply to the Diſſenters for Aſſiſtance.

Burnet, p. 708, 709.

But as the King and Court ſeemed to carry all before them, the Church Party were in deſpair, and almoſt at their Wits end; they ſaw themſelves on the brink of Ruin, imagining that they ſhould be turned out of their Freeholds for not reading the King's Declaration, and that the *Non-Conformiſts* would be admitted into their Pulpits; as Dr. *Sherlock*, Maſter of the *Temple*, acknowledged in Converſation to Mr. *Howe*; and that, as the Papiſts had already invaded the *Univerſities*, they would in a little Time overſet the *Whole Hierarchy* of the Church. In this Diſtreſs they turned their Eyes every where for Relief: They applied to the *Diſſenters*, giving them the ſtrongeſt Aſſurances of a *Comprehenſion*, and *Toleration* in better Times, if they would but aſſiſt in delivering them out of their preſent Troubles. Biſhop *Burnet* ſays, that the Clergy here in *England* writ to the Prince of *Orange*, and deſired him to ſend over ſome of the *Diſſenting Preachers*, whom the Violence of the former Times had driven into *Holland*, and to prevail effectually with them to oppoſe any *falſe Brethren*, whom the Court might have gained over; and that they ſent over very poſitive Aſſurances, which paſſed through his own Hands, that *in caſe they ſtood firm now to the*

With ſtrong Promiſes of Favour in better Times.

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common Intereſt they would in a better Time come into a Comprehenſion of ſuch as could be brought into a Conjunction with the Church, and to a Toleration of the reſt. Agreeably to theſe Aſſurances, when the Reverend Mr. *Howe*, Mr. *Mead*, and other Refugee Miniſters, waited on the Prince of *Orange*, to return him Thanks for the Protection of the Country, and to take their Leave, his Highneſs made them ſome Preſents to pay their Debts and defray their Charges home; and having wiſhed them a good Voyage, he adviſed them to be very cautious in their Addreſſes; and not to ſuffer themſelves to be drawn into the Meaſures of the Court ſo far as to open a Door for the introducing of Popery, by deſiring the taking off of the *Penal Laws and Teſt* as was intended. He deſired them alſo to uſe their Influence with their Brethren to lay them under the ſame Reſtraints. His *Highneſs* alſo ſent Orders to Monſieur *Dykvelt* his Reſident, to preſs the *Diſſenters* to ſtand off from the Court; and *to aſſure them of a full Toleration and Comprehenſion if poſſible, when the Crown ſhould devolve on the Princeſs of* Orange. Agents were ſent among the *Diſſenters* to ſoften their Reſentments againſt the Church, and to aſſure them, that for the Future they would treat them as *Brethren*, as will be ſeen in the next Chapter.

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By the Intereſt of the Prince of Orange.

The Diſſenters had it now in their Power to diſtreſs the *Church Party*, and it may be, to have turned the Scale againſt them, if they would have given way to Revenge, and fallen in heartily with the King's Meaſures. They were ſtrongly tempted on both Sides; the *King* preferr'd them to Places of Profit and Truſt, and gave them all Manner of Countenance and Encouragement; and the *Churchmen* loaded them with Promiſes and Aſſurances what great Things they would do for them, as ſoon as it ſhould be in their Power. But, alas! no ſooner was the Danger over but the Majority of them forgot their Vows in Diſtreſs; for when the Convocation met the firſt Time after the Revolution they would not hear of a *Comprehenſion*, nor ſo much

Remarks.

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as acknowledge the foreign Churches for *their Brethren*, but ſeemed rather inclinable to return to their old Methods of Perſecution; ſo little Dependance ought to be placed on *High Church* Promiſes!

Letter to the Diſſenters.

But in their preſent Circumſtances it was neceſſary to flatter the *Non-Conformiſts*, and weaken the King's Hands, by diſſuading the *Diſſenters* from relying on the Promiſes of their *new Friends*; for this Purpoſe a Pamphlet writ by the Marquis of *Hallifax*, and publiſhed by Advice of ſome of the moſt eminent Dignitaries of the Church, was diſperſed all over *England*, entitled, *A Letter to a Diſſenter upon Occaſion of his Majeſty's late gracious Declaration of Indulgence.* It begins with ſaying, "that *Churchmen* are not ſurprized "nor provoked at the *Diſſenters* accepting the Offers "of Eaſe from the late Hardſhips they lay under, but "deſire them to conſider, 1. The Cauſe they have to "ſuſpect their new Friends. And, 2. Their Duty "in Chriſtianity and Prudence not to hazard the pub-"lick Safety by a Deſire of Eaſe or Revenge.

"With regard to the Firſt, the Church of *Rome* "(ſays the Author) does not only diſlike your Liber-"ty, but by its Principles cannot allow it; they "are not able to make good their Vows; nay, it "would be a Habit of Sin that requires Abſolution; "you are therefore hugged now only that you may "be the better ſqueezed another Time. To come ſo "quick from one Extream to another is ſuch an unna-"tural Motion, that you ought to be on your Guard: "The other Day you were Sons of *Belial*, now you "are Angels of Light —— Popery is now the only "Friend of Liberty, and the known Enemy of Per-"ſecution. We have been under ſhameful Miſtakes "if this can be either true or laſting."

The Letter goes on to inſinuate, "that ſome *Mi-*"*niſters* had been bribed into the Meaſures of the "Court; that they were under Engagements, and "impowered to give Rewards to others, where they "could not perſwade. Now if theſe or others ſhould

"preach

" preach up Anger and Vengeance againſt the Church " of *England*, ought they not rather to be ſuſpected " of Corruption, than to act according to Judgment; " —— If they who thank the King for his Declara- " tion ſhould be engaged to juſtify it in Point of " Law, I am perſuaded 'tis more than the Addreſſers " are capable of doing —— There is a great Diffe- " rence between enjoying quietly the Advantage of an " Act irregularly done by others, and becoming Ad- " vocates for it; but Frailties are to be excuſed —— " *Take Warning by the Miſtake of the Church of* Eng- " land, *when after the Reſtoration they preſerved ſo* " *long the bitter Taſte of your rough Uſage to them,* " *that it made them forget their Intereſt and ſacrifice* " *it to their Revenge* —— If you had now to do with " *rigid Prelates* the Argument might be fair on your " Side, but ſince the common Danger has ſo laid " open the Miſtake, that all former *Haughtineſs* to- " wards the Diſſenters is for ever extinguiſhed, and " the Spirit of Perſecution is turned into a Spirit " of Peace, Charity, and Condeſcenſion, will you " not be moved by ſuch an Example? —— If it " be ſaid the Church is only humble when 'tis out " of Power; the Anſwer is, that is uncharita- " ble, and an unſeaſonable Triumph; beſides, it " is not ſo in fact, for if ſhe would comply with " the Court, ſhe could turn all the Thunder upon " your ſelves, and blow you off the Stage with " a Breath; but ſhe will not be reſcued by ſuch " unjuſtifiable Means —— You have formerly very " juſtly blamed the Church of *England* for going too " far in her Compliance with the Court; Conclude " therefore that you muſt break off your Friendſhip, " or ſet no Bounds to it —— The Church is now " convinced of its Error, in being too ſevere to you; " the next Parliament will be gentle to you; the " next Heir is bred in a Country famous for Indul- " gence; there is a general Agreement of thinking " Men, that we muſt no more cut our ſelves off from " foreign

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" foreign Proteſtants, but enlarge our Foundations; " ſo that all Things conſpire to give you Eaſe and " Satisfaction if you do not too much anticipate it. " To conclude, the ſhort Queſtion is, Whether or no " you will join with thoſe who muſt in the End run " the ſame Fate with you? If the Proteſtants of all " Sorts have been to blame in their Behaviour to each " other, they are upon equal Terms, and for that " very Reaſon ought now to be reconciled ——— "

How juſt ſo ever the Reaſoning of this Letter may be, either the Author did not know the Spirit of the *Church Party* (as they were called) or he muſt bluſh when he compares it with the Facts that followed the Revolution. Twenty thouſand Copies were diſperſed about the City and Country, and had a very good Effect, for the Honeſt Well-meaning Diſſenters made no Advantage of the favourable Juncture; they enter'd into no Alliances with the Papiſts, nor complied with Court Meaſures, any further than they favoured the Cauſe of that Religious Liberty, which they had a natural Right to, and which the *Church Party* ought never to have taken from them.

Meaſures of the Court to obtain a legal Toleration.

The War between the King and the Church being now open, each Party prepared for their Defence; the Points in debate were, A GENERAL TOLERATION, and the DISPENSING POWER; the latter of which the *High Church Party* had connived at in the late Reign; but when the Edge of it was turned againſt themſelves, (the King having made uſe of it to break down the Fences of the Church, by *abrogating the Penal Laws and Teſts, and making an Inroad upon the two Univerſities*) they cried out againſt it as ſubverting the whole Conſtitution; and forgetting their *late Addreſſes* conteſted this Branch of the Prerogative. The King had got the Opinion of the *Judges* for the Legality of it, but this not giving Satisfaction, he determined to obtain a Parliamentary Sanction. For this Purpoſe he N° 2302. publiſhed the following Order in the *Gazette*, " that " whereas his Majeſty was reſolved to uſe his utmoſt

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« Endeavours, that his *Declaration of Indulgence* *King James II. 1687.*
« might paſs into a Law, he therefore thought fit to
« review the Liſts of Deputy-Lieutenants, and Juſti-
« ces of Peace in the ſeveral Counties, that thoſe may
« be continued who would be ready to contribute what
« in them lies towards the Accompliſhment of ſo
« good and neceſſary a Work, and ſuch others, add-
« ed to them, from whom his Majeſty may reaſon-
« ably expect the like Concurrence and Aſſiſtance."
According to this Reſolution the King's firſt Parlia- *The King goes a Progreſs.*
ment was diſſolved, and Agents were employed to
diſpoſe the People to the Choice of ſuch new Mem-
bers as might facilitate the Affair. The King him-
ſelf went a Progreſs round the Country to ingratiate
himſelf with the People; and it can hardly be expreſ-
ſed (ſays *Eachard*) with what joyful Acclamations
his Majeſty was received, and what loyal Acknow-
ledgments were paid him in all Places; but in the
Affair of the Teſts (ſays *Burnet*) there was a viſible p. 717.
Coldneſs among the Nobility and Gentry, tho' the
King behaved in a moſt obliging Manner.

When the King returned from his Progreſs he be- *Changes the Magiſtrates in Corporations.*
gan to change the Magiſtracy in the ſeveral Corpora-
tions in *England*, according to the Powers reſerved to
the Crown in the *new Charters*; he turned out ſeveral
of the *Aldermen* of the City of *London*, and placed
new ones in their Room. He cauſed the Liſts of
Lord Lieutenants, and Deputy-Lieutenants, to be re-
viewed, and ſuch as would not promiſe to employ
their Intereſts in the Repeal of the Penal Laws were
diſcarded. Many *Proteſtant Diſſenters* were put into
Commiſſion on this Occaſion, in hopes that they
would procure ſuch Members for the next Parliament
as ſhould give them a legal Right to what they now
enjoy'd only by the Royal Favour; but when the
King preſſed it upon the Lord Mayor of *London*,
and the new Aldermen, who were chiefly *Diſſenters*,
they ſtood at a Diſtance, and made no Reply.

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The Reaſon of the *Diſſenters* Coldneſs in an Affair that ſo nearly concerned them, and for which they have ſince expreſſed ſo ſtrong a Deſire, was no other than *their Concern for the Proteſtant Religion, and their Averſion to Popery.* The King was not only a *Roman Catholick* but a *Bigot*; and it was evident, that the plucking up the Fences at this Time muſt have let in an Inundation of that Religion upon the Nation. If the King had been a Proteſtant the Caſe had been different, becauſe *Papiſts* could not take the Oaths of *Allegiance* and *Supremacy* to a Prince who ſtands excommunicated by the Church of *Rome*; but now there would be no Obſtacle, or if there was, the King would diſpenſe with the Law in their Favour; the *Diſſenters* therefore were afraid, that if they ſhould give into the King's Meaſures, for the Sake of their preſent Liberty, Popery in a little Time would ride triumphant, and not only ſwallow up the Church of *England* but the whole Proteſtant Intereſt. This induced them to ſtand at a Diſtance, and rely upon the precarious Promiſes of the Church of *England.*

Reaſons of the Diſſenters not being for abrogating the Penal Laws at this Time.

Behaviour of Sir John Shorter *the Diſſenting Ld. Mayor.*

Burnet, p. 718.

According to this Reſolution Biſhop *Burnet* obſerves, that Sir *John Shorter*, the new Lord Mayor, and a *Proteſtant Diſſenter*, thought fit to qualify himſelf for his Office according to Law, tho' the *Teſt* was ſuſpended, and the King had ſignified to the Mayor that he was at liberty, and might uſe what Form of Worſhip he thought beſt in *Guildhall*, which was deſigned as an Experiment to engage the Preſbyterians to make the firſt Change from the eſtabliſhed Worſhip, concluding, that if a *Presbyterian Mayor* did this one Year, it would be eaſy for a *Popiſh Mayor* to do it the next; but his Lordſhip referr'd the Caſe to thoſe Clergymen who had the Government of the Dioceſe of *London* during the Biſhop's Suſpenſion, who aſſured his Lordſhip it was contrary to Law; ſo that tho' the Lord Mayor went ſometimes to the Meetings of Diſſenters, he went frequently to Church, and be-

behaved with more Decency (ſays his Lordſhip) than could have beed expected. This diſobliged the King to a very high Degree, inſomuch that he ſaid, *The Diſſenters were an ill-natured Sort of People that could not be gained.* *King James II. 1687.*

The Oppoſition the King met with heighten'd his Reſentments, and puſhed him on raſh and violent Meaſures; if he had proceeded by ſlow Degrees, and ſecured one Conqueſt before he had ventur'd on another, he might have ſucceeded, but he gave himſelf up to the Fury of his *Prieſts*, who adviſed him to make haſte with what he intended. This was diſcovered by a Letter from the *Jeſuits* at *Liege* to thoſe of *Friburgh*, which ſays, the King wiſhed they could furniſh him with *more Prieſts* to aſſiſt him in the Converſion of the Nation, which his Majeſty was reſolved to bring about, or die a Martyr in the Attempt. He ſaid, *He muſt make haſte that he might accompliſh it in his Life-time*; and when one of them was lamenting that his next Heir was an *Heretick*, he anſwered, *God will provide an Heir*; which argued, either a ſtrong Faith, or a formed Deſign of impoſing *One* on the Nation. Father *Petre* was the King's chief Miniſter, and one of his Majeſty's Privy Council, a bold and forward Man, who puſhed at every Thing that might ruin the Church. The King deſigned him for the Archbiſhoprick of *York*, now vacant, and for a *Cardinal's Cap*, if he could make Intereſt with the Pope; for this Purpoſe the Earl of *Caſtlemain* was ſent Ambaſſador to *Rome*; and a *Nuncio* was ſent from thence into *England*, to whom his Majeſty paid all poſſible Reſpect, and gave Audience at *Windſor* tho' it was contrary to Law; for all Commerce with the Court of *Rome* was declared High Treaſon by the Statute of King *Henry* VIII. but the King ſaid *he was above Law*; and becauſe the Duke of *Somerſet* would not venture to officiate in his Place at the Ceremony he was diſmiſſed from all his Employments.

The King goes into raſh and violent Meaſures by Advice of his Prieſts.

Burnet, p. 711, 712.

Ib. p. 733.

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It was a fatal Error in King *James* to put a Slight on the ancient Nobility, and turn moſt of his Servants out of their Places becauſe they were *Proteſtants*: This weaken'd his Intereſt, and threw the Men of Influence into the Hands of the Church. It was impoſſible to diſguiſe his Majeſty's Deſign of introducing Popery upon the Eſtabliſhment any longer, therefore *Parker* Biſhop of *Oxford* was employed to juſtify it, who publiſhed a Book, entituled, *Reaſons for Abrogating the Teſt impoſed on all Members of Parliament*; which could have no other Reference, but to the renouncing *Tranſubſtantiation, and the Idolatry of the Church of* Rome; for the Members of Parliament had no other Qualification impoſed upon them beſides the Oaths of *Allegiance* and *Supremacy*. The Biſhop ſaid much to excuſe the Doctrine of Tranſubſtantiation, and to free the Church of *Rome* from the Charge of Idolatry. The Book was licenſed by the Earl of *Sunderland*, and the Stationer was commanded not to print any Anſwer to it; but Dr. *Burnet*, then in *Holland*, gave it a very ſmart and ſatyrical Reply, which quite ruined the Biſhop's Reputation.

Biſhop Parker *writes for the Court.* Burnet, p. 740.

Proteſtants diſplaced and R. Cathol. put into their Places.

But his Majeſty's chief Dependance was upon his *Army*, which he was caſting into a Popiſh Mould: *Proteſtant Officers* were turned out; *Portſmouth* and *Hull*, the two principal Sea-Ports of *England*, were in Popiſh Hands; and the Majority of the Garriſons were of the ſame Religion. *Ireland* was an inexhauſtable Seminary, from whence *England* was to be ſupplied with a Catholick Army; an *Iriſh Roman Catholick* (ſays *Welwood*) was a moſt welcome Gueſt at *Whitehall*; and they came over in ſhoals. Over and above compleat Regiments of Papiſts there was ſcarce a Troop or Company in the Army wherein ſome of that Religion was not placed, by expreſs Orders from Court. Upon the Whole, the Affairs of the Nation were almoſt at a Criſis; and it was believed, that what the King could not accompliſh by the gentler Methods of Intereſt and Perſuaſion he would eſtabliſh by

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Sovereign Power. The *Army* at *Blackheath* was to awe the City and Parliament; and if they proved Refractory, an *Iriſh* Maſſacre, or ſome other deſperate Attempt, might poſſibly decide the Fate of the Nation. *King James II. 1687.*

About this Time died the Rev. Mr. *David Clarkſon*, B. D. born at *Bradford* in *Yorkſhire*, *Feb.* 1621-2. and Fellow of *Clare Hall*, *Cambridge*, where he was Tutor to Dr. *Tillotſon*, afterwards Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. Dr. *Bates* in his Funeral Sermon gives him the Character of a Man of ſincere Godlineſs and true Holineſs: Humility and Modeſty were his diſtinctive Characters; and his Learning was ſuperior to moſt of his Time, as appears by his *Treatiſe of Liturgies*, *his primitive Epiſcopacy*, *his practical Divinity of Papiſts deſtructive to Men's Souls*; *and his Volume of Sermons*, printed after his Death. He was ſome Time Miniſter of *Mortlack* in *Surrey*, but after his Ejectment he gave himſelf up to Reading and Meditations, ſhifting from one Place of Obſcurity to another till the Times ſuffered him to come into Light; he was then choſen Succeſſor to the Reverend Dr. *John Owen*, in the Paſtoral Office to his Congregation. Mr. *Baxter* ſays, He was a Divine of extraordinary Worth for ſolid Judgment, of healing, moderate Principles, of great Acquaintance with the Fathers, of great Miniſterial Abilities, and of a godly, upright Life. Great was his Solemnity and Reverence in Prayer; and the Method of his Sermons was clear, deep and inſtructive. His Death was unexpected, but (as he declared) it was no Surprize to him, for he was entirely reſigned to the Will of God, and deſired to live no longer than to be ſerviceable. This good Man (ſays Dr. *Bates*) like holy *Simeon*, had Chriſt in his Arms, and departed in Peace, to ſee the Salvation of God above, in the Sixty ſixth Year of his Age. *Death of Mr. Clarkſon.*

Dr. *Thomas Jacomb* was born in *Leiceſterſhire*, and educated firſt in *Magdalen Hall*, *Oxon*, and after in *Emanuel College*, *Cambridge*, from whence he removed to *Of Dr. Jacomb.*

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Trinity College, of which he was Fellow. He came to *London* in 1647. and was ſoon after Miniſter of *Ludgate* Pariſh, where he continued till he was turned out in 1662. He met with ſome Trouble after his Ejectment, but being received into the Family of the *Counteſs Dowager* of *Exeter*, Daughter of the Earl of *Bridgwater*, he was covered from his Enemies. This honourable and virtuous Lady was a Comfort and Support to the Non-Conformiſt Miniſters throughout the Reign of King *Charles* II. Her Reſpects to the Doctor were peculiar, and her Favours extraordinary, for which he made the beſt Returns he was able. The *Doctor* was a learned Man, a ſolid Divine, a ſerious and affectionate Preacher, of unſpotted Morals, and a Non-Conformiſt upon moderate Principles. He died of a cancerous Humour, that put him to the moſt acute Pain, which he bore with invincible Patience and Reſignation till the 27th of *March*, 1687. when he died in the Counteſs of *Exeter*'s Houſe, in the Sixty ſixth Year of his Age.

Of Mr. Collins.

Mr. *John Collins* was educated in *Cambridge New England*, but returning from thence in the Times of the Civil War, became a celebrated Preacher in *London*, having a ſweet Voice, and a moſt affectionate Manner in the Pulpit. He was Chaplain to General *Monk* when he marched out of *Scotland* into *England*, but was not an Incumbent any where when the Act of Uniformity took Place. Being of the Independant Denomination he ſucceeded Mr. *Mallory* as Paſtor of a very conſiderable Congregation of that Perſuaſion, and was one of the Merchants Lecturers at *Pinners Hall*. He was a Man mighty in the Scriptures; of an excellent natural Temper; very charitable to all good Men without regard to Parties; and died univerſally lamented, *December* 3. 1687.

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CHAP. XII.

From King JAMES's *Declaration for* Liberty *of* Conſcience, *to the Act of* Toleration *in the Reign of King* WILLIAM *and Queen* MARY.

THO' the Projects of the *Roman Catholicks* were ripe for Execution there was one Circumſtance which ſpread a black Cloud over all their Attempts, which was the near Proſpect of a *Proteſtant Succeſſor* to the Crown: This was the Life of the Proteſtant Cauſe, and the Terror of the Papiſts. To remove this Difficulty his Majeſty firſt attempted to convert his eldeſt Daughter MARY, Princeſs of *Orange*, to the *Roman Catholick* Religion, or at leaſt to conſent to the making way for it, by taking off the *Penal Laws*. To accompliſh this, his Majeſty writ an obliging Letter to his Daughter, reciting the Motives of his own Converſion; which were, the "*great Devotion of the Church of* Rome; *the Adorning their Churches*; *their Acts of Charity*, *which were greater than the Proteſtants could boaſt of*; *the Numbers who retired from the World*, *and devoted themſelves to a Religious Life*. He was convinced "that Chriſt had left an *Infallibility* in the Church, "which the Apoſtles acknowledged to be in St. *Peter*, "*Acts* xv. It was the Authority of the Church (ſays "he) that declared the Scriptures to be *Canonical*; "and certainly, they who declared them could only "interpret them, and where-ever this *Infallibility* "was, there muſt be a clear Succeſſion, which could "be no where but in the Church of *Rome*, the Church "of *England* not pretending to *Infallibility*, tho' "ſhe acted as if ſhe did, by perſecuting thoſe who "differed from her, as well Proteſtant Diſſenters as "Papiſts; but he could ſee no Reaſon why *Diſſenters* "might not ſeparate from the Church of *England*, as "well as the Church of *England* had done from that "of *Rome*—"

King James II. 1688.

King attempts to convert the Princeſs of Orange to Popery. Burnet, p. 720, 721.

King James II. 1688.

The Princeſs's Reply.

The PRINCESS anſwer'd the King's Letter with great Reſpect; "ſhe affirmed the *Right of private* "*Judgment*, according to the Apoſtle's Rule, of *proving all Things, and holding faſt that which is good.* "She ſaw clearly from the Scriptures, that *ſhe muſt* "*not believe by the Faith of another, but according as* "*Things appeared to her ſelf.* She confeſſed, if there "was an *Infallibility* in the Church, all other Controverſies muſt fall before it, but that it was not yet "agreed where it was lodged, whether in a *Pope* or "a *general Council*, or *both*; and ſhe deſired to know "in whom the *Infallibility* reſted when there were "two or three Popes at a Time, acting one againſt "another; for certainly the Succeſſion muſt then be "diſordered. She maintained the Lawfulneſs and "Neceſſity of reading the Holy Scriptures; for tho' "*Faith* was above Reaſon, it propoſed nothing contradictory to it. St. *Paul* ordered his Epiſtles to be "read in all the Churches; and he ſays in one Place, "*I write as to wiſe Men*, JUDGE YE WHAT I SAY; "and if they might judge an Apoſtle, much more "any other Teacher. She excuſed the Church of "*England*'s perſecuting the Diſſenters in the beſt Manner ſhe could; and ſaid the Reformers had brought "Things to as great Perfection as thoſe corrupt Ages "were capable of; and ſhe did not ſee how the "*Church* was to blame, becauſe the Laws were "made by the *State*, and for civil Crimes, and that "the Grounds of the Diſſenters leaving the Church "were different from thoſe for which they had ſeparated from the Church of *Rome* —" It was impoſſible for the *Princeſs* to clear up this Objection. But Biſhop *Burnet* adds very juſtly, that the Severities of the Church againſt the Diſſenters were urged with a very ill Grace, *by one of the Church of* Rome, that has delighted her ſelf ſo often by being as it were bathed with the Blood of thoſe they call Hereticks. Upon the Whole it appeared, that her *Highneſs* was immoveably fixed in her Religion, and that there

p. 725.

was

was not the leaſt Proſpect of her departing from it. *King* James II. 1688.

At the ſame Time his Majeſty attempted the Prince of *Orange*, for which Purpoſe he employed one Mr. *James Steward*, a Lawyer of *Scotland*, who writ ſeveral Letters upon this Argument to Penſionary *Fagel*, in whom the Prince placed an entire Confidence. The *Penſionary* neglected his Letters for ſome Time, but at length it being induſtriouſly reported, that the Silence of the *Prince* was a tacit Conſent, the *Penſionary* laid all his Letters before his Highneſs, who commiſſioned the Penſionary to draw up ſuch a Letter as might diſcover his true Intentions and Senſe of Matters. *He attempts the Prince.* Burnet, p. 731, 732.

The Letter was dated from the *Hague*, *Nov.* 4. 1687. and begins with Aſſurances of the Prince and Princeſs's Duty to the King; and ſince Mr. *Steward* had given him to underſtand, that his Letters were written with the King's Knowledge and Allowance, the Penſionary aſſures him in the Name of their HIGHNESSES, that it was their Opinion, that "*no Chriſtian* "*ought to be perſecuted for his Conſcience, or be ill* "*uſed becauſe he differs from the eſtabliſhed Religion*; "and therefore they agreed that the Papiſts in *Scot*- "*land* and *Ireland* ſhould have the free Exerciſe of "their Religion in private as they had in *Holland*; "and *as to Proteſtant Diſſenters, they heartily appro*- "*ved of their having an entire Liberty of their Religion* "*without any Trouble or Hindrance*; and their *High*- "*neſſes* were ready to concur to the Settling it, and "giving their Guarantee to protect and defend it. *If* "*his Majeſty deſired their Concurrence in repealing* "*the Penal Laws, they were ready to give it*, provi- "ded the Laws by which *Roman Catholicks* were ex- "cluded from ſetting in both Houſes of Parliament, "and from all Employments Eccleſiaſtical, Civil "and Military remained in force; and likewiſe "thoſe other Laws which ſecure the Proteſtant Religi- "on againſt all Attempts of the *Roman Catholicks*; "but they could not conſent to the Repeal of thoſe *His Highneſs's Reply by Penſionary Fagel.* Wel. Memoirs, p. 218.

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" Laws which tended only to ſecure the Proteſtant " Religion, ſuch as the *Teſts*, becauſe they imported " no more than a Deprivation from publick Employ- " ments, which could do them no great Harm. If " the Number of the Papiſts was inconſiderable, it " was not reaſonable to inſiſt upon it; and if thoſe " few that pretended to publick Employments would " do their Party ſo much Injury as not to be content " with the Repeal of the *Penal Laws*, unleſs they " could get into Offices of Truſt, their Ambition on- " ly was to be blamed —" This Letter was carried by Mr. *Steward* to the King, and read in the Cabinet Council, but it had no Effect, only the King ordered Mr. *Steward* to write back, that *he would have all or nothing*. However, the *Church Party* were ſatisfied with the Prince's Reſolution to maintain the Teſts; the *Proteſtant Diſſenters* were pleaſed with their *Highneſſes* Declaration for the Repeal of the Penal Laws *ſo far as concerned themſelves*, and they placed an entire Confidence in their Word. The *Lay-Papiſts* and *Seculars* preſſed the King to accept of the Repeal of ſo much of the Penal Laws as was offered, and blamed the Ambition of the Jeſuits and Courtiers about the King, who would leave them expoſed to the Severity of the Law when a Freedom was offered, but his Majeſty being governed by the furious Eccleſiaſticks would abate nothing. At length the *Penſionary*'s Letter was printed by Allowance of the *Prince*, and ſent all over *England*, which provoked the King to that degree, that he ſpoke indecently of his *Highneſs* to all the foreign Miniſters, and reſolved to put the ſevereſt Marks of his Diſpleaſure upon him.

Burnet, p. 733.

The Queen declared to be with Child.

The firſt Project of gaining over the *Prince* having failed, his Majeſty went upon another, which, if it obtained, muſt effectually ſet aſide the *Proteſtant Succeſſion*; and that was, *providing the Nation with an Heir of his own Body by the preſent Queen*, though for many Years ſhe had been reckoned incapable of having Children. This was firſt whiſper'd among the Courti-

Courtiers, but was ſoon after confirmed by Proclamation in the *Gazette* of *Jan.* 2d. and 26th. 1687-8. in Words to this Effect, "That it had pleaſed Almighty "God to give his Majeſty apparent Hopes, and good "Aſſurance of having Iſſue by his Royal Conſort the "Queen, who, through God's great Goodneſs, was "now with Child;" wherefore his Majeſty appoints, that on the 15th of *January* in the Cities of *London* and *Weſtminſter*; and on the 29th in all other Places in *England*; and on the 29th of *January* and 19th of *February* in all Places in *Scotland*, publick Thankſgiving and ſolemn Prayer be offered up to God on this Occaſion, and a Form of Prayer was drawn up accordingly by the Biſhops of *Durham*, *Rocheſter*, and *Peterborough*; in which were theſe Expreſſions, "Bleſ- "ſed be that good Providence that has vouchſafed us "freſh Hopes of Royal Iſſue by our gracious Queen "*Mary*; ſtrengthen her, we beſeech thee, and per- "fect what thou haſt begun. Command thy ho- "ly Angels to watch over her continually, and de- "fend her from all Dangers and evil Accidents, that "what ſhe hath conceived may be happily brought "forth, to the Joy of our Sovereign Lord the King, "the further Eſtabliſhment of his Crown, the Hap- "pineſs and Welfare of the whole Kingdom, and the "Glory of thy great Name, *&c.*" This ſtruck all the Proteſtant Part of the Nation with Conſternation, except a few *Ranting Tories*, whoſe Religion was at the Service of the King, whenſoever he ſhould call for it. The *Conception* was looked upon by the Jeſuits as miraculous, and as the Effect of a Vow the Queen had made to the Lady of *Loretto:* They propheſied it would certainly be a *Prince*; but the Proteſtants ſighed in ſecret, and ſuſpected a Fraud; the Grounds of which the Hiſtorians of theſe Times have related at large.

King James II. 1688.

Gazette, N° 2309, 2316.

A Publick Form of Prayer for her Majeſty. Calamy, p. 382.

The King, emboldened with the Proſpect of a *Popiſh Succeſſor*, inſtead of venturing firſt upon a Parliament, publiſhed another Declaration for Liberty of Con-

King James II. 1688.

Conſcience, *April* 27. in higher Strains, and more Advantagious to the Papiſts than the former; the Subſtance of it was as follows;

JAMES REX.

A ſecond Declaration for Liberty of Conſcience. Gazette, N° 2342.

"OUR Conduct has been ſuch in all Times as ought to have perſuaded the World, that we are firm and conſtant to our Reſolutions; yet that eaſy People may not be abuſed by the Malice of crafty wicked Men, we think fit to declare, that our Intentions are not changed ſince the 4th of *April*, 1687. when we iſſued our *Declaration for Liberty of Conſcience in the following Terms*" [Here the Declaration is recited at large, and then it follows] "Ever ſince we granted the Indulgence we have made it our Care to ſee it preſerved without Diſtinction, as we are encouraged to do daily by Multitudes of Addreſſes, and many other Aſſurances we receive from our Subjects of all Perſuaſions, as Teſtimonies of their Satisfaction and Duty; the Effects of which we doubt not but the next Parliament will ſhew, and that it will not be in vain that we have reſolved to uſe our utmoſt Endeavours to eſtabliſh Liberty of Conſcience on ſuch juſt and equal Foundations as will render it unalterable, and ſecure to all People the free Exerciſe of their Religion for ever, by which future Ages may reap the Benefit of what is ſo undoubtedly for the general Good of the whole Kingdom. It is ſuch a Security we deſire without the Burthen and Conſtraint of Oaths and Teſts, which have unhappily been made by ſome Governments but could never ſupport any. Nor could Men be advanced by ſuch Means to Offices and Employments which ought to be the Reward of Services, Fidelity and Merit. We muſt conclude, that not only good Chriſtians will join in this, but whoever is concerned for the Wealth and Power of the Nation. It would, perhaps, prejudice ſome of our Neighbours, who might loſe part

" of

" of thoſe vaſt Advantages they now enjoy, if Liber- *King James II. 1688.*
" ty of Conſcience were ſettled in theſe Kingdoms,
" which are above all others moſt capable of Improve-
" ments, and of commanding the Trade of the
" World. In purſuance of this great Work *we have*
" *been forced to make many Changes both of Civil and*
" *Military Officers throughout our Dominions*, not
" thinking any ought to be employed in our Service
" who will not contribute towards the Eſtabliſhing the
" Peace and Greatneſs of their Country, which we
" moſt earneſtly deſire, as unbiaſſed Men may ſee by
" the whole Conduct of our Government, and by the
" Condition of our Fleet and of our Armies, which
" with good Management ſhall conſtantly be the ſame
" and greater, if the Safety or Honour of the Nation
" require it. We recommend theſe Conſiderations to
" all our Subjects, and that they will reflect on their
" Eaſe and Happineſs, now that above three Years it
" has pleaſed God to permit us to reign over theſe
" Kingdoms, we have not appeared to be that Prince
" our Enemies would make the World afraid of; our
" chief Aim having been not to be the Oppreſſor,
" but Father of our People, of which we can give no
" better Evidence than by conjuring them to lay
" aſide private Animoſities, as well as groundleſs Jea-
" louſies, and to chooſe ſuch Members of Parliament
" as may do their Parts, to finiſh what we have be-
" gun, for the Advantage of the Monarchy over
" which Almighty God has placed us, being reſolved
" to call a Parliament that ſhall meet in *November*
" next at fartheſt."

This Declaration was publiſhed in the uſual Manner, and ordered to be read in Time of Divine Service in all Churches and Chapels in and about *London*, *May* 20th and 27th; and in all the reſt of *England* and *Wales* on the 3d and 10th of *June* following, upon Penalty of being proſecuted in the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion. For this Purpoſe the Biſhops were required to cauſe

Appointed to be read in all Churches. Gazette, N° 2344.

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cauſe it to be diſtributed throughout their reſpective Dioceſes; ſome of them (ſays *Burnet*) carried their Compliance to a ſhameful Pitch, offering up their Allegiance to the King without Limitation or Reſerve. Dr. *Crew*, Biſhop of *Durham*, *Barlow* of *Lincoln*, *Cartwright* of *Cheſter*, *Wood* of *Lichfield* and *Coventry*, *Walters* of St. *David*'s, *Sprat* of *Rocheſter*, and *Parker* of *Oxford*, went all the Lengths of the Court, and ſet forward Addreſſes of Thanks to his Majeſty in the moſt exalted Language, for the Promiſe he had made in his late Declaration, *to maintain the Church of* England *as by Law eſtabliſhed*; tho' it was evident enough he deſigned to ſubvert it. An Addreſs came from the Clergy of *Cheſter*, juſtifying the Declaration, as iſſuing from the Prerogative of the *King's Supremacy*, and inſiſting, that the Clergy were obliged by what is called *Statute Law*, *the Rubrick of their Liberty*, to publiſh what was required by the King, or their Biſhop, and therefore they were troubled to hear of the Diſobedience of ſome of that Bench, who tho' they tenderly promiſed the *Diſſenters* ſomething, yet refuſed to do their Part about the *Declaration*, leſt they ſhould be Parties to it; which Reaſon we with due Modeſty eſteem inſufficient. *Herbert* Biſhop of *Hereford* publiſhed his Reaſons for reading the Declaration, from that Paſſage of Scripture, "*Submit your ſelves to* "*every Ordinance of Man for the Lord's ſake, whe-* "*ther it be to the King as Supream*, &c. — Now the "King commanding it to be read without requiring "our Aſſent, Conſent, or Allowance, I can't ſee "(ſays the Biſhop) how it can be refuſed — if it be "ſaid this is to admit of a *diſpenſing Power*, yet it is "not contrary to the Word of God. If the King "ſhould aver his Diſpenſing Power to be inherent in "the Crown, and will uſe it as he pleaſes, I ſhould "beſeech him not to exert it in ſo high a Manner; "but after this, what have Biſhops to do but ſubmit, "ſince here is no Doctrine affirmed, but only a De-"claration of Matter of Fact."

p. 715. *With which ſome of the Biſhops comply.*

Gazette, N° 2374.

But

But the Majority of the Clergy were of different Sentiments; eighteen Biſhops, and the chief of their Clergy, refuſed to publiſh the *Declaration*, ſo that it was read (ſays *Burnet*) but in ſeven Churches in *London*; and in about two hundred all over *England*. The *Commiſſioners for Eccleſiaſtical Affairs* ſent out Citations by the King's Order, requiring the Chancellors and Archdeacons to ſend in Liſts of all who had obeyed, and of thoſe who had not obeyed the Order of Council; together with the Places where it had been neglected. But moſt of the Biſhops diſobeyed, and generouſly undertook to ſtand in the Gap, and ſcreen the inferior Clergy from Proſecution: Seven of them met at *Lambeth*, and after Conſultation ſigned an Addreſs in behalf of themſelves, and ſeveral of their abſent Brethren, ſetting forth, "that they were not "averſe to the Publiſhing *his Majeſty's Declaration* "for want of Duty to his Majeſty, or due Tenderneſs "towards *Diſſenters*, in relation to whom (ſay they) "we are willing to come to ſuch a Temper as ſhall "be thought fit, when the Matter comes to be con- "ſidered and ſettled in Parliament; but the *Declara- "tion* being founded on ſuch a *Diſpenſing Power* as "may at preſent ſet aſide all Laws Eccleſiaſtical and "Civil, appears to us illegal, and did ſo to the Par- "liament in the Year 1672. and it is a Point of ſuch "great Conſequence, that we cannot make our ſelves "Parties to it, ſo far as the Reading of it in the "Church in Time of Divine Service will amount to, "and diſtributing it all over the Kingdom." Signed by *Sancroft* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, *Lloyde* Biſhop of St. *Aſaph*, *Kenn* of *Bath* and *Wells*, *Turner* of *Ely*, *Lake* of *Chicheſter*, *White* of *Peterborough*, and *Trelawny* of *Briſtol*.

King James II. 1688.

Different Behaviour of others. We w. Memoirs, p. 209. Gazette, Nº 2364.

Their Addreſs. Burnet, p. 636, 738.

The King was ſtartled at the Addreſs, and anſwered in a very angry Tone; "*I have heard of this be-* "*fore but did not believe it; I did not expect this from* "*the Church of* England, *eſpecially from ſome of you;* "*if I change my Mind you ſhall hear from me, if not*

King's Anſwer.

King James II. 1688.

"*I expect my Commands ſhall be obeyed.*" And added, that *they ſhould be made to feel what it was to diſobey him.* The ſix Biſhops who brought the Addreſs replied, *The Will of God be done.*

Remark.

But the Reader will judge, whether the ſlaviſh Doctrine of *Non-Reſiſtance* and *unlimitted Obedience* which the *High Church Party* had been preaching up for above twenty Years, as the Doctrine of the Church of *England*, had not brought the King into theſe Difficulties which loſt him his Crown? A Doctrine deſtructive of the Laws of Society, and which has done more Miſchief to *crowned Heads* than it will ever do Service. If the King had not relied on the *flattering Addreſſes* of theſe Men, under which it ſeems there was a *Reſerve*, he would have ſtopt ſhort, and took other Meaſures; but he did not perceive the *Mine* till it was ſprung, and blew up his whole Government at once. This was the *Criſis* upon which the Fate of the Nation was to depend.

Seven of them ſent to the Tower.

While the King was conſulting what to do with the Biſhops he was for ſome Time in great Perplexity; ſeveral of the Popiſh Nobility preſſed him to retreat, and let the Matter fall; but at length, by Advice of Father *Petre*, Mr. *Lob*, and ſome others, he ordered the Biſhops to be proſecuted; and they refuſing to enter into Bonds for their Appearance at the *King's Bench* on account of their Peerage, were ſent to the *Tower* by Water, *June* 8. but were diſcharged within a Week, upon entering into Bonds for ſmall Sums, to anſwer to the *Information* that Day Fortnight. On the 29th of *June* they were brought to the *King's Bench Bar* in *Weſtminſter Hall*, attended by ſeveral of the Nobility, and a vaſt Croud of common People; and after a long Trial of ten Hours they were acquitted: Upon which there was a general Joy, and ſuch loud Shouts, as were heard not only in the City, but even in the Army on *Blackheath*.

But acquitted.

The Biſhops Addreſs was printed by Authority, with a ſatyrical Paraphraſe, ſetting forth, that tho' the

the Biſhops had, without any Bowels of Tenderneſs, exerciſed many inhuman Cruelties upon the Diſſenters, they promiſe now to come to a Temper, but it is only ſuch an one as they themſelves ſhould ſettle in *Convocation*; and tho' they had all along vigorouſly endeavoured to advance above all Law that *arbitrary Power* upon which they ſuppoſe his Majeſty's Declaration was founded, when it could be ſtrained to the Oppreſſion of Diſſenters, yet now they oppoſe it, and are deſirous in this Juncture (as in the Year 1672.) that the Laws for Perſecution ſhould retain their Force, and the *Diſpenſing Power* not be countenanced, tho' deſigned for a general Good. *King* James II. 1688.

They court the Diſſenters.

But this was too late, the Controverſy between the King and the Church was not now to be decided by the Pen; and it was apparent beyond Contradiction, that the Hearts of the People were turned againſt the Court; even the *Diſſenters* (ſays *Eachard*) ſhewed an unuſual Readineſs to join the Church againſt their common Enemy; and whatever might be in the Hearts of ſome, the *Church Party* continued to diſcover an equal Willingneſs to coaleſce with the Diſſenters. When Dr. *Lloyde*, Biſhop of St. *Aſaph*, paſſed thro' *Oſweſtry* in *Shropſhire*, he ſent for Mr. *James Owen* the Diſſenting Miniſter, and ventur'd to acquaint him with the Secret, of the Prince of *Orange*'s Invitation by ſome great Perſons, together with himſelf; and added, *He hoped the* Proteſtant Diſſenters *would concur in promoting the common Intereſt, for You and We are Brethren* (ſays he); *we have indeed been angry Brethren, but we have ſeen our Folly, and are reſolved, if ever we have it in our Power, to ſhew that we will treat you as Brethren.* Cal. cont. in Pref.

Even Archbiſhop *Sancroft*, in the circular Letter which he ſent to the Clergy of his Province, exhorted them to cultivate a good Correſpondence with the Diſſenters. The *eleventh Article* of his Letter, dated *July* 16. has theſe Words, " That they (*viz.* the " Clergy) ſhould walk in Wiſdom towards them who

Archbp. Sancroft's circular Letter. Calamy's Abridg. p. 385.

" are

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" are not of our Communion; and if there be in their " Pariſhes any ſuch, that they neglect not frequently " to converſe with them in the Spirit of Meekneſs, " ſeeking by all good Ways and Means to gain and " win them over to our Communion; more eſpecial- " ly that they have a tender Regard *to our Brethren* " *the Proteſtant Diſſenters*; that upon Occaſion offer- " ed they viſit them at their Houſes, and receive them " kindly at their own, and treat them fairly where- " ever they meet them, perſuading them (if it may " be) to a full Compliance with our Church; or at " leaſt, that whereunto we have already attained, we " may all walk by the ſame Rule, and mind the " ſame Things; and in order thereunto, that they " take Opportunities of *aſſuring and convincing them,* " *that the Biſhops of this Church, are really and ſin-* " *cerely irreconcileable Enemies to the Errors, Super-* " *ſtitions, Idolatries, and Tyrannies of the Church of* " *Rome*; and that the very unkind Jealouſies which " ſome have had of us to the contrary were altogether " groundleſs. And in the laſt Place, that they warm- " ly and affectionately join us in daily fervent Prayer " to the God of Peace, *for an univerſal bleſſed Union* " *of all reformed Churches at home and abroad againſt* " *our common Enemy* —" Such was the Language of the *Church in diſtreſs!*

Other Aſſurances. Burnet, p. 716.

It was often ſaid, *That if ever God ſhould deliver them out of the preſent Diſtreſs they would keep up their domeſtick Quarrels no more*; which were ſo viſibly, and yet artfully managed by our Adverſaries, as to make us devour one another — Again, " I do aſſure " you, and I am certain I have the beſt Grounds in the " World for my Aſſurance (ſays one) that the Biſhops, " when the happy Opportunity ſhall offer it ſelf, will " let the Proteſtant Diſſenters find that they will be " better than their Word given in their famous *Peti-* " *tion.*" Remarkable are the Words of another Re-

Calamy, p. 386.

Apol. for Church of England. Calamy, p. 426.

verend Divine on the ſame Occaſion; " the Biſhops " have under their Hands declared their Diſpoſitions to

" come

" come to a Temper in Matters of Conformity, and " there ſeems to be no doubt of their Sincerity—If ever " God brings us into a ſettled State out of the Storms into " which our Paſſions and Folly, as well as the Treachery " of others, has led us, it cannot be imagined that the " Biſhops will go off from thoſe moderate Reſolutions " which they have now declared; and they continuing " firm, the weak and indiſcreet Paſſions of any of the " inferior Clergy muſt needs vaniſh —And I will bold- " ly ſay, that *if the Church of* England, *after ſhe has* " *got out of this Storm, will return to hearken to the* " *Peeviſhneſs of ſome ſower Men, ſhe will be abandon-* " *ed both of God and Man, and will ſet Heaven and* " *Earth againſt her.* The Nation ſees too clearly " how dear the Diſpute about Conformity has coſt us " to ſtand upon ſuch Punctilio's; and thoſe in whom " our Deliverance is wrapt up judge too right, that " ever they will be *Prieſtridden* in this Point — And " if any Argument was wanting to conclude the Cer- " tainty of this Point, *the wiſe and generous Behaviour* " *of the main Body of the Diſſenters in this preſent* " *Juncture has given them ſo juſt a Title to our Friend-* " *ſhip, that we muſt reſolve to ſet all the World againſt* " *us if we can ever forget it; and if we do not make* " *them all the Returns of Eaſe and Favour when it is* " *in our Power to do it.*"

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The Reader has now ſeen the many and ſtrong Aſ- *Remarks.*
ſurances of Favour, given by the *Church Party in Diſtreſs*, to the Non-Conformiſts, all which, in a few Months, vaniſhed into Smoak. Nevertheleſs I am fully of Opinion, that the *Low Church Clergy* meant honeſtly, and deſigned to be as good as their Word; for which Purpoſe a Scheme was propoſed to review and inlarge the Liturgy by correcting ſome Things, and adding others, and leaving ſome few Ceremonies indifferent; but there was *another Party* that lay be- hind the Curtain, and meant no more by their Prote- ſtations of Favour to the Diſſenters, than to get them- ſelves out of Trouble; they had a *Reſerve* under their

Calamy, P. 384.

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flattering Promiſes, and as they renounced the Doctrine of *Non-Reſiſtance* to ſerve their own Turn, when that was done they retreated, and would have become as cruel Perſecutors as before; they were Enemies to the *Revolution*; and when the Prince of *Orange* had done their Work they would have ſent him back from whence he came; theſe were afterwards diſtinguiſhed by the Names of *Non Jurors*, *Jacobites*, and *High-Fliers*, whoſe Numbers were greater than the *Low Church Clergy* imagined. They prevailed in Convocation, intimidated the Friends of Liberty and Charity, and put an effectual Stop to all further Attempts for a Comprehenſion of Diſſenters.

Suſpected Birth of the Pr. of Wales.

While the Biſhops were in the *Tower*, and the Princeſs *Anne* at the *Bath*, the Queen was ſaid to be delivered of a Prince on *Sunday*, *June* 10. between the Hours of nine and ten in the Morning. The Affair was conducted with great Imprudence; no Care had been taken to ſatisfy the Proteſtant Part of the Nation that the Queen was with Child, tho' it was ridiculed in Pamphlets diſperſed about *Whitehall*. None of the Proteſtant Ladies were admitted to be with her when ſhe changed her Linen; nor to ſee the Milk in her Breaſts, nor to feel the Child move within her, but all about her were *Italian Women*. The Place where her Majeſty was to lie in, was not known a few Days before it happen'd; and it was oddly circumſtanced as to Time, moſt of the *Proteſtant Ladies* being out of the Way, and preparing for Church; the *Dutch* Ambaſſador, then in Town, was not called to be a Witneſs, on behalf of the Princeſs of *Orange*, the preſumptive Heir; but all was done and over in an Hour or two. The Birth was attended with great Rejoicings of the Popiſh Party; a Day of publick Thankſgiving was appointed, on which Occaſion a Form of Thankſgiving was drawn up by the Biſhop of *Rocheſter*; and a new Set of *Congratulations* came up from all Parts of the Kingdom.

Biſho

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Biſhop *Burnet*, Mr. *Eachard*, and others, have examined into the Legitimacy of this Birth with all poſſible Exactneſs, but have left the Matter under great Uncertainties. Some have pronounced it ſuppoſititious, and no better than the laſt deſperate Effort of the Popiſh Party to perpetuate their Religion. Others, who credited the Birth, have given very plauſible Reaſons to believe, that the *preſent Pretender* was not the Queen's Child, but *another*'s clandeſtinely introduced into its Place. Biſhop *Burnet* is of Opinion, that the Proofs of its Legitimacy were defective. However, all the Hopes of a Proteſtant Succeſſor ſeemed now to be at an End, and the Joys of the Papiſts to be conſummate; the *Engliſh* Reformation was expiring, and nothing ſhort of a total Subverſion of Government in Church and State to be expected.

Prince of Orange's Expedition.

The Princeſs of *Orange* being thus cut off from the Succeſſion, his *Highneſs* gave greater Attention to the Advices he received from *England* of the *Queen's having miſcarried ſome Months before*, and that therefore the preſent Child muſt be Suppoſititious. The Church Party having abandoned their Doctrine of *Non-Reſiſtance* fled with others to the Prince of *Orange* as their laſt Refuge, and prayed him to come over to their Reſcue; with this View Admiral *Ruſſel*, and ſeveral other great Perſons, repaired to the *Hague* on other plauſible Pretences, but in reality to invite the Prince, and confer with him about an Expedition to *England*, who received them favourably, and diſcovered a good Diſpoſition to eſpouſe their Cauſe, conſidering that his own Right to the Crown was now loſt, and that if Popery was eſtabliſhed in *England*, *Holland*, and the whole Reformed Intereſt, muſt be expoſed to the utmoſt Hazard. Little Perſuaſion was wanting to prevail with the *States General* to aſſiſt the *Engliſh* Proteſtants; but all the Difficulty was to keep it ſecret, while they were preparing for ſo hazardous an Undertaking. The *States* made uſe of the Differences about the Election of an Archbiſhop of *Cologn* as a Reaſon

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to form an Army for the Security of their own Borders; and the *Prince*, who had the Adminiſtration in his Hands, ſet himſelf under this Cover to prepare all Neceſſaries for his intended Imbarkation, while Mr. *Zuyleſtein* brought him from Time to Time the ſtrongeſt Aſſurances of the Diſpoſition of the Body of the *Engliſh* Proteſtants to appear for him at his Landing, which fully fixed him in his Purpoſe.

Of which the King has Intelligence from Paris *and the* Hague. Burnet, p. 766.

But the *French* Ambaſſador kept a watchful Eye upon the Motions of the Prince of *Orange*, and gave timely Notice of the extraordinary Preparations for War that were making in *Holland*, to his Maſter *Lewis* XIV. from whom King *James* had the firſt Intelligence. Mr. *Skelton*, the King's Envoy at *Paris*, alſo writ five or ſix Letters to Court, on the ſame Head, but King *James* gave little heed to his Advices, becauſe the Prince of *Orange* carried it in a moſt dutiful and reſpectful Manner, complimenting his Majeſty on the Birth of the Prince of *Wales*, and cauſing his Name to be added to the reſt of the Princes of the Royal Family to be prayed for in his Chapel. However, the King of *France* continued to alarm the Court of *England* with the intended Invaſion, and offered to ſend over fifteen thouſand Men, or as many more as ſhould be wanted to his Aſſiſtance; but the Earl of *Sunderland*, who had lately complimented the King with his Religion, prevailed with his Majeſty not to bring ſuch an Army of *French* Papiſts into his Dominions, leſt it ſhould blacken his Memory, and confirm the Suſpicions of the Proteſtants, that he deſigned the Overthrow of their Religion and Liberties.

His Majeſty's Proceedings upon it. Gazette, N° 2384.

The King being at length perſuaded of the Prince of *Orange*'s Deſigns, ordered the Fleet to be fitted out, and the Army to be augmented; and diſpatched Orders to *Tyrconnel*, to ſend over ſeveral Regiments out of *Ireland*, which put the People under terrible Apprehenſions of another *Iriſh* Maſſacre. *September* 21. his Majeſty iſſued out his Proclamation for the Meeting of a new Parliament, "intimating his Royal Pur-

"poſe

" poſe to endeavour a legal Eſtabliſhment of an *uni-* *King*
" *verſal Toleration, and inviolably to preſerve the* James II.
" *Church of* England *in poſſeſſion of the ſeveral Acts of* 1688.
" *Uniformity, as far as they were conſiſtent with ſuch*
" *a Toleration.* And further to quiet the Minds of
" his Proteſtant Subjects, he was content that the *Ro-*
" *man Catholicks* ſhould remain incapable of being
" Members of the Houſe of Commons, that ſo the
" Legiſlature might continue in the Hands of Prote-
" ſtants." *September* 23. the King was further aſſu-
red by Letters from the Marquis of *Abbeville* at the
Hague, that Penſionary *Fagel* had owned the Deſign
of the Prince of *Orange* to invade *England.* Upon Gazette,
which the King turned pale and ſpeechleſs for a Time, N° 2386.
and like a diſtracted Man turn'd himſelf every way
for Relief, but was reſolute in nothing. He put off *He applies*
the Meeting of the Parliament for the preſent, and by *to the Bi-*
Advice of his Council applied to the Biſhops then in *ſhops, but*
Town for Advice what was neceſſary to be done to *wavers.*
make the Church eaſy. The Biſhops moved him to
annul the *Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion, and the Diſpenſing*
Power: to recal all Licenſes and Faculties for Papiſts
to keep Schools, to prohibit the four pretended Vicars
Apoſtolical invading the Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction; to
fill the vacant Biſhopricks; to reſtore the Charters, and
to call a free and regular Parliament, by which the
Church of England *might be ſecured, according to the*
Act of Uniformity; and Proviſion made for a due Li-
berty of Conſcience. According to this Advice the Ib. 2388,
King and Court began to tread backward, concluding, 2391.
that if they could ſatisfy the Biſhops, and recover the
Affection of the *Church*, all would do well, but it was
too late. However, the *Biſhop of* London's *Suſpen-*
ſion was taken off, the *Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion* diſſol-
ved, the *City Charter*, and the *Fellows* of *Magdalen*
College were reſtored, and other illegal Practices re-
nounced, all which was ſaid to be the Effect of the
King's meer Grace and Favour; but upon News of
the Prince of *Orange*'s Fleet being diſperſed by a Storm,

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and that they would hardly be able to put to Sea again till next Spring, his Majesty put a Stop to all further Redress of Grievances.

Prince of Orange's *Expedition and Declaration.*

But the Prince having repaired the Damages of the Storm put to Sea a second Time, *Nov.* 1. and after a remarkable Passage, in which the Wind chopt about almost miraculously in his Favour, landed at *Torbay*, *Nov.* 5. with about fourteen thousand Men, without meeting the King's Fleet, which was out at Sea, in order to intercept them. The Prince brought over with him a *Declaration*, dated *October* 10. divided into twenty six Articles, but reducible to three principal Heads, 1. An Enumeration of the Grievances of the Nation, with regard to Religion and Civil Government. 2. The fruitless Attempts which had been made to Redress those Grievances; where mention is made of the suspicious Birth of the pretended Prince of *Wales*. 3. A Protestation that the present Expedition was intended for no other Purpose than to have a free and lawful Parliament; to which the Prince would refer all the Grievances complained of; for the obtaining such a free Parliament his *Highness* declares, he had been most earnestly solicited to come into *England* by a great many Lords both *Spiritual* and *Temporal*, and by many Gentlemen, and other Subjects of all Ranks; and to encourage the *Protestant Dissenters* his *Highness* adds, that he would recommend to the Parliament the making such new Laws as might establish a good Agreement between the Church of *England* and all Protestant Non-Conformists, and in the mean Time would suffer all such as would live peaceably to enjoy all due Freedom in their Consciences.

The King's Preparations to resist him. Burnet, p. 784.

The King, who had relied too much on the Clergy's Professions of *unlimited Obedience*, being surprized at the Expression in the Prince's Declaration, that he was invited over by the *Lords Spiritual*, sent for the Bishops then in Town, and insisted not only upon their disowning the Fact, but upon their signing a Paper, expressing their *Abhorrence* of the intended Invasion;

vaſion; but they drew back, and excuſed themſelves only with a general Profeſſion of their Allegiance and Duty. The *Church Party* (ſays *Burnet*) *now ſhewed their Approbation of the Prince's Expedition in ſuch Terms that many were ſurprized at it both then, and ſince that Time*; they ſpoke openly in favour of it; they expreſſed their Grief to ſee the Wind ſo croſs, and wiſhed for a *Proteſtant Wind* that might bring the Prince over. His Majeſty therefore finding himſelf deceived in the *Church Party*, and that he had nothing to rely upon but his Army, uſed all imaginable Diligence to ſtrengthen it; In Obedience to the Orders already given, two thouſand five hundred Men [chiefly Papiſts] were landed at *Cheſter* from *Ireland*. Commiſſions were given out for raiſing ten new Regiments of Horſe and Foot. Three thouſand *Scots* were ordered from that Country. All the *Militia* were commanded to be in a Readineſs to march on the firſt Summons; and a Proclamation was iſſued out, requiring all Horſes and Cattel to be removed twenty Miles from thoſe Parts of the Sea Coaſt, where it was apprehended the *Prince* would land; but ſo great was the Peoples Diſaffection that they paid little Regard to his Majeſty's Orders.

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Soon after his *Highneſs* landed, the Body of the Nation diſcovered their Inclinations ſo evidently, that the King loſt both Head and Heart at once. The City of *London* was in Confuſion; Reports were ſpread that the *Iriſh* would cut the Throats of the Proteſtants all over the Nation in one and the ſame Night, which awakened the Peoples Fears, and put them all Night on their Guard. When this Fright was over, the Mob roſe and pulled down the *Popiſh Maſs Houſes*, and burnt the Materials in the Streets; Father *Petre*, with the Swarms of Prieſts and Jeſuits who had flocked about the Court, diſappeared, and retired into foreign Parts; and ſeveral of the King's arbitrary Miniſters, who had brought him under theſe Difficulties, left him and abſconded. *Jefferies* was taken in *Wapping* in a *Sailor's Habit*, and would have been torn in Pieces by the Mob if

Confuſion at Court and in the City.

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he had not been conducted by a ſtrong Guard to the *Tower*, where he died before he came to his Trial. So that the unhappy King being left in a Manner alone, went with a ſmall Retinue to his Army at *Salisbury*.

Progreſs of the Pr. of Orange.

The Prince of *Orange* having refreſhed his Forces, marched from *Torbay* to *Exeter*, where the Nobility and Gentry ſigned an *Aſſociation to ſupport and aſſiſt his Highneſs in purſuing the Ends of his Declaration, and that if any Attempt was made on his Perſon it ſhould be revenged on all by whom, or from whom it ſhould be made.* Great Numbers of common People came into the *Prince* at *Exeter*; and as ſoon as he marched forward towards *London* Prince *George* of *Denmark*, the Dukes of *Ormond*, *Grafton*, Lord *Wharton*, *Churchil*, and others of the firſt Character, deſerted the Army at *Salisbury*, and went over to the Prince, with a great many Proteſtant Officers and Soldiers; ſo that his Majeſty perceived, that even the Army, which was his laſt Refuge, was not to be relied upon; and to compleat his Unhappineſs, Princeſs ANNE, the King's younger Daughter, withdrew privately from Court with the Biſhop of *London*, who put on his Buff Coat and Sword, and commanded a little Army for her *Highneſs*'s Defence.

Heads of Coll. in Oxford *ſend to the Prince and ſign the Aſſociation.*

Burnet, p. 793, 798.

Dr. *Finch*, Son to the Earl of *Winchelſea*, and *Warden of All Souls College* in *Oxford*, was ſent to the Prince from ſome of the Heads of Colleges, to invite him to *Oxford*, and to aſſure him they were ready to declare for him, and that their Plate ſhould be at his Service, if he wanted it. The *Prince* intended to have accepted their Invitation, but all Things being in a Ferment at *London*, he was adviſed to make all the haſte thither that he could. So he ſent to *Oxford* to excuſe his not coming, and to offer them the ASSOCIATION, *which was ſigned by almoſt all the Heads, and the chief Men of the Univerſity; even by thoſe who being diſappointed in the Preferments they aſpired to, became afterwards his moſt implacable Enemies.* Archbiſhop *Sancroft* alſo ſent his Compliments to the Prince, and with ſeven or eight Biſhops more ſigned the *Aſſo-*

Eachard, p. 1138.

ciation,

ciation, having changed the Word *Revenge* into that of *Puniſhment*. This was a ſudden Turn (ſays the Biſhop) from thoſe Principles that they had carried ſo high but a few Years before. The *Diſſenters* went entirely into all the Prince's Meaſures, and were ready to ſign the *Aſſociation*: There were few or no *Jacobites* or *Non-Jurors* among them; and throughout the whole Courſe of King *William*'s Reign, they were among his moſt loyal and zealous Subjects. *King James II. 1688.*

In this critical Juncture the Queen and the young Prince of *Wales* were ſent over to *France*, *December* 9. and the King himſelf followed the latter End of the Month, having firſt cauſed the Writs for calling a new Parliament to be burnt, and the *Great Seal* to be thrown into the *Thames*. After his Majeſty's firſt Attempt to leave the Kingdom he was ſeized at *Feverſham*, and prevailed with to return back to *London*; but when the *Prince* reſolved to come to *Whitehall*, and ſent his Majeſty a Meſſage, that he thought it not conſiſtent with the Peace of the City and of the Kingdom, for both of them to be there together; his Majeſty retired a ſecond Time to *Rocheſter* with the Prince's Conſent, and after a Week's Stay in that Place went away privately in a Veſſel to *France*, leaving a Paper behind him, in which he declared, that tho' he was going to ſeek for foreign Aſſiſtance, he would not make uſe of it to overthrow the eſtabliſhed Religion or the Laws of his Country. — Thus ended the ſhort and unhappy Reign of King *James* II. and with him the *male Line* of the Royal Houſe of *Stuarts*, a Race of Kings which Providence raiſed up to be the Scourge of theſe Nations, for they were every one chargeable with Tyranny and Oppreſſion; They were Favourers of Popery, and Enemies of the Laws and Liberties of their Country. They enfeebled the Nation by Luxury and Licentiouſneſs of Manners, and ſunk a bold and brave People into Contempt among all the foreign Powers.

King leaves the Kingdom. Burnet, p. 795, 804.

End of the male Line of the Stuarts.

Nothing could have been more Fortunate and Happy for the Prince of *Orange* than the King's Flight from

Inter-Regnum. 1688.

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from *Rocheſter* to *France*, which gave a plauſible Handle for the Convention Parliament to paſs a Vote, that the King had *abdicated the Crown, and that the Throne was vacant*; tho' it would have look'd more like a *voluntary Deſertion*, if his Majeſty had gone off the firſt Time from *Feverſham*, and had not ſaid in the Paper he left behind him, that *he was going to ſeek for foreign Aſſiſtance*; but it is ſufficiently evident that he was frighted away by his *Prieſts*, who poſſeſſed him with the Belief that he was already a Priſoner; and by his *Queen*, who prevailed with him to conſult his own and his Family's Safety by leaving the Kingdom for the preſent; Thus a great and powerful MONARCH was in a few Weeks reduced to the contemptible Condition of a wandring Pilgrim.

Burnet, p. 797.

Addreſs of the Clergy to the Prince. Calamy, p. 387.

The Prince of *Orange* came to St. *James*'s, *December* 18. and on the 21ſt following the Biſhop of *London* with ſeveral of the *Clergy*, and ſome *Diſſenting Miniſters*, waited upon his Highneſs to congratulate him upon the happy Succeſs of his glorious Expedition; when his Lordſhip acquainted his *Highneſs* in the Name of the Clergy, that there were ſome of their *Diſſenting Brethren* preſent, who were herein entirely of the ſame Sentiments with themſelves. But on the 2d of *January* about ninety of the *Non-Conformiſt Miniſters* attended the Prince at St. *James*'s in a diſtinct Body, being introduced by the Earl of *Devonſhire*, and the Lords *Wharton* and *Wiltſhire*; when the Reverend Mr. *Howe*, in the Name of the reſt, aſſured his *Highneſs* "of their grateful Senſe of his ha-
"zardous and heroical Expedition, which the Favour
"of Heaven had made ſo ſurprizingly Proſperous.
"That they eſteemed it a common Felicity, that the
"worthy Patriots of the Nobility and Gentry of this
"Kingdom had unanimouſly concurred with his *High-*
"*neſs*'s Deſigns, by whoſe moſt prudent Advice the Ad-
"miniſtration of publick Affairs was devolved in this
"difficult Conjuncture into Hands which the Nation
"and the World knew to be apt for the greateſt Under-
"takings,

And of the Non-Conform. *Miniſters.* Howe's *Life*, p. 142.

" takings, and ſo ſuitable to the preſent Exigency of our Caſe. They promiſed the utmoſt Endeavours, in their ſeveral Stations, to promote the excellent and moſt deſirable Ends for which his *Highneſs* had declared. They added their continual fervent Prayers to the Almighty, for the Preſervation of his *Highneſs*'s *Perſon*, and the Succeſs of his future Endeavours for the Defence and Propagation of the Proteſtant Intereſt throughout the Chriſtian World; That they ſhould All moſt willingly have choſen *that Time* for the Seaſon of paying their Duty to his Highneſs, when the Lord Biſhop, and the Clergy of *London* attended his Highneſs for the ſame Purpoſe (which ſome of them did, and which his Lordſhip was pleaſed condeſcendingly to make mention of to his Highneſs) had their Notice of that intended Application been ſo early, as to make their more general Attendance poſſible at that Time. Therefore tho' they did now appear in a diſtinct Company, it was not on a diſtinct Account, but on that only which was common to them, and to all Proteſtants; and tho' there were ſome of their Brethren of eminent Note, whom Age or preſent Infirmities hinder'd from coming with them, yet they concurred in the ſame grateful Senſe of their common Deliverance." Inter-Regnum. 1688.

His Highneſs received them very favourably, and returned them the following Anſwer; *My great End was the Preſervation of the* PROTESTANT RELIGION, *and with the Almighty's Aſſiſtance and Permiſſion, ſo to defend and ſupport the ſame, as may give it Strength and Reputation throughout the World, ſufficient to preſerve it from the Inſults and Oppreſſion of its moſt implacable Enemies; and that, more immediately in theſe Kingdoms of* England, Scotland, *and* Ireland; *and I will uſe my utmoſt Endeavours ſo to ſettle and cement all different Perſuaſions of Proteſtants in ſuch a Bond of Love and Community as may contribute to the laſting Security and Enjoyments of* Spirituals *and* Temporals *to all ſincere Profeſſors of that holy Religion.* *His Highneſs's Anſwer.* Eachard.

In

Inter-Regnum. 1688.

Gazette, Nº 2414.

In order to ſettle the Government, the *Prince* publiſhed an Order, deſiring all Perſons who had ſerved as *Knights*, *Citizens*, or *Burgeſſes*, in any of the Parliaments in the Reign of King *Charles* II. to meet him at St. *James*'s on *Wedneſday* the 26th of *December*, at Ten in the Morning; and that the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen of the City of *London* would be preſent, and fifty of the Common Council. This *Aſſembly* deſired the Prince to take upon himſelf the Adminiſtration of the Government for the preſent; and a *Convention Parliament* was choſen with all Expedition, in which various Methods were propoſed of ſettling the Government; ſome were for compromiſing Matters with King *James*, and others for a *Regency*; but after long and warm Debates the Throne was declared *vacant*, *King* James *having abdicated the Government, and broken the Original Contract with his People.* When it was put to the Vote, whether to fill the Throne with a *King*, or to appoint a *Regent*, it was carried for the former but by *two* Voices, *fifty one* being for a King, and *forty nine* for a Regent, among which latter were twelve or thirteen Biſhops, two only (*viz.*) the Biſhops of *London* and *Briſtol*, being for a King; the Reaſon of which was their being unwilling to contradict the Doctrine they had been ſo long preaching (*viz.*) that the *Regal Power* was *Jure Divino*, and his Majeſty's Character indelible. Indeed they had invited the Prince of *Orange* to come to the Relief of their Religion, but the Storm being blown over they thought it not incumbent on them wholly to depart from their old Principles, by renouncing the *King*, and therefore they voted for a *Regency*; but the Queſtion being carried (ſays Biſhop *Burnet*) *Nature was ſo ſtrong in them that it was too hard for their Doctrine.* And a Declaration being drawn up for aſſerting and vindicating the antient Rights and Liberties of the Subjects, the Crown was offered to the PRINCE and PRINCESS OF ORANGE, who arrived from *Holland* the Day before; and BOTH having declared

The Throne declared vacant, and the Crown offered to the Pr. and Princeſs of Orange.

Burn. p. 809.

clared their Acceptance of it, were proclaimed KING and QUEEN of *England*, &c. *Feb.* 13. 1688-9. and crowned at *Weſtminſter*, *April* 11. following, with the joyful Acclamations of the whole Body of the Nation. *King William and Queen Mary.* 1688.

Thus a wonderful *Revolution* was brought about with little or no loſs of Blood; and it is ſurprizing to look back and reflect on the remarkable Appearances of Divine Providence in the Riſe and Progreſs of this Affair; how the Court of *England* and the *Roman Catholick* Powers were all infatuated or aſleep, while the Deſign was forming; and when it was carrying into Execution, how the Winds were remarkably ſubſervient, and the Hearts of the People very much united till it was brought to Maturity: But it will amaze all Poſterity to read the inconſiſtent and diſhonourable Part which the *High Church Clergy and their Friends* acted on this Occaſion; for after they had preached the King into a Belief of their *unlimitted Loyalty*, and aſſured him in numberleſs Addreſſes, that *their* Lives and Fortunes were *abſolutely* at his Service; and after the Univerſity of *Oxford*, by a ſolemn Decree, had declared all *Manner of Reſiſtance damnable and infamous to the Chriſtian Religion*, they were among the firſt who *reſiſted him*; and by opening A RESERVE which lay hid under all their Profeſſions of *Duty* and *Allegiance*, let him fall into that Pit out of which he could never eſcape. As ſoon as the King invaded the Properties of the Univerſities, and threaten'd to take down the Fences of Preferments in the Church, They invited the Prince of *Orange* to come with an armed Force to their Reſcue; They ſigned an *Aſſociation* to ſupport and aſſiſt him; They offered him their *Plate*, and declared for him in a Body, even while their Sovereign was on the Throne; and yet after all this they would have retracted, and made up Matters again with King *James*; They oppoſed the Motion in the Convention Parliament for *declaring the Throne vacant*; and when the Government came to be ſettled upon King WILLIAM and Queen MARY, great Numbers of them would *Remarks.*

not

King William and Queen Mary. 1688.

not ſubmit to it, and thoſe who did acted a treacherous and diſhonourable Part to their GREAT DELIVERER as long as he lived. What Inconſiſtencies are theſe! Or, what Oaths and Declarations can hold Men who can burſt ſuch Bands, and cut ſuch ſacred Cords aſunder! The like muſt be ſaid with regard to their Vows and Promiſes to the *Non-Conformiſts*, all which were forgot or broken as ſoon as the Church was out of Danger. The Diſſenters acted a more conſiſtent Part, for not being intangled with the ſame Fetters as others were, they went heartily into the *Revolution*, and were among King *William*'s beſt and moſt hearty Friends in the Worſt of Times.

No ſooner was King WILLIAM and Queen MARY ſettled on the Throne, but the Diſſenting Miniſters in and about the City of *London* waited on their Majeſties with an *Addreſs* of *Congratulation*, when Dr. *Bates* at their Head made the two following Speeches.

To the KING.

May it pleaſe your Majeſty,

Addreſs of the Diſſenting Miniſters to K. William.

"THE Series of ſucceſsful Events that has attended your Glorious Enterprize for the Saving theſe Kingdoms from ſo imminent and deſtructive Evils has been ſo eminent and extraordinary, that it may force an Acknowledgment of the Divine Providence from thoſe who deny it, and cauſe Admiration in all who believe and reverence it. The Beauty and Speed of this happy Work are the bright Signatures of his Hand, who creates Deliverance for his People: The leſs of human Power the more of Divine Wiſdom and Goodneſs has been conſpicuous in it. If the Deliverance had been obtained by fierce and bloody Battles, Victory it ſelf had been dejected and ſad, and our Joy had been mixed with afflicting Bitterneſs; but as the Sun aſcending the Horizon diſpels without Noiſe the Darkneſs of the Night, ſo your ſerene Preſence has, without Tumults

" and Diſorders, chaſed away the Darkneſs that invaded us. In the Senſe of this aſtoniſhing Deliverance we deſire with all poſſible Ardency of Affection to magnify the glorious Name of God, the Author of it, by whoſe entire Efficacy, the Means have been ſucceſsful; and we cannot without a warm Rapture of Thankfulneſs recount our Obligations to your Majeſty, the happy Inſtrument of it. Your illuſtrious Greatneſs of Mind, in an Undertaking of ſuch vaſt Expence, your heroick Zeal in expoſing your moſt precious Life in ſuch an adventurous Expedition, your wiſe Conduct, and unſhaken Reſolution in proſecuting your great Ends, are above the loftieſt Flights of Language, exceed all Praiſe. We owe to your Majeſty the two greateſt and moſt valuable Bleſſings that we can enjoy, *The Preſervation of the true Religion*, our moſt ſacred Treaſure; and *the Recovery of the falling State, and the eſtabliſhing it upon juſt Foundations*. According to our Duty, we promiſe unfeigned Fidelity, and true Allegiance to your Majeſty's Perſon and Government. We are encouraged by your gracious Promiſe upon our firſt Addreſs, humbly to deſire and hope, that your Majeſty will be pleaſed, by your Wiſdom and Authority, to eſtabliſh a firm Union of your Proteſtant Subjects in Matters of Religion, by making the Rule of Chriſtianity to be the Rule of Conformity. Our bleſſed Union in the Purity and Peace of the Goſpel will make this Church a fair and lovely Type of Heaven, and terrible to our Antichriſtian Enemies: This will make *England* the ſteady Centre from whence a powerful Influence will be derived for the Support of Reformed Chriſtianity abroad. This will bring immortal Honour to your Name, above the Trophies and Triumphs of the moſt renowned Conquerors. We do aſſure your Majeſty, that we ſhall cordially embrace the Terms of Union which the ruling Wiſdom of our Saviour has preſcribed in his Word. We ſhall not treſpaſs further

King William and Queen Mary, 1688.

" on

King William and Queen Mary. 1688.

" on your Royal Patience, but ſhall offer up our fer-
" vent Prayers to the King of Kings, that he will
" pleaſe to direct your Majeſty by his unerring
" Wiſdom, and always encline your Heart to his
" Glory, and encompaſs your ſacred Perſon with
" his Favour as with a Shield, and make your Go-
" vernment an univerſal Bleſſing to theſe King-
" doms."

To which his Majeſty was graciouſly pleaſed to make the following Anſwer.

King's Anſwer.

" *I TAKE kindly your good Wiſhes, and whatever*
" *is in my Power ſhall be employed for obtaining*
" *ſuch an Union among you. I do aſſure you of my*
" *Protection and Kindneſs.*"

To the QUEEN.

May it pleaſe your Majeſty,

Their Addreſs to the Queen.

" YOUR happy Arrival into your native Coun-
" try, and Acceſſion to the Crown, has diffuſed
" an univerſal Joy through this Kingdom. 'Tis an
" auſpicious Sign of publick Felicity, when ſupream
" Virtue, and ſupream Dignity, meet in the ſame
" Perſon. Your inviolable Firmneſs in the Profeſſi-
" on of the Truth, and exemplary Piety, are the
" moſt radiant Jewels in your Crown. The Luſtre
" of your Converſation, unſtained in the Midſt of
" tempting Vanities, and adorned with every Grace,
" recommends Religion as the moſt honourable and
" amiable Quality, even to thoſe who are averſe from
" hearing Sermons, and apt to deſpiſe ſerious Inſtru-
" ctions and Excitations to be Religious. We hum-
" bly deſire, that your Majeſty would be pleaſed by
" your Wiſdom and Goodneſs, to compoſe the Diffe-
" rences between your Proteſtant Subjects in Things
" of leſs Moment concerning Religion. We hope
" thoſe Reverend Perſons who conſpire with us in the
" main

" main End, the Glory of God and the Publick
" Good, will conſent to the Terms of Union wherein
" all the Reformed Churches agree. We ſhall ſin-
" cerely addreſs our Requeſts to God, that he will
" pleaſe to pour down in a rich Abundance his Bleſ-
" ſings upon your Majeſty's Perſon and Government,
" and preſerve you to his heavenly Kingdom."

King William *and Queen* Mary. 1688.

Her Majeſty was graciouſly pleaſed to anſwer,

" *I WILL uſe all Endeavours for the obtaining*
" *an Union that is neceſſary for the Edifying of the*
" *Church. I deſire your Prayers.*"

Her Majeſty's Anſwer.

Tho' the Joy that accompanied the *Revolution* had a conſiderable Influence on the Choice of Parliament-Men, yet there being no *Court* to make Intereſt among the People, it appeared that the late King *James* had a conſiderable Party in both Houſes ſufficient to perplex the new Government, who firſt propoſed the Choice of a *new Parliament*, in order to throw the Nation into a new Ferment; but this being over-ruled, a Bill was brought in, and paſſed *Jan.* 23. to turn the preſent *Convention* into a *Parliament*, it being wiſely concluded, that thoſe who had ſet the King on the Throne would be moſt zealous to maintain him there; but when the Houſe was called over, and the Members required to take the Oaths, eight Biſhops abſented themſelves (*viz.*) Dr. *Sancroft* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, *Turner* of *Ely*, *Lake* of *Chicheſter*, *Kenn* of *Bath* and *Wells*, *White* of *Peterborough*, *Thomas* of *Worceſter*, *Lloyde* of *Norwich*, and *Frampton* of *Glouceſter*; but that they might recommend themſelves by a Shew of Moderation, before they withdrew they moved the Houſe of Lords for a Bill of *Toleration*, and another of *Comprehenſion*, which were drawn up accordingly by the Earl of *Nottingham*, and were much the ſame with thoſe prepared for the Houſe of *Commons* in King *Charles* the Second's

Some Biſhops refuſed the Oath. Burnet, Vol. II. p. 6, 8.

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Time, during the Debates about the Bill of Exclusion.

Burnet, Vol. II. p. 6, 11.

The *Clergy* in general took the Oaths, but it became viſible that many among them took them only as Oaths of Submiſſion to *Uſurpers* during their *Uſurpation*, with this *Reſerve*, that it was ſtill lawful to aſſiſt King *James* if he ſhould come to recover the Crown, and that he was ſtill their King *de Jure*, tho' the Prince of *Orange* was King *de Facto*, contrary to the plain Meaning of the Words; but the Clergy broke thro' all theſe Fetters (ſays the Biſhop) to the Reproach of their Profeſſion: And the Prevarication of ſo many in ſo ſacred a Matter contributed not a little to the Atheiſm of the Age; but they had embarked ſo far in their Doctrines of *abſolute Submiſſion, and the Divine Right of Monarchy*, that they knew not how to diſengage themſelves with Honour or Conſcience. Many ſuffered the Time limited for taking the Oaths to lapſe, and yet officiated afterwards contrary to Law. They threaten'd the Church with a new Separation, which frighten'd the moderate Clergy, and put a Stop to all Amendments of the Liturgy for the Eaſe of Diſſenters, leſt the *Non-Jurors* ſhould gain over great Numbers of the Laity by pretending to abide by the old Liturgy, in Oppoſition to a new invented Model. Thus the Non-Conformiſts were ſold to the *Jacobites* by the Timorouſneſs of their Friends; for the *High Church Party* diſcovered an irreconcilable Enmity to an Accommodation, and ſeemed only to wiſh for an Occaſion to renew old Severities. Thoſe who had moved for a Comprehenſion, and brought the Bill into the Houſe of Lords, acted a very diſingenuous Part (ſays *Burnet*) for while they ſtudied to recommend themſelves, by ſeeming to countenance the Bill, they ſet on their *Friends* to oppoſe it, while the Favourers of it were repreſented as Enemies to the Church.

When the King came to the Houſe, *March* 1 he made the following Speech.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

King William and Queen Mary. 1689.

"NOW I have Occaſion of coming hither to "paſs theſe Bills, I ſhall put you in mind of "one Thing which will conduce much to our Settle- "ment, as a Settlement will to the Diſappointment of "our Enemies. I am, with all the Expedition I can, "filling up the Vacancies that are in the Offices and "Places of Truſt by this late Revolution. I hope "you are ſenſible there is a Neceſſity of ſome Law to "ſettle the Oaths to be taken by all Perſons to be "admitted to ſuch Places. I recommend it to your "Care, to make a ſpeedy Proviſion for it; and as I "doubt not but you will ſufficiently provide againſt "Papiſts, *ſo I hope you will leave room for the Ad-* "*miſſion of all Proteſtants that are willing and able to* "*ſerve.* This Conjunction in my Service will tend "to the better uniting you among your ſelves, and "the ſtrengthening you againſt your common Ene- "mies." It appears by this that King *William* was for taking off the *Teſt*, and abrogating the Penal Laws, as far as relates to Diſſenting Proteſtants, but it came to nothing.

His Majeſty recommends qualifying all his Prot. Subjects for ſerving the Government. Gazette, N° 2436.

When a Bill was brought into the Houſe of Lords for abrogating the Oaths of *Allegiance and Supremacy*, and appointing other Oaths in their ſtead, a Committee was appointed to inſert a Clauſe *to take away the Neceſſity of receiving the Sacrament in order to make a Man capable of enjoying any Office, Employment, or Place of Truſt*; but when it was reported to the Houſe it was rejected by a conſiderable Majority, the Earls of *Stamford* and *Cheſterfield*, the Lords *Lovelace*, *Delamere*, *North* and *Grey*, *Wharton* and *Vaughan*, entering their Proteſts.

Bill for changing the Oath.

After this another Clauſe was offered, by which it was provided, that ſuch ſhould be ſufficiently qualified for any Office, *who within a Year before, or after their Admiſſion, did receive the Sacrament either according to the Uſage of the Church of* England, *or in any other Proteſtant Congregation, and could produce a*

King William and Queen Mary. 1689.

Certificate under the Hands of the Miniſter, and two other credible Perſons Members of ſuch a Congregation. The Queſtion being put, whether this Clauſe ſhould be a Part of the Bill, it paſs'd in the Negative; the Lords *Oxford*, *Lovelace*, *Wharton*, *Mordaunt*, *Montague*, and *Paget*, entering their Proteſts.

It was propoſed further, in a Committee of the Houſe of Lords, to take off the Neceſſity of *Kneeling at the Sacrament*, but when the Queſtion was put, Whether to agree with the Committee in leaving out the Clauſe, the Votes were equal, and ſo according to the Uſage of the Houſe it paſs'd in the Negative. The like Fate attended the Motion about the *Croſs in Baptiſm*, and explaining the Words *Aſſent* and *Conſent* in Subſcription. Thus the ſeveral Attempts for Alterations in the Church Service, at a Time when the Legiſlature was in temper for accommodating leſſer Differences, were fruſtrated by a riſing Party of *Jacobites* and *Tories*, who threaten'd the new Government with a Revolt unleſs they were humour'd, and for fear of them all the Promiſes of Accommodation with the Diſſenters were renounced and given up.

Burnet, p. 11.

Act of Toleration brought into the Houſe and paſſed.

Soon after a Bill for *Toleration of Proteſtant Diſſenters* was brought into the Houſe, and had an eaſy Paſſage; tho' ſome propoſed, that the Act ſhould only be temporary, as a neceſſary Reſtraint, that the Diſſenters might demean themſelves ſo, as to merit the Continuance of it when the Term of Years now offered ſhould end; but this was rejected. Biſhop *Burnet* ſays, That his Zeal for this Act loſt him his Credit with the *Church Party*, by which it appears they did not much like it. It is entitled, *An Act for exempting their Majeſty's Proteſtant Subjects diſſenting from the Church of* England, *from the Penalties of certain Laws*. But the *Corporation* and *Teſt Acts* are omitted, and *Socinians* are excepted, but Proviſion is made for *Quakers*, upon their making a *ſolemn Declaration*, inſtead of taking the Oaths to the Government. The Act excuſes all *Proteſtant Diſſenters* from the Pena-

ti

ties of the Laws therein mentioned, for not coming to Church, provided they take the Oaths to the Government, and *ſubſcribe the Doctrinal Articles of the Church of* England, *&c.* But this being the Baſis of their preſent Liberty, I have inſerted the Act at length in the *Appendix*, NUMB. I. *King* William *and Queen* Mary. 1689. Append. Nº I.

While the Bill for a *Toleration* was depending a Motion was made in the Houſe of Lords for a *Comprehenſion*, which was received, and ſome Progreſs made in it; but a *Proviſo* being offered, and preſſed with great Earneſtneſs by ſome temporal Lords, that in Imitation of the Acts paſs'd in the Reigns of King *Henry* VIII. and *Edward* VI. a Number of Perſons *both of the Clergy and Laity* might be empowered to prepare Materials for ſuch a Reformation of Things relating to the Church as might be fit to offer to the King and Parliament, it was warmly debated, and at length rejected by a ſmall Majority. Biſhop *Burnet* was againſt the *Proviſo*, for fear of offending the Clergy, who would look upon it as taking the Reformation out of their Hands; but adds, "I was convin-"ced ſoon after that I had taken wrong Meaſures, "and that the Method propoſed by the Lords was the "only one like to prove effectual." Dr. *Tillotſon* being of the ſame Mind with *Burnet*, adviſed the King to refer the Affair to a *Synod of Divines*, whoſe Determinations he apprehended would ſtop the Mouths of Papiſts, who reproached our Reformation as built chiefly on a Parliamentary Authority, and would be better received by the Body of the Clergy. *Bill for a Comprehenſion.* Burnet, p. 10.

Accordingly it was agreed in Council, that a ſelect Number of *learned Divines* ſhould be appointed by the *Royal Mandate*, to meet and conſult about the moſt proper Methods of healing the Wounds of the Church; that their Determinations ſhould be laid before the Convocation, and from thence receive the Sanction of Parliament. Agreeably to this Reſolution the King iſſued out a Commiſſion to thirty Divines, of which ten were Biſhops, whoſe Names were, *An Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion to prepare Matters for it.*

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Dr. *Lamplugh*, Abp. *York*,
Compton, Bp. *London*,
Mew, Bp. *Wincheſter*,
Lloyde, Bp. *St. Aſaph*,
Sprat, Bp. *Rocheſter*,
Smith, Bp. *Carliſle*,
Sir *Jonath. Trelawny*, Bp. *Exeter*,
Dr. *Burnet*, Bp. *Sarum*,
Humphreys, Bp. *Bangor*,
Stratford, Bp. *Cheſter*.

To theſe were added the following Divines,

Dr. *Stillingfleet*,
Tillotſon,
Sharp,
Aldridge,
Hall,
Montague,
Beveridge,
Alſton,
Scot,
Grove,
Dr. *Patrick*,
Meggot,
Kidder,
Jane,
Beaumont,
Goodman,
Battely,
Tenniſon,
Fowler,
Williams.

Their *Commiſſion* was as follows;

Their Powers. "Whereas the particular Forms of Divine Worſhip, and the Rites and Ceremonies appointed to be uſed therein, being Things in their own Nature indifferent and alterable, and ſo acknowledged, it is but reaſonable that upon weighty and important Conſiderations, according to the various Exigencies of Times and Occaſions, ſuch Changes and Alterations ſhould be made therein, as to thoſe that are in Place and Authority ſhould from Time to Time ſeem either neceſſary or expedient."

"And whereas the *Book of Canons* is fit to be reviewed, and made more ſuitable to the State of the Church; and whereas there are Defects and Abuſes in *the Eccleſiaſtical Courts and Juriſdictions*; and particularly, there is not ſufficient Proviſion made for the Removing of ſcandalous Miniſters, and for the Reforming of Manners, either in Miniſters or People.

" People. And whereas it is moſt fit that there " ſhould be a ſtrict Method preſcribed for the Exami- " nation of ſuch Perſons as deſire to be admitted into " Holy Orders, both as to their Learning and Man- " ners." *King* William *and Queen* Mary. 1689.

" We therefore, out of our pious and princely Care " for the good Order, Edification, and Unity of the " Church of *England* committed to our Charge and Care, " and for the reconciling as much as is poſſible of all " Differences among our good Subjects, and to take " away all Occaſion of the like for the future, have " thought fit to authorize you, *&c.* or any nine of " you, whereof three to be Biſhops, to meet from " Time to Time as often as ſhall be needful, and to " *prepare ſuch Alterations of the Liturgy and Canons,* " *and ſuch Propoſals for the Reformation of the Eccle-* " *ſiaſtical Courts*; and to conſider of ſuch other Mat- " ters as in your Judgments may moſt conduce to the " Ends above-mentioned."

The Legality of them.

The *Committee* being met in the *Jeruſalem Chamber*, a Diſpute aroſe about the Legality of their Commiſſion; *Sprat* Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, one of King *James*'s Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſioners being one of the Number, they pretended to fear a *Præmunire*, tho' there was not ſo much as a Shadow for ſuch a Pretence, the *King's Supremacy*, if it means any Thing, empowering him to appoint proper Perſons not to make Laws, but to prepare Matters for the Legiſlature. However, upon this, *Mew* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, *Sprat* of *Rocheſter*, with Dr. *Jane* and Dr. *Aldridge*, withdrew. Some of them ſaid plainly, they were againſt all Alterations whatſoever; they thought too much would be done for the *Diſſenters*, in granting them an Act of Toleration, but they would do nothing to make Conformity ſtill eaſier. They ſaid further, that altering the Cuſtoms and Conſtitutions of the Church to gratify a peeviſh and obſtinate Party, was like to have no other Effect but to make them more inſolent. But was it ever tried? Did the Convocation or Parliament make a ſingle Abate-

Reaſons againſt Alterations. Burnet, Vol. II. p. 31.

King William *and Queen* Mary. 1689.

ment from the Year 1662. to this Time? If the Experiment had been tried, and proved ineffectual, the Blame might have been caſt upon the *Diſſenters*; but to call them *Peeviſh* and *Obſtinate* without offering them any, even the ſmalleſt Alterations, deſerves no better a Name than the higheſt Abuſe of Language. Was there no Obſtinacy and Peeviſhneſs on the Side of the Church, in retreating from ſo many Promiſes without a ſingle Offer? — But it was ſaid further, that the Church by offering theſe Alterations ſeemed to confeſs that ſhe had hitherto been in the Wrong, and that the Attempt would divide them among themſelves, and make People loſe their Eſteem for the Liturgy, if it appeared that it wanted Correction. Such were the Reaſonings of theſe *high Divines*, if they deſerve the Name, ſome of whom but a few Months before pretended to come to a Temper with their Brethren.

And for them.

But it was anſwered on the other Side, That if a few Corrections or Explanations would give all juſt Satisfaction to the *Diſſenters*, there was reaſon to hope it would bring over many of the People, if not the *Teachers themſelves*; at leaſt if the Prejudices of the preſent *Diſſenters* were too ſtrong, it would have a good Effect on the next Generation; nor could it be any Reproach to the Church, ſince the Offers were made only in regard to their Weakneſs. *Ritual Matters* were of an indifferent Nature, and became neceſſary only from the Authority of the Church and State, therefore it was an unreaſonable Stiffneſs to deny any Abatements in ſuch Matters, in order to heal the Wounds of the Church. Great Changes had been made by the Church of *Rome* in her *Rituals*; and among our ſelves ſince the Reformation, in the Reigns of King *Edward* VI. Queen *Elizabeth*, King *James*, and King *Charles* II. and it ſeemed neceſſary at this Time to make the Terms of Communion with the Church as large as might be, that ſo the greater Number might be brought into it, ſince by the *Act of Toleration* they might diſſent with Safety.

But

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But while Men were debating theſe Matters, the *Jacobite Party* took hold of this Occaſion to enflame Mens Minds againſt the Government. It was ſaid the Church was to be pulled down and Preſbytery ſet up: The Univerſities took Fire and declared againſt Alterations, and againſt all that promoted them, as Men who intended to undermine the Church. Severe Reflections were caſt on the King himſelf, as not being in the Intereſt of the Church, for the Cry of the Church's Danger was raiſed by all the Enemies of the Government, as that under which they thought they might ſafely ſhelter all their ill Deſigns. Great Intereſt was made every where in the Choice of Convocation Men, to whom the Determinations of the Committee was to be referr'd, ſo that it was quickly viſible that the laudable Deſigns of the King and the *Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſioners* would have no Effect.

Their Proceedings. Burnet, p. 31.

However the Committee continued their Work till they had finiſhed it; they had before them all the Exceptions that either the *Puritans* before the War, or the *Non-Conformiſts* ſince the Reſtoration, had made to the Church Service. They had alſo many Propoſitions and Advices that had been offered at ſeveral Times by many of our Biſhops and Divines upon thoſe Heads; Matters were well conſidered, and freely and calmly debated, and all was digeſted into an entire Correction of every Thing that ſeemed liable to any juſt Exception. Dr. *Nichols* ſays, they began with reviewing the Liturgy, and firſt in examining the Calendar; they ordered in the Room of the *Apocryphal* Leſſons certain Chapters of *Canonical Scripture* to be read, that were more to the People's Advantage; *Athanaſius*'s *Creed* being diſliked by reaſon of the damnatory Clauſes it was left to the Miniſter's Choice to uſe it, or change it for the *Apoſtles Creed*. New Collects were drawn up more agreeable to the Epiſtles and Goſpels for the whole Courſe of the Year, with that Elegance and Brightneſs of Expreſſion (ſays the Doctor) and ſuch a Flame of Devotion, that nothing could more

Appara-tus, p. 95, 96.

King William and Queen Mary. 1689.

more affect and excite the Hearts of the Hearers, and raiſe up their Minds towards God; they were firſt drawn up by Dr. *Patrick*; Dr. *Burnet* added to them farther Force and Spirit; Dr. *Stillingfleet* afterwards examined them with great Judgment, carefully weighing every Word in them; and Dr. *Tillotſon* had the laſt Hand, giving them ſome free and maſterly Strokes of his ſweet and flowing Eloquence; Dr. *Kidder* made a *new Verſion of the Pſalms*, more agreeable to the Original. Dr. *Tenniſon* made a Collection of the Words and Expreſſions throughout the Liturgy which had been excepted againſt, and propoſed others in their Room that were clear and plain, and leſs liable to Exception —— Singing in Cathedrals was to be laid aſide —— The *Apocryphal Leſſons* were to be omitted, together with the *Legendary Saints Days* —— The *Croſs* in *Baptiſm* to be left to the Choice of the Parent —— And *Kneeling* at the *Sacrament* to be indifferent —— The Intention of *Lent Faſts* was declared to conſiſt only in extraordinary Acts of Devotion, not in diſtinction of Meats —— The Word *Prieſt* was to be changed for *Miniſter* —— The Uſe of the *Surplice* is left to the Diſcretion of the Biſhop, who may diſpenſe with it, or appoint another to read the Service—*God-Fathers and God-Mothers* in Baptiſm may be omitted if deſired, and Children preſented in their Parents Names —— *Re-Ordination* of thoſe who had been ordained by Preſbyters was to be only conditional —— But theſe, with ſome other uſeful Alterations in the Litany, Communion Service, and Canons, will not be known till the Papers themſelves are made publick. However the Conceſſions and Amendments made in them would in all Probability have brought in three Parts in four of the *Diſſenters*.

The particular Amendments.

Calamy's Abridg. Vol. I. p. 453.

Proceedings of the Convocation.

While theſe Things were debating in Parliament and among the Commiſſioners, an Addreſs was preſented, *April* 19. praying, that according to the ancient Cuſtom and Uſage of the Kingdom in Time of Parliament, his Majeſty would iſſue out his Writ for calling

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a *Convocation of the Clergy* to be adviſed with in Eccleſiaſtical Matters, aſſuring his Majeſty, that it was their Intention forthwith to proceed to the Conſideration of *giving Eaſe to Proteſtant Diſſenters*; But when they met it quickly appeared, that the *High Church Party* were ſuperior to the *Moderate*, by their chooſing Dr. *Jane*, who drew up the *Oxford Decree*, Prolocutor, before Dr. *Tillotſon*. His Majeſty ſent a Letter or Meſſage by the Earl of *Nottingham*, aſſuring them of his conſtant Favour and Protection, and that he had ſummoned them together not only becauſe it was uſual upon holding Parliaments, but out of a pious Zeal to do every Thing that might tend to the beſt Eſtabliſhment of the Church of *England*, he therefore deſired them to conſider of ſuch Things as by his Order ſhould be laid before them, with a due and impartial Zeal for the Peace and Good of the Church. But there was no room for it, for the Lower Houſe of Convocation quickly came to a Reſolution, *not to enter into any Debates with relation to Alterations*; and it was not without Difficulty carried to make a decent Addreſs to the King, thanking him for his Promiſe of *Protection*. And becauſe in the Addreſs which the Biſhops ſent down, they acknowledged the Protection which the *Proteſtant Religion* in general, and the Church of *England* in particular had received from his Majeſty, they would not agree to it, becauſe it imported their owning ſome common Union with the foreign Churches. They would thank his Majeſty for his Care to eſtabliſh the Church of *England*, whereby the Intereſt of the *Proteſtant Churches* abroad would be better ſecured, but would not inſert the Words, *This and all other Proteſtant Churches*, as the Biſhops had deſired.

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Their Diſaffection.

The Biſhop of *London*, in his Anſwer to the *Prolocutor*'s Speech, told them, That they ought to endeavour a Temper in Things not eſſential to Religion; and that it was their Duty to ſhew the ſame Indulgence and Charity to the *Diſſenters* under King *William*, which

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which ſome of the Biſhops and Clergy had promiſed in their Addreſſes to King *James*. *But all theſe Promiſes* (ſays Biſhop *Burnet*) *were entirely forgot*. It was in vain therefore to refer the Amendments of the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſioners to a Number of Men, who had reſolved to *admit of no Alterations*; and 'tis thought that if the *Act of Toleration* had been left to their Deciſion, it would have miſcarried. The King obſerving Matters run thus high, broke up the Seſſions; and ſeeing they were in no Diſpoſition to do good, they were kept from doing Miſchief by Prorogations for a Courſe of ten Years.

Remarks. This was the laſt fruitleſs Attempt for a *Comprehenſion of Diſſenters within the Eſtabliſhment*; and ſuch was the ungrateful Return that theſe angry Churchmen made to thoſe who had helped them in Diſtreſs! For it ought to ſtand upon Record, that the *Church of England* had been twice reſcued from the moſt imminent Danger by Men of thoſe very Principles for whoſe Satisfaction they would not move a Pin nor abate a Ceremony; firſt in the Year 1660. when the *Presbyterians* reſtored the King and Conſtitution without making any Terms for themſelves; and now again at the *Revolution of King* William, when the *Church* fled for Succour to a *Presbyterian Prince*, and was delivered by an Army of fourteen thouſand *Hollanders* of the very ſame Principles with the *Engliſh* Diſſenters; but how uncivilly thoſe Troops were uſed afterwards, when they had done their Work, is too ungrateful a Piece of Hiſtory to remember.

On the Account of Aboliſhing Epiſcopacy in Scotland. Burnet, Vol. II. p. 23.

But beſides the ſtrong Diſpoſition of the *High Church Clergy* and their Friends to return to their Allegiance to King *James*, there was another Incident that ſharpened their Reſentments againſt the *King* and the *Diſſenters*, which was his Majeſty's conſenting to the aboliſhing Epiſcopacy in *Scotland*, which he could not prevent without putting all his Affairs into the utmoſt Confuſion; the Biaſs of the People was ſtrong for *Presbytery*, and the more, becauſe the Epiſcopal Party went almoſt univerſally

verſally into King *James*'s Intereſts, ſo that the *Preſbyterians* were the only Friends the King had in that Kingdom. There was a *Convention* called in *Scotland* like that in *England*, who on the 11th of *April*, the Day on which King *William* and Queen *Mary* were crowned in *England*, paſſed Judgment of Forfeiture on King *James*, and voted the Crown of *Scotland* to King *William* and Queen *Mary*. They drew up a Claim of Rights, by one Article of which it was declared, that *the Reformation in* Scotland *having been begun by a Parity among the Clergy*; *Prelacy in the Church was a great and inſupportable Grievance to the Kingdom.* The Biſhops, and thoſe who adhered to them, having left the *Convention* becauſe not ſummoned by Writ from King *James*; the Preſbyterians had a Majority of Votes to carry every Thing as they pleaſed; upon which the Aboliſhing Epiſcopacy in *Scotland* was made a neceſſary Article of the new Settlement. The Epiſcopal Party ſent the Dean of *Glaſgow* to King *William*, to know his Intentions concerning them, who anſwered he would do all he could to preſerve them conſiſtent with *a full Toleration to the Presbyterians*, provided they concurred in the new Eſtabliſhment; but if they oppoſed it he ſhould not enter into a War for their ſakes. The Biſhops, inſtead of ſubmitting to the *Revolution*, reſolved unanimouſly to adhere firmly to King *James*, and declared in a Body with ſo much Zeal againſt the new Settlement, that it was not poſſible for the King to preſerve them. The Clergy ſent for King *James* into *Scotland*, and the Earl of *Dundee* got together ſome thouſands of Highlanders to make a Stand, but General *Mackay*, who was ſent with a Body of Forces to diſperſe them, routed them at a Place called *Gillicranky*, and killed the Earl of *Dundee* upon the Spot. So that *Epiſcopacy* in *Scotland* fell a Sacrifice to the Intereſt of King *James*.

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Which was owing to the Jacobitiſm of the Scots Bps. and Clergy.

But tho' it was impoſſible to ſtop the Torrent of the *Scots* Peoples Zeal for Preſbytery; and tho' the King had

Creates Diſaffection to the Government.

King William and Queen Mary. 1689.

Burnet, p. 29.

had none but Preſbyterians on his Side in that Kingdom, yet the Suffering it to take Place, raiſed the Diſaffection of the *Engliſh* Clergy. Reports of the King's Diſaffection to the *Hierarchy of the Church* were ſpread with great Induſtry over the Nation; the leading Men of both Univerſities were poſſeſſed with it (ſays *Burnet*) tho' the King had joined in Communion with the Church, and took the Sacrament according to Law; but it was given out, that Men zealous for the Church were neglected, and that thoſe who were indifferent to the Ceremonies were promoted. His Majeſty promiſed the *Scots* Clergy to moderate Matters in their Favour, and Lord *Melvil*, Secretary of State, engaged very ſolemnly for the ſame Thing; but when the *Presbyterians* threaten'd to deſert the Court if they were deſerted by them, *Melvil* thought it was the King's Intereſt to ſecure them to his Intereſt, which could not be done but by abandoning the Miniſters of the *Epiſcopal Perſuaſion*. Such therefore as refuſed to read the Proclamation of King *William* and Queen *Mary* by the prefixed Day were deprived of their Livings; which being publiſhed up and down *England*, and much aggravated, raiſed the Averſion of the Friends of the Church againſt the Preſbyterians ſo high (ſays Biſhop *Burnet*) that they began to repent their having granted a *Toleration* to a Party, who where they prevailed, ſhewed ſo much Fury againſt thoſe of the *Epiſcopal Perſuaſion*. But it ought to be remember'd that this was a *Government Caſe*, that the Fate of the *Revolution* in that Kingdom depended upon it; and that the Biſhops and Epiſcopal Clergy, almoſt to a Man, were determined *Jacobites*, and refuſed to take the Oaths to King WILLIAM and Queen MARY. Beſides, what Reaſon had the *Scots* Preſbyterians to truſt the Epiſcopal Clergy, when it was in their Power to do themſelves Juſtice? Had they not deceived them out of their Diſcipline in 1662. and perſecuted them

And to the Engliſh Diſſenters.

them cruelly ever ſince? Let the Reader peruſe the dreadful Sufferings of the *Kirk* in the Reign of King *Charles* the Second, and judge how far they had Reaſon to put them again into the Saddle, and give the Reins into their Hands.

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But the Diſaffection of the *High Church Clergy* roſe ſtill higher, even to the King himſelf, who was made uneaſy by a Set of Men who were as Thorns in his Sides, and clog'd the Wheels of his Government to his Death; inſomuch that his Majeſty ſometimes declared with more than ordinary Vehemence that he would not ſtay in *England* and hold an empty Name; that it was not eaſy to determine which was beſt, a *Commonwealth or Kingly Government*; but he was ſure the worſt of all Governments was, a *King without a Treaſure, and without Power*. He once reſolved to return to *Holland* and leave the Government in the Queen's Hands, imagining they would uſe her better; and he communicated his Deſign to the Marquis of *Carmarthen*, the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, and ſome more, who beſought him with Tears to change his Reſolution, and at laſt prevailed: But had his Majeſty declared this from the Throne the Nation was in a Temper to have done Juſtice to the *Incendiaries*; for notwithſtanding their Clamours they knew themſelves to be in deſperate Circumſtances if the King ſhould leave them, as having renounced their Allegiance to King *James*, and gone ſuch Lengths as he could never forgive. But King *William* being a generous Prince imagined they might be gained by heaping Favours on their Heads, and therefore took up with a *Motley Miniſtry*, which diſtreſſed him to the laſt. Thus the *Tories and High Church Clergy* enjoyed the Advantages of a GLORIOUS REVOLUTION, while they acted a moſt unworthy Part towards their GREAT DELIVERER, and

King made uneaſy by the Tories. Burnet, p. 35, 39.

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King William *and Queen* Mary. 1689.

a moſt unkind and ungenerous One to the *Diſſenters*.

Their Conduct to the Diſſenters ſince the Revolution.

Nor have theſe Gentlemen ceaſed to diſcover their Enmity to the *Diſſenters* ſince that Time, as oft as the Power has been in their Hands. It was impoſſible to hurt them while King WILLIAM lived, but no ſooner was Queen ANNE upon the Throne but they endeavoured to cramp the *Toleration* by the Bill againſt *Occaſional Conformity*, which was brought into the Houſe one Seſſions after another, till at length it obtained the Royal Aſſent in the latter End of the Year 1711, under the ſpecious Title of, *An Act to preſerve the* Proteſtant Religion, *and to confirm the Toleration, and further to ſecure the* Proteſtant Succeſſion. It makes ſome few Conceſſions in favour of the Toleration, but then it enacts, "That if any "Perſons in Office, who by the Laws are obliged "to qualify themſelves by *receiving the Sacrament*, or "*Teſt*, ſhall ever reſort to a Conventicle or Meeting of Diſſenters for Religious Worſhip, during "the Time of their Continuance in ſuch Office, they "ſhall forfeit twenty Pounds for every ſuch Offence, and be diſqualified for any Office for the "future, till they have made Oath that they have entirely conformed to the Church, and not been at "any Conventicle for the Space of a whole Year." So that no Perſon in the leaſt Office in the *Cuſtoms*, *Exciſe*, or *Common Council*, &c. could ever come within the Doors of a *Meeting-Houſe*. But the Reader may read the Act at large in the *Appendix*, NUMB. II.

Occaſional Conformity Bill.

Append. N° II.

The Schiſm Bill.

In the laſt Year of Queen *Anne* the *Toleration* was further ſtraitened by an *Act to prevent the Growth of Schiſm*; for with theſe Gentlemen *all Diſſenters are Schiſmaticks*, and in order to prevent their Growth, the Education of their Children was taken out of the Hands of their Friends, and intruſted

ed only with ſuch who were *full and entire Conformiſts*. And if any School-Maſter or Tutor ſhould be willingly preſent at any *Conventicle of Diſſenters for Religious Worſhip*, he ſhall ſuffer three Months Impriſonment, and be diſqualified, as above, from teaching School for the future. The Act was to take Place *Auguſt* 1. 1714. the very Day the Queen died; but his late Majeſty King *George* I. being fully ſatisfied that theſe Hardſhips were brought upon the *Diſſenters* for their ſteady Adherence to the *Proteſtant Succeſſion* againſt a Tory and Jacobite *Miniſtry*, who were preparing the Way for a Popiſh Pretender, procured the Repeal of them in the fifth Year of his Reign. The aforeſaid Act, with the Repeal, is inſerted in the *Appendix*, NUMB. III and IV. together with a Clauſe which forbids *the Mayor, or other Magiſtrate, to go into any Meeting for Religious Worſhip with the Enſigns of his Office.*

King William *and Queen* Mary. 1689.

Repealed by King George I.

Many of the ejected Miniſters of 1662. and others, ſurvived the Revolution, and made a conſiderable Figure in the Reigns of King WILLIAM and Queen MARY. As,

Diſſenting Miniſters who ſurvived the Revolution.

The Rev. *William Bates*, D. D.
Obad. Grew, D.D.
Sam. Anneſly, D.D.
John Collings, D. D.
Mr. *Richard Baxter*,
Mr. *Vincent Alſop*, M. A.
Mr. *John Howe*, M. A.
Mr. *Thomas Doolittle*, M. A.
Mr. *Phil.* and *Matth. Henry*, M. A.
Mr. *John Flavel*,
Mr. *Mathew Barker*, M. A.
The Rev. Mr. *George Cockayne*,
Mr. *John Faldo*,
Mr. *William Lorimer*, M. A.
Mr. *Thomas Gilbert*, B. D.
Mr. *Joſ Hill*, B.D.
Mr. *Rob. Bragge*,
Mr. *Math. Mead*,
Mr. *James Forbes*, M.A.
Mr. *Thomas Cole*, M.A.
Mr. *George Griffith*, M. A.
Mr. *Nath. Mather*,
Mr. *Edward Veal*,

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The Rev. Mr. *John Quick*,
Mr. *Nathaniel Vincent*, M. A.
Mr. *Richard Stretton*, M. A.
Mr. *George Hammond*, M. A.
Mr. *Richard Kentiſh*,
Mr. *Henry Newcome*, M. A.
Mr. *Math. Sylveſter*,
Mr. *Chriſt. Neſſe*, M.A.
Mr. *John Humphreys*, M. A.
The Rev. Mr. *Rich. Mayo*,
Mr. *Math. Clarke*, ſen.
Iſaac Chauncey, M.D.
Mr. *Sam. Slater*, M.A.
Daniel Williams, D.D.
Mr. *John Spademan*, M. A.
Mr. *Robert Billio*,
Mr. *Rich. Steele*, M.A.
Mr. *Nath. Taylor*,
Mr. *Rob. Flemming*, M. A.
Mr. *Dan. Burgeſs*,
Mr. *James Owen*, &c.

Theſe and many others who deſerve an honourable Character, were learned and uſeful Men, and moſt of them popular Preachers, ſerviceable to the Societies for Reformation of Manners, and *eminent Confeſſors in the Cauſe of Liberty and Scriptural Religion*; but their Deaths not happening within the Compaſs of this Work, I muſt leave them to be remember'd by the Hiſtorians of after Times.

The End of the Fourth VOLUME.

APPEN-

APPENDIX.

NUMB. I.

The TOLERATION ACT, entituled, *An Act for Exempting their Majeſties Proteſtant Subjects Diſſenting from the Church of* England *from the Penalties of certain Laws.*

FORASMUCH as ſome Eaſe to ſcrupulous Conſciences, in the Exerciſe of Religion, may be an effectual Means to unite their Majeſty's Proteſtant Subjects in Intereſt and Affection, 1 *Will.* & *Mary*, cap. 18.

I. Be it enacted by the King and Queen's moſt excellent Majeſties, and with the Advice and Conſent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons in this preſent Parliament aſſembled, and by the Authority of the ſame, That neither the Statute made in the 23d Year of the Reign of the late Queen *Elizabeth*, entituled, *An Act to Retain the Queen's Majeſty's Subjects in their due Obedience*; nor that Statute made in the 29th Year of the ſaid Queen, entituled, *An Act for the more ſpeedy and due Execution of certain Branches of the Statute made in the 23d Year of the Queen's Majeſty's Reign*, viz. the aforeſaid Act; nor that Branch or Clauſe of a Statute made in the 1ſt Year of the Reign of the ſaid Queen, entituled, *An Act for the Uniformity of Common Prayer and Service in the Church, and Adminiſtration of the Sacraments*; whereby all Perſons having no lawful or reaſonable Excuſe to be abſent are required to reſort to their Pariſh Church or Chapel, or ſome uſual Place where the Common Prayer ſhall be uſed, upon pain of Puniſhment by the Cenſures of the Church; and alſo, upon pain, that every Perſon ſo offending ſhall forfeit for every ſuch Offence twelve Pence. Nor that Statute made in the 3d Year of the late King

The ſeveral Laws againſt Diſſenters repealed.

23 *Eliz.* cap. 1.

29 *Eliz.* cap. 6.

29 *Eliz.* cap. 2. § 14.

3 *Jac.* I. cap. 4. 3 *Jac.* I. cap. 5. *Exception.* 25 *Car.* II. cap. 2. 30 *Car.* II. Stat. 2d. cap. 1. *Supra*, cap. 1. 30 *Car.* II. Stat. 2d. cap. 1. *Taking Declaration to be regiſter'd.* *Fee for Regiſter and Certificate.*

James the Firſt, entituled, *An Act for the better Diſcovering and Repreſſing Popiſh Recuſants.* Nor that after Statute made in the ſame Year, entituled, *An Act to prevent and avoid Dangers which may grow by Popiſh Recuſants.* Nor any other Law or Statute of this Realm made againſt Papiſts or Popiſh Recuſants, except the Statute made in the 25th Year of King *Charles* II. entituted, *An Act for preventing Dangers which may happen from Popiſh Recuſants.* And except alſo the Statute made in the 30th Year of the ſaid King *Charles* II. entituled, *An Act for the more effectual Preſerving the King's Perſon and Government, by diſabling Papiſts from ſitting in either Houſe of Parliament*, ſhall be conſtrued to extend to any Perſon or Perſons Diſſenting from the Church of *England*, that ſhall take the Oaths mentioned in a Statute made this preſent Parliament, entituled, *An Act for removing and preventing all Queſtions and Diſputes concerning the Aſſembling and Sitting of the preſent Parliament*, ſhall make and ſubſcribe the Declaration mentioned in a Statute made in the 30th Year of the Reign of King *Charles* II. entituled, *An Act to prevent Papiſts from ſitting in either Houſe of Parliament.* Which Oaths and Declaration the Juſtices of Peace at the General Seſſions of the Peace to be held for the County or Place where ſuch Perſon ſhall live, are hereby required to tender and adminiſter to ſuch Perſons as ſhall offer themſelves to take, make and ſubſcribe the ſame, and thereof to keep a Regiſter. And likewiſe, none of the Perſons aforeſaid ſhall give or pay, as any Fee or Reward, to any Officer or Officers belonging to the Court aforeſaid above the Sum of 6*d.* nor that more than once for his or their Entry of his taking the ſaid Oaths, and making and ſubſcribing the ſaid Declaration; nor above the further Sum of 6*d.* for any Certificate of the ſame to be made out and ſigned by the Officer or Officers of the ſaid Court.

Perſons convicted, &c. Taking the Oaths, &c. ſhall be diſcharged.

II. And be it further enacted by the Authority aforeſaid, That all and every Perſon and Perſons already convicted, or profecuted in order to Conviction of Recuſancy, by Indictment, Information, Action of Debt, or otherwiſe grounded upon the aforeſaid Statute; or any of them that ſhall take the ſaid Oaths mentioned in the ſaid Statute made this preſent Parliament; and make and ſubſcribe the Declaration aforeſaid in the Court of *Exchequer*, or Aſſize, or General or Quarter Seſſions, to be held for the County where ſuch Perſon lives, and to be thence reſpectively certified into the *Exchequer*, ſhall be thenceforth exempted and diſcharged from all the Penalties, Seizures, Forfeitures, Judgments, and Executions, incurred by Force of any of the aforeſaid Statutes, without any Compoſition, Fee, or further Charge whatſoever.

III. And be it further enacted by the Authority aforeſaid, That all and every Perſon and Perſons that ſhall, as aforeſaid, take the ſaid Oaths, and make and ſubſcribe the Declaration aforeſaid, ſhall not be liable to any Pains, Penalties, or Forfeitures, mentioned in an Act made in the 35th Year of the Reign of the late Queen *Elizabeth*, entituled, *An Act to Retain the Queen's Majeſty's Subjects in their*

35 *Eliz.* cap. 1.

their due Obedience. Nor in an Act made in the 22d Year of the Reign of the late King *Charles* II. entituled, *An Act to prevent and ſuppreſs ſeditious Conventicles.* Nor ſhall any of the ſaid Perſons be proſecuted in any Eccleſiaſtical Court, for, or by Reaſon of their Non-Conforming to the Church of *England.* 22 Car. II. cap. 1. *Eccleſiaſtical Court.*

IV. Provided always, and be it enacted by the Authority aforeſaid, That if any Aſſembly of Perſons, Diſſenting from the Church of *England*, ſhall be held in any Place for Religious Worſhip, with the Doors lock'd, barr'd or bolted, during any Time of ſuch Meeting together, all and every Perſon or Perſons that ſhall come to, and be at ſuch Meeting, ſhall not receive any Benefit from this Law, but be liable to all the Pains and Penalties of all the aforeſaid Laws recited in this Act, for ſuch their Meeting, notwithſtanding his taking the Oaths, and his making and ſubſcribing the Declaration aforeſaid. *Private Meetings excluded.*

V. Provided always, that nothing herein contained ſhall be conſtrued to exempt any of the Perſons aforeſaid from paying of Tithes, or other Parochial Duties, or any other Duties to the Church or Miniſter; nor from any Proſecution in any Eccleſiaſtical Court, or elſewhere, for the ſame. *Tithes ſaved.*

VI. And be it further enacted by the Authority aforeſaid, That if any Perſon Diſſenting from the Church of *England*, as aforeſaid, ſhall hereafter be choſen, or otherwiſe appointed to bear the Office of High-Conſtable, or Pettit-Conſtable, Church-Warden, Overſeer of the Poor, or any other Parochial or Ward Office, and ſuch Perſon ſhall ſcruple to take upon him any of the ſaid Offices, in regard of the Oaths, or any other Matter or Thing required by the Law to be taken or done, in reſpect of ſuch Office, every ſuch Perſon ſhall and may execute ſuch Office or Employment by a ſufficient Deputy, by him to be provided, that ſhall comply with the Laws on this behalf; provided always, the ſaid Deputy be allowed and approved by ſuch Perſon or Perſons in ſuch Manner as ſuch Officer or Officers reſpectively ſhould by Law have been allowed and approved. *Officers ſcrupling Oaths, &c. allowed to act by Deputy.*

VII. And be it further enacted by the Authority aforeſaid, That no Perſon Diſſenting from the Church of *England* in holy Orders, or pretended holy Orders, or pretending to holy Orders, nor any Preacher or Teacher of any Congregation of Diſſenting Proteſtants, that ſhall make and ſubſcribe the Declaration aforeſaid, and take the ſaid Oaths, at the General or Quarter Seſſions of the Peace to be held for the County, Town, Parts, or Diviſion where ſuch Perſon lives, which Court is hereby impowered to adminiſter the ſame; and ſhall alſo declare his Approbation of, and ſubſcribe the Articles of Religion mentioned in the Statute made in the 13th Year of the Reign of the late Queen *Elizabeth*, except the 34th, 35th, and 36th, and theſe Words of the 20th Article, *viz.* [*The Church hath Power to decree Rites or Ceremonies, and Authority in Controverſies of Faith, and yet*] ſhall be liable to any of the Pains or Penalties mentioned in an Act made in the 17th Year of the Reign of King *Charles* II. entituled, *Perſons in Orders how exempted from* 17 Car. II. cap. 2. 13 14 Car. II. cap. 4. 13 *Eliz.* cap. 12.

17 Car. II. cap. 2. tuled, *An Act for Reſtraining Non-Conformiſts from inhabiting in Corporations*; nor the Penalties mentioned in the aforeſaid Act made in the 22d Year of his ſaid late Majeſty's Reign, for or by Reaſon of ſuch Perſons Preaching at any Meeting for the Exerciſe of Religion. Nor to the Penalties of 100 *l.* mentioned in an Act made in the 13th and 14th of King *Charles* II. entituled, *An Act for the Uniformity of publick Prayers, and adminiſtring of Sacraments, and other Rites and Ceremonies; and for eſtabliſhing the Form of making, ordaining, and conſecrating of Biſhops, Prieſts, and Deacons, in the Church of* England, for officiating in any Congregation for the Exerciſe of Religion permitted and allowed by this Act.

13 & 14 Car. II. cap. 4.

Taking the Oaths to be regiſter'd.

VIII. Provided always, that the making and ſubſcribing the ſaid Declaration, and the taking the ſaid Oaths, and making the Declaration of Approbation and Subſcription to the ſaid Articles, in Manner as aforeſaid, by every reſpective Perſon or Perſons herein before mentioned, at ſuch General or Quarter Seſſions of the Peace as aforeſaid, ſhall be then and there enter'd of Record in the ſaid Court, for which 6 *d.* ſhall be pay'd to the Clerk of the Peace, and no more; provided that ſuch Perſon ſhall not at any Time preach in any Place but with the Doors not locked, barred, or bolted, as aforeſaid.

Meeting Doors to be unlock'd.

IX. And whereas ſome Diſſenting Proteſtants ſcruple the Baptizing of Infants, be it enacted by the Authority aforeſaid, That every Perſon in pretended holy Orders, or pretending to holy Orders, or Preacher or Teacher, that ſhall ſubſcribe the aforeſaid Articles of Religion, except before excepted; and alſo except Part of the 27th Article teaching Infant Baptiſm, and ſhall take the Oaths, and make and ſubſcribe the Declaration aforeſaid, in Manner aforeſaid, every ſuch Perſon ſhall enjoy all the Privileges, Benefits, and Advantages, which any other Diſſenting Miniſter, as aforeſaid, might have or enjoy by virtue of this Act.

Teachers exempt from Offices.

X. And be it further enacted by the Authority aforeſaid, That every Teacher or Preacher in holy Orders, or pretended holy Orders, that is a Miniſter, Preacher, or Teacher of a Congregation, that ſhall take the Oaths herein required, and make and ſubſcribe the Declaration aforeſaid; and alſo ſubſcribe ſuch of the aforeſaid Articles of the Church of *England*, as are required by this Act in manner aforeſaid, ſhall be thenceforth exempted from ſerving upon any Jury, or from being choſen, or appointed to bear the Office of Church-Warden, Overſeer of the Poor, or any other Parochial or Ward Office, or other Office in any Hundred of any Shire, City, Town, Pariſh, Diviſion, or Wapentake.

Juſtices of Peace may tender the Oaths, &c.

XI. And be it further enacted by the Authority aforeſaid, That any Juſtice of the Peace may at any Time hereafter require any Perſon that goes to any Meeting for exerciſe of Religion, to make and ſubſcribe the Declaration aforeſaid, and alſo to take the ſaid Oaths, or Declaration of Fidelity herein after mentioned, in caſe ſuch Perſon ſcruple the taking of an Oath, and upon refuſal thereof ſuch Juſtice of the Peace is hereby required to commit ſuch Perſon to

Penalty for refuſing.

Priſon

Priſon without Bail or Mainprize, and to certify the Name of ſuch Perſon to the next General or Quarter Seſſions of the Peace to be held for that County, City, Town, Part, or Diviſion, where ſuch Perſon then reſides; and if ſuch Perſon ſo committed ſhall upon a ſecond Tender at the General or Quarter Seſſions, refuſe to make and ſubſcribe the Declaration aforeſaid, ſuch Perſon refuſing ſhall be then and there recorded, and ſhall be taken thenceforth to all Intents and Purpoſes for a Popiſh Recuſant convict, and ſuffer accordingly, and incur all the Penalties and Forfeitures of the aforeſaid Laws.

XII. And whereas there are certain other Perſons Diſſenters from the Church of *England*, who ſcruple the taking of any Oath, be it enacted by the Authority aforeſaid, That every ſuch Perſon ſhall make and ſubſcribe the aforeſaid Declaration; and alſo this Declaration of Fidelity following. *Quakers how exempted. Alter'd as to Quakers by* 8 Geo. I. cap. 6. *Declaration of Fidelity.*

I A. B. *do ſincerely promiſe, and ſolemnly declare, before God and the World, that I will be true and faithful to King* William *and Queen* Mary. *And I do ſolemnly profeſs and declare, that I do from my Heart abhor, deteſt, and renounce, as impious and heretical, that damnable Doctrine and Poſition, That Princes excommunicated, or deprived by the Pope, or any Authority of the See of* Rome, *may be depoſed or murdered by their Subjects, or any other whatſoever. And I do declare, that no foreign Prince, Perſon, Prelate, State, or Potentate, hath, or ought to have any Power, Juriſdiction, Superiority, Preeminence, or Authority, Eccleſiaſtical or Spiritual, within this Realm.*

And ſhall ſubſcribe a Profeſſion of their Chriſtian Belief in theſe Words:

I A. B. *profeſs Faith in God the Father, and in Jeſus Chriſt his eternal Son, the true God, and in the Holy Spirit, one God bleſſed for evermore; and do acknowledge the Holy Scriptures of the* Old *and* New Teſtament *to be given by Divine Inſpiration.* *Profeſſion.*

Which Declaration and Subſcription ſhall be made and entered of Record at the General Quarter Seſſions of the Peace for the County, City, or Place, where every ſuch Perſon ſhall then reſide. And every ſuch Perſon that ſhall make and ſubſcribe the two Declarations and Profeſſion aforeſaid, being thereunto required, ſhall be exempted from all the Pains and Penalties of all and every the aforementioned Statutes made againſt Popiſh Recuſants, or Proteſtant Non-Conformiſts; and alſo from the Penalties of an Act made in the 5th Year of the Reign of the late Queen *Elizabeth*, entituled, *An Act for the Aſſurance of the Queen's Royal Power over all Eſtates and Subjects within her Dominions*, for or by Reaſon of ſuch Perſons not taking or refuſing to take the Oath mentioned in the ſaid Act. And alſo from the Penalties of an Act made in the 13th and 14th Years of the Reign of King *Charles* II. entituled, *An Act for preventing Miſchiefs that may ariſe by certain Perſons called* Quakers *refuſing to take lawful Oaths*, and enjoy all other the Benefits, Privileges, and Advantages, under the like Limitations, Proviſo's 5 *Eliz.* cap. 1. 13 & 14 *Car.* II. cap. 1.

and Conditions, which any other Diſſenters ſhould or ought to enjoy by virtue of this Act.

How purged after Refuſal of the Oaths.

XIII. Provided always, and be it enacted by the Authority aforeſaid, That in caſe any Perſon ſhall refuſe to take the ſaid Oaths when tender'd to them, which every Juſtice of the Peace is hereby impowered to do, ſuch Perſon ſhall not be admitted to make and ſubſcribe the two Declarations aforeſaid, tho' required thereunto either before any Juſtice of the Peace, or at the General or Quarter Seſſions, before or after any Conviction of Popiſh Recuſancy, as aforeſaid, unleſs ſuch Perſon can, within thirty one Days after ſuch Tender of the Declaration to him, produce two ſufficient Proteſtant Witneſſes to teſtify upon Oath, that they believe him to be a Proteſtant Diſſenter, or a Certificate under the Hands of four Proteſtants who are conformable to the Church of *England*, or have taken the Oaths, and ſubſcribed the Declaration above-named, and ſhall produce a Certificate under the Hands and Seals of ſix or more ſufficient Men of the Congregation to which he belongs, owning him for one of them.

XIV. Provided alſo, and be it enacted by the Authority aforeſaid, That until ſuch Certificate, under the Hands of ſix of his Congregation, as aforeſaid, be produced, and two Proteſtant Witneſſes come to atteſt his being a Proteſtant Diſſenter, or a Certificate under the Hands of four Proteſtants, as aforeſaid, be produced, the Juſtice of the Peace ſhall, and hereby is required to take a Recognizance, with two Sureties, in the penal Sum of fifty Pounds, to be levied of his Goods and Chattles, Lands and Tenements, to the Uſe of the King's and Queen's Majeſties, their Heirs and Succeſſors, for his producing the ſame; and if he cannot give ſuch Security, to commit him to Priſon, there to remain until he has produced ſuch Certificate, or two Witneſſes, as aforeſaid.

Laws for Divine Service in force.

XV. Provided always, and it is the true Intent and Meaning of this Act, That all the Laws made and provided for the Frequenting of Divine Service on the *Lord's Day*, commonly called *Sunday*, ſhall be ſtill in force, and executed againſt all Perſons that offend againſt the ſaid Laws, except ſuch Perſons come to ſome Congregation, or Aſſembly, of Religious Worſhip, allowed, or permited by this Act.

Papiſts excepted.

XVI. Provided always, and be it further enacted by the Authority aforeſaid, That neither this Act, nor any Clauſe, Article, or Thing, herein contained, ſhall extend, or be conſtrued to extend, to give any Eaſe, Benefit, or Advantage, to any Papiſt or Popiſh Recuſant whatſoever, or any Perſon, that ſhall deny in his Preaching or Writing, the Doctrine of the bleſſed Trinity, as it is declared in the aforeſaid Articles of Religion.

Diſturbers of Religious Worſhip, how puniſhed,

§ 1. Geo. I. Stat. 2. cap. 5. § 4.

XVII. Provided always, and be it enacted by the Authority aforeſaid, That if any Perſon or Perſons, at any Time or Times, after the 10th Day of *June*, do, and ſhall willingly, and of Purpoſe, maliciouſly, or contemptuouſly, come into any Cathedral, or Pariſh Church, Chapel, or other Congregation permitted by this

this Act, and diſquiet or diſturb the ſame; or miſuſe any Preacher or Teacher, ſuch Perſon or Perſons, upon Proof thereof, before any Juſtice of Peace, by two or more ſufficient Witneſſes, ſhall find two Sureties to be bound by Recognizance in the penal Sum of fifty Pounds, and in default of ſuch Sureties ſhall be committed to Priſon, there to remain till the next General or Quarter Seſſions, and upon Conviction of the ſaid Offence, at the ſaid General or Quarter Seſſions, ſhall ſuffer the Pain and Penalty of twenty Pounds, to the Uſe of the King's and Queen's Majeſties, their Heirs and Succeſſors.

Place for Worſhip to be certified.

XVIII. Provided always, That no Congregation, or Aſſembly for Religious Worſhip, ſhall be permitted or allowed by this Act, until the Place of ſuch Meeting ſhall be certified to the Biſhop of the Dioceſe, or to the Archdeacon of that Archdeaconry, or to the Juſtices of the Peace, at the General or Quarter Seſſions of the Peace for the County, City, or Place, in which ſuch Meeting ſhall be held, and regiſter'd in the ſaid Biſhop's or Archdeacon's Court reſpectively, or recorded at the ſaid General or Quarter Seſſions, the Regiſter or Clerk of the Peace whereof reſpectively is hereby required to Regiſter the ſame, and to give Certificate thereof to ſuch Perſon as ſhall demand the ſame, for which there ſhall be no greater Fee nor Reward taken than the Sum of ſix Pence.

NUMB.

NUMB. II.

The OCCASIONAL ACT, entituled, *An Act for Preſerving the Proteſtant Religion, by better Securing the Church of* England, *as by Law eſtabliſhed; and for Confirming the Toleration granted to Proteſtant Diſſenters by an Act, entituled,* An Act for Exempting Their Majeſty's Proteſtant Subjects, Diſſenting from the Church of *England,* from the Penalties of certain Laws, *and for Supplying the Defects thereof; and for the further Securing the Proteſtant Succeſſion, by Requiring the Practicers of the Law in* North Britain *to take the Oaths, and ſubſcribe the Declaration therein mentioned.*

10th of Q. Anne.

WHEREAS an Act was made in the thirteenth Year of the Reign of the late King *Charles* the Second, entituled, *An Act for the well Governing and Regulating of Corporations.* And another Act was made in the five and twentieth Year of the Reign of the ſaid late King *Charles* the Second, entituled, *An Act for the Preventing Dangers which may happen from Popiſh Recuſants.* Both which Acts were made for the Security of the Church of *England,* as by Law eſtabliſhed. Now for the better Securing the ſaid Church, and quieting the Minds of her Majeſty's Proteſtant Subjects Diſſenting from the Church of *England,* and rendring them Secure in the Exerciſe of their Religious Worſhip: as alſo for the further Strengthening the Proviſion already made for the Security of the Succeſſion to the Crown in the Houſe of *Hanover,* Be it enacted by the Queen's moſt excellent Majeſty, by and with the Advice and Conſent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons in Parliament aſſembled, and by the Authority of the ſame, That if any Perſon or Perſons, after the five and twentieth Day of *March,* which ſhall be in the Year of our Lord one thouſand ſeven hundred and twelve, either Peers or Commoners, who have, or ſhall have any Office or Offices, Civil or Military, or receive any Pay, Salary, Fee, or Wages, by reaſon of any Patent or Grant from or under her Majeſty, or any of her Majeſty's Predeceſſors, or of her Heirs or Succeſſors, or ſhall have any Command or Place of Truſt from or under her Majeſty, her Heirs or Succeſſors, or from any of her Majeſty's Predeceſſors, or by her or their Authority, or by Authority derived from her or them, within that Part of *Great Britain* called *England,* the Dominion of *Wales,* or Town of *Berwick* upon *Tweed,* or in the Navy, or in the ſeveral Iſlands of

Jerſey

Jerſey or *Guernſey*, or ſhall be admitted into any Service or Employment in the Houſhold or Family of her Majeſty, her Heirs or Succeſſors; or if any Mayor, Alderman, Recorder, Bailiff, Town Clerk, Common Council Man, or other Perſon bearing any Office of Magiſtracy, or Place of Truſt, or other Employment relating to, or concerning the Government of any the reſpective Cities, Corporations, Boroughs, Cinque Ports, and their Members, or other Port Towns within that Part of *Great Britain* called *England*, the Dominion of *Wales*, Town of *Berwick*, or either of the Iſles aforeſaid, who by the ſaid recited Acts, or either of them, were or are obliged to receive the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, according to the Rites and Uſage of the Church of *England*, as aforeſaid, ſhall at any Time after their Admiſſion into their reſpective Offices or Employments, or after having ſuch Patent or Grant, Command or Place of Truſt, as aforeſaid, during his or their Continuance in ſuch Office or Offices, Employment or Employments, or having ſuch Patent or Grant, Command or Place of Truſt, or any Profit or Advantage from the ſame, knowingly or willingly reſort to, or be preſent at any Conventicle, Aſſembly or Meeting within *England*, *Wales*, *Berwick* upon *Tweed*, or the Iſles aforeſaid, for the Exerciſe of Religion in other manner than according to the Liturgy and Practice of the Church of *England*, in any Place within that Part of *Great Britain* called *England*, Dominion of *Wales*, and Town of *Berwick* upon *Tweed*, or the Iſles aforeſaid, at which Conventicle, Aſſembly, or Meeting, there ſhall be ten Perſons or more aſſembled together, over and beſides thoſe of the ſame Houſehold, if it be in any Houſe where there is a Family inhabiting, or if it be in an Houſe or Place where there is no Family inhabiting, then where any ſuch ten Perſons are ſo aſſembled, as aforeſaid; or ſhall knowingly and willingly be preſent at any ſuch Meeting in ſuch Houſe or Place, as aforeſaid, although the Liturgy be there uſed, where her Majeſty (whom God long preſerve) and the Princeſs *Sophia*, or ſuch others as ſhall from Time to Time be lawfully appointed to be prayed for, ſhall not there be prayed for in expreſs Words according to the Liturgy of the Church of *England*, except where ſuch particular Offices of the Liturgy are uſed, wherein there are no expreſs Directions to pray for her Majeſty and the Royal Family, ſhall forfeit forty Pounds, to be recovered by him or them that ſhall ſue for the ſame, by any Action of Debt, Bill, Plaint, or Information in any of her Majeſty's Courts at *Weſtminſter*, wherein no Eſſoign, Protection, or Wager of Law ſhall be allowed, or any more than one Imparlance.

And be it further enacted, That every Perſon convicted in any Action to be brought, as aforeſaid, or upon any Information, Preſentment, or Indictment in any of her Majeſty's Courts at *Weſtminſter*, or at the Aſſizes, ſhall be diſabled from thenceforth to hold ſuch Office or Offices, Employment or Employments, or to receive any Profit or Advantage by reaſon of them, or of any Grant, as aforeſaid, and ſhall be adjudged incapable to bear any Office or Employment

ployment whatſoever within that Part of *Great Britain* called *England*, the Dominion of *Wales*, or the Town of *Berwick* upon *Tweed*, or the Iſles of *Jerſey* or *Guernſey*.

Provided always, and be it further enacted by the Authority aforeſaid, That if any Perſon or Perſons, who ſhall have been convicted, as aforeſaid, and thereby made incapable to hold any Office or Employment, or to receive any Profit or Advantage by reaſon of them, or of any Grant, as aforeſaid, ſhall, after ſuch Conviction, conform to the Church of *England*, for the Space of one Year, without having been preſent at any Conventicle, Aſſembly, or Meeting, as aforeſaid, and receive the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, according to the Rites and Uſage of the Church of *England*, at leaſt three Times in the Year, every ſuch Perſon or Perſons ſhall be capable of the Grant of any the Offices or Employments aforeſaid.

Provided alſo, and be it further enacted, That every ſuch Perſon ſo convicted, and afterwards conforming, in manner, as aforeſaid, ſhall at the next Term after his Admiſſion into any ſuch Office or Employment, make Oath in writing in ſome one of her Majeſty's Courts at *Weſtminſter*, in publick and open Court, or at the next Quarter Seſſions for that County or Place where he ſhall reſide, between the Hours of nine and twelve in the Forenoon, he hath conformed to the Church of *England* for the Space of one Year before ſuch his Admiſſion, without having been preſent at any Conventicle, Aſſembly or Meeting, as aforeſaid, and that he hath received the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper at leaſt three Times in the Year; which Oath ſhall be there enrolled and kept upon Record.

Provided, That no Perſon ſhall ſuffer any Puniſhment for any Offence committed againſt this Act, unleſs Oath be made of ſuch Offence before ſome Judge or Juſtice of the Peace (who is hereby empowered and required to take the ſaid Oath) within ten Days after the ſaid Offence committed, and unleſs the ſaid Offender be proſecuted for the ſame within three Months after the ſaid Offence committed; nor ſhall any Perſon be convicted for any ſuch Offence, unleſs upon the Oaths of two credible Witneſſes at the leaſt.

Provided always, That this Act, or any Thing therein contained, or any Offence againſt the ſame, ſhall not extend, or be judged to take away or make void any Office of Inheritance; nevertheleſs, ſo as ſuch Perſon having or enjoying any ſuch Office of Inheritance, do or ſhall Subſtitute and Appoint his ſufficient Deputy (which ſuch Officer is hereby empowered from Time to Time, to make or change, any former Law or Uſage to the contrary notwithſtanding) to exerciſe the ſaid Office, until ſuch Time as the Perſon having ſuch Office, ſhall conform as aforeſaid.

And it is hereby further enacted and declared by the Authority aforeſaid, That the Toleration granted to Proteſtant Diſſenters, by the Act made in the firſt Year of the Reign of King *William* and Queen *Mary*, entituled, *An Act for Exempting their Majeſties Proteſtant*

teſtant Subjects, *Diſſenting from the Church of* England, *from the Penalties of certain Laws*, ſhall be, and is hereby ratified and confirmed, and that the ſame Act ſhall at all Times be inviolably obſerved, for the Exempting of ſuch Proteſtant Diſſenters as are thereby intended, from the Pains and Penalties therein mentioned.

And for the rendering the ſaid laſt mentioned Act more effectual, according to the true Intent and Meaning thereof, Be it further enacted and declared by the Authority aforeſaid, That if any Perſon Diſſenting from the Church of *England* (not in holy Orders, or pretended holy Orders, or pretending to holy Orders, nor any Preacher or Teacher of any Congregation) who ſhould have been entituled to the Benefit of the ſaid laſt mentioned Act, if ſuch Perſon had duly taken, made, and ſubſcribed the Oaths and Declaration, or otherwiſe qualified him or her ſelf, as required by the ſaid Act, and now is or ſhall be proſecuted upon or by Virtue of any of the Penal Statutes, from which Proteſtant Diſſenters are exempted by the ſaid Act, ſhall at any Time during ſuch Proſecution, take, make, and ſubſcribe the ſaid Oaths and Declaration, or being of the People called *Quakers*, ſhall make and ſubſcribe the aforeſaid Declaration, and alſo the Declaration of Fidelity, and ſubſcribe the Profeſſion of their Chriſtian Belief according to the ſaid Act, or before any two of her Majeſty's Juſtices of the Peace (who are hereby required to take and return the ſame to the next Quarter Seſſions of the Peace, to be there recorded) ſuch Perſon ſhall be, and is hereby entituled to the benefit of the ſaid Act, as fully and effectually as if ſuch Perſon had duly qualified himſelf within the Time preſcribed by the ſaid Act, and ſhall be thenceforth exempted and diſcharged from all the Penalties and Forfeitures incurred by Force of any the aforeſaid Penal Statutes.

And whereas it is or may be doubted, whether a Preacher or Teacher of any Congregation of Diſſenting Proteſtants, duly in all reſpects qualified according to the ſaid Act, be allowed by virtue of the ſaid Act, to officiate in any Congregation in any County, other than that in which he ſo qualified himſelf, although in a Congregation or Place of Meeting, duly Certified and Regiſter'd as is required by the ſaid Act; Be it declared and enacted by the Authority aforeſaid, That any ſuch Preacher or Teacher, ſo duly qualified according to the ſaid Act, ſhall be, and is hereby allowed to officiate in any Congregation, although the ſame be not in the County wherein he was ſo qualified; provided that the ſaid Congregation, or Place of Meeting hath been before ſuch Officiating, duly Certified and Regiſter'd or Recorded according to the ſaid Act: And ſuch Preacher or Teacher ſhall, if required, produce a Certificate of his having ſo qualified himſelf, under the Hand of the Clerk of the Peace for the County or Place where he ſo qualified himſelf, which Certificate ſuch Clerk of the Peace is hereby required to make; and ſhall alſo before any Juſtice of the Peace of

of ſuch County or Place where he ſhall ſo Officiate, make and ſubſcribe ſuch Declaration, and take ſuch Oaths as are mentioned in the ſaid Act, if thereunto required.

And be it further enacted by the Authority aforeſaid, That on or before the fifteenth Day of *June* next, all Advocates, Writers to the Signet, Notaries Publick, and other Members of the College of Juſtice, within that Part of her Majeſty's Kingdom of *Great Britain* called *Scotland*, ſhall be, and are hereby obliged to take and ſubſcribe the Oath appointed by the Act of the Sixth Year of her Majeſty's Reign, entituled, *An Act for the better Security of her Majeſty's Perſon and Government*, before the Lords of Seſſion of the aforeſaid Part of her Majeſty's Kingdom, except ſuch of the ſaid Perſons who have already taken the ſame: And if any of the Perſons aforeſaid do, or ſhall neglect or refuſe to take and ſubſcribe the ſaid Oath, as aforeſaid, ſuch Perſon ſhall be *ipſo facto* adjudged incapable, and diſabled in Law to have, enjoy, or exerciſe in any Manner his ſaid Employment or Practice.

And be it further enacted by the Authority aforeſaid, That in all Time coming, no Perſon or Perſons ſhall be admitted to the Employment of Advocate, Writer to the Signet, Notary Publick, or any Office belonging to the ſaid College of Juſtice, until he or they have taken and ſubſcribed the aforeſaid Oath, in manner as is above directed.

NUMB.

NUMB. III.

The SCHISM ACT, entituled, *An Act to prevent the Growth of Schism, and for the further Security of the Churches of* England *and* Ireland, *as by Law eſtabliſhed.*

WHEREAS by an Act of Parliament made in the thirteenth and fourteenth Years of his late Majeſty King *Charles* the Second, entituled, *An Act for the Uniformity of Publick Prayers, and Adminiſtration of Sacraments, and other Rites and Ceremonies; and for Eſtabliſhing the Form of Making, Ordaining, and Conſecrating Biſhops, Prieſts, and Deacons, in the Church of* England, it is amongſt other Things enacted, That every School-Maſter keeping any publick or private School; and every Perſon inſtructing or teaching any Youth in any Houſe or private Family, as a Tutor or School-Maſter, ſhould ſubſcribe before his or their reſpective Archbiſhop, Biſhop, or Ordinary of the Dioceſe, a Declaration or Acknowledgment, in which, amongſt other Things, was contained, as follows, *viz. I* A. B. *do declare, That I will Conform to the Liturgy of the Church of* England, *as it is now by Law eſtabliſhed*; and if any School-Maſter or other Perſon, inſtructing or teaching Youth in any private Houſe or Family, as a Tutor or School-Maſter, ſhould inſtruct or teach any Youth as a Tutor or School-Maſter, before Licence obtained from his reſpective Archbiſhop, Biſhop, or Ordinary of the Dioceſe, according to the Laws and Statutes of this Realm, for which he ſhould pay twelve Pence only, and before ſuch Subſcription and Acknowledgment made, as aforeſaid, then every ſuch School-Maſter and other, inſtructing and teaching, as aforeſaid, ſhould, for the firſt Offence, ſuffer three Months Impriſonment, without Bail or Mainprize; and for every ſecond and other ſuch Offence ſhould ſuffer three Months Impriſonment without Bail or Mainprize, and alſo forfeit to his Majeſty the Sum of five Pounds. And whereas notwithſtanding the ſaid Act, ſundry Papiſts, and other Perſons Diſſenting from the Church of *England*, have taken upon them to inſtruct and teach Youth as Tutors or School-Maſters, and have for ſuch Purpoſe openly ſet up Schools and Seminaries, whereby, if due and ſpeedy Remedy be not had, great Danger might enſue to this Church and State: For the making the ſaid recited Act more effectual, and preventing the Danger aforeſaid, Be it enacted by the Queen's moſt excellent Majeſty, by and with the Advice and Conſent of the Lord's Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons in this preſent Parliament aſſembled, and by the Authority of the ſame, That every Perſon or Perſons who ſhall, from and after the firſt Day of *Auguſt* next enſuing, keep

12*th* Q. Anne.

keep any publick or private School or Seminary, or teach and inſtruct any Youth as Tutor or School-Maſter, within that Part of *Great Britain* called *England*, the Dominion of *Wales*, or Town of *Berwick* upon *Tweed*, before ſuch Perſon or Perſons ſhall have ſubſcribed ſo much of the ſaid Declaration and Acknowledgment, as is before recited, and ſhall have had and obtained a Licence from the reſpective Archbiſhop, Biſhop, or Ordinary of the Place, under his Seal of Office (for which the Party ſhall pay one Shilling, and no more, over and above the Duties payable to her Majeſty for the ſame) and ſhall be thereof lawfully convicted, upon an Information, Preſentment, or Indictment, in any of her Majeſty's Courts of Record at *Weſtminſter*, or at the Aſſizes, or before Juſtices of Oyer and Terminer, ſhall, and may be committed to the common Goal of ſuch County, Riding, City, or Town Corporate, as aforeſaid, there to remain without Bail or Mainprize for the Space of three Months, to commence from the Time that ſuch Perſon or Perſons ſhall be received into the ſaid Goal.

Provided always, and be it hereby enacted, That no Licenſe ſhall be granted by any Archbiſhop, Biſhop, or Ordinary, unleſs the Perſon or Perſons who ſhall ſue for the ſame, ſhall produce a Certificate of his or their having received the Sacrament according to the Uſage of the Church of *England*, in ſome Pariſh Church, within the Space of one Year next before the Grant of ſuch Licenſe, under the Hand of the Miniſter and one of the Church-Wardens of the ſaid Pariſh, nor until ſuch Perſon or Perſons ſhall have taken and ſubſcribed the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, and Abjuration, as appointed by Law, and ſhall have made and ſubſcribed the Declaration againſt Tranſubſtantiation, contained in the Act made in the twenty fifth Year of the Reign of King *Charles* the Second, entituled, *An Act for Preventing Dangers which may happen from Popiſh Recuſants*, before the ſaid Archbiſhop, Biſhop, or Ordinary; which ſaid Oaths and Declarations, the ſaid Archbiſhop, Biſhop, or Ordinary, are hereby impowered and required to adminſter and receive; and ſuch Archbiſhops, Biſhops, and Ordinaries, are required to file ſuch Certificates, and keep an exact Regiſter of the ſame, and of the taking and ſubſcribing ſuch Oaths and Declarations.

And be it further enacted by the Authority aforeſaid, That any Perſon who ſhall have obtained a Licenſe, and ſubſcribed the Declarations, and taken and ſubſcribed the Oaths, as above appointed, and ſhall at any Time after, during the Time of his or their keeping any publick or private School or Seminary, or inſtructing any Youth as Tutor or School-Maſter, knowingly or willingly, reſort to, or be preſent at any Conventicle, Aſſembly, or Meeting, within *England*, *Wales*, or Town of *Berwick* upon *Tweed*, for the Exercile of Religion in any other manner than according to the Liturgy and Practice of the Church of *England*, or ſhall knowingly and willingly be preſent at any Meeting or Aſſembly for the Exerciſe of Religion, although the Liturgy be there uſed, where her

her Majeſty (whom God long preſerve) and the Elector of *Brunſwick*, or ſuch others as ſhall, from Time to Time, be lawfully appointed to be prayed for, ſhall not there be prayed for in expreſs Words, according to the Liturgy of the Church of *England*, except where ſuch particular Offices of the Liturgy are uſed, wherein there are no expreſs Directions to pray for her Majeſty and the Royal Family, ſhall be liable to the Penalties in this Act, and ſhall from thenceforth be incapable of Keeping any publick or private School or Seminary, or inſtructing any Youth as Tutor or School-Maſter.

And be it further enacted by the Authority aforeſaid, That if any Perſon licenſed, as aforeſaid, ſhall teach any other Catechiſm than the Catechiſm ſet forth in the Book of Common Prayer, the Licence of ſuch Perſon ſhall from thenceforth be void, and ſuch Perſon ſhall be liable to the Penalties of this Act.

And be it further enacted by the Authority aforeſaid, That it ſhall and may be lawful, to and for the Biſhop of the Dioceſe, or other proper Ordinary, to cite any Perſon or Perſons whatſoever, keeping School or Seminary, or teaching without Licence, as aforeſaid, and to proceed againſt, and puniſh ſuch Perſon or Perſons by Eccleſiaſtical Cenſure, ſubject to ſuch Appeals as in Caſes of ordinary Juriſdiction; this Act or any other Law to the contrary notwithſtanding.

Provided always, That no Perſon offending againſt this Act ſhall be puniſhed twice for the ſame Offence.

Provided alſo, That where any Perſon ſhall be proſecuted without Fraud or Covin in any of the Courts aforeſaid, for any Offence contrary to this Act, the ſame Perſon ſhall not be afterwards proſecuted for the ſame Offence in any of the ſaid Courts, whilſt ſuch former Proſecution ſhall be pending and carried on without any wilful Delay; and in caſe of any ſuch After-Proſecution, the Perſon ſo doubly proſecuted may alledge, plead, or ſhew forth in his Defence againſt the ſame, ſuch former Proſecution pending, or Judgment, or Sentence thereupon given, the ſaid Pleader firſt making Oath before the Judge or Judges of the Court where ſuch After-Proſecution ſhall be pending, and which ſaid Oath he or they are hereby impowered and required to adminiſter, that the ſaid Prior-Proſecution was not commenced or carried on by his Means, or with his Conſent or Procurement, or by any Fraud or Colluſion of any other Perſon to his Knowledge or Belief.

Provided always, That this Act, or any Thing therein contained, ſhall not extend, or be conſtrued to extend to any Tutor teaching or inſtructing Youth in any College or Hall, within either of the Univerſities of that Part of *Great Britain* called *England*, nor to any Tutor who ſhall be employed by any Nobleman or Noblewoman, to teach his or her own Children, Grand-Children, or Great Grand-Children only, in his or her Family;

provided ſuch Tutor, ſo teaching in any Nobleman or Noble-woman's Family, do in every reſpect qualify himſelf according to this Act, except only in that of taking a Licence from the Biſhop.

Provided alſo, That the Penalties in this Act ſhall not extend to any Foreigner, or Alien of the Foreign Reformed Churches, allowed, or to be allowed by the Queen's Majeſty, her Heirs, or Succeſſors, in *England*, for inſtructing or teaching any Child or Children of any ſuch Foreign or Alien only, as a Tutor or School-Maſter.

Provided always, and be it further enacted by the Authority aforeſaid, That if any Perſon who ſhall have been convicted, as aforeſaid, and thereby made incapable to teach or inſtruct any Youth, as aforeſaid, ſhall, after ſuch Conviction, conform to the Church of *England* for the Space of one Year, without having been preſent at any Conventicle, Aſſembly, or Meeting, as aforeſaid, and receive the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, according to the Rites and Uſage of the Church of *England*, at leaſt Three Times in that Year, every ſuch Perſon or Perſons ſhall be again capable of having and uſing a Licence to teach School, or to inſtruct Youth as a Tutor or School-Maſter, he or they alſo performing all that is made requiſite thereunto by this Act.

Provided alſo, and be it further enacted, That every ſuch Perſon ſo convicted, and afterwards conforming, in manner as aforeſaid, ſhall, at the next Term after his being admitted to, or taking upon him to teach, or inſtruct Youth, as aforeſaid, make Oath in writing, in ſome one of her Majeſty's Courts at *Weſtminſter*, in publick and open Court, or at the next Quarter Seſſions for that County or Place where he ſhall reſide, between the Hours of nine and twelve in the Forenoon, That he hath conformed to the Church of *England*, for the Space of one Year before ſuch his Admiſſion, without having been preſent at any Conventicle, Aſſembly or Meeting, as aforeſaid, and that he hath received the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper at leaſt three Times in the Year, which Oath ſhall be there enrolled, and kept upon Record.

Provided always, That this Act ſhall not extend, or be conſtrued to extend to any Perſon, who as a Tutor or School-Maſter ſhall inſtruct Youth in Reading, Writing, Arithmetick, or any part of Mathematical Learning only, ſo far as ſuch Mathematical Learning relates to Navigation, or any Mechanical Art only, and ſo as ſuch Reading, Writing, Arithmetick, or Mathematical Learning, ſhall be taught in the *Engliſh* Tongue only.

And whereas by an Act of Parliament made in *Ireland*, in the ſeventeenth and eighteenth Years of his ſaid late Majeſty King *Charles* the ſecond, entituled, *An Act for the Uniformity of Publick Prayers, and Adminiſtration of the Sacraments, and other Rites and Ceremonies; and for Eſtabliſhing the Form of Making, Ordaining and Conſecrating of Biſhops, Prieſts, and Deacons in the Church of* Ireland

Ireland; It is enacted concerning School-Maſters, and other Perſons inſtructing Youth in private Families in *Ireland*, as in and by the above recited Act is enacted concerning School-Maſters and others inſtructing Youth in private Families, in that part of *Great Britain* called *England*. And whereas it is reaſonable, that where the Law is the ſame, the Remedy and Means for enforcing the Execution of the Law ſhould be the ſame; be it therefore enacted by the Authority aforeſaid, That all and every the Remedies, Proviſions, and Clauſes, in and by this Act given, made, and enacted, ſhall extend, and be deemed, conſtrued, and adjudged to extend to *Ireland*, in as full and effectual manner as if *Ireland* had been expreſly named and mentioned in all and every the Clauſes in this Act.

NUMB. IV.

The REPEAL, entituled, *An Act for Strengthening the* Proteſtant Intereſt *in theſe Kingdoms.*

5*th of K.* George I. cap. 4. 10 *Annæ*, cap. 2.

WHEREAS an Act of Parliament was made in the tenth Year of the Reign of the late Queen *Anne*, [entituled, *An Act for preſerving the Proteſtant Religion by better ſecuring the Church of* England *as by Law eſtabliſhed, and for confirming the Toleration granted to Proteſtant Diſſenters*, by an Act, [entituled, *An Act for exempting their Majeſty's Proteſtant Subjects diſſenting from the Church of* England *from the Penalties of certain Laws*;] *and for ſupplying the Defects thereof, and for the further Securing the Proteſtant Succeſſion, by requiring the Practiſers of the Law in* North Britain *to take the Oaths, and ſubſcribe the Declaration therein mentioned.*] And whereas part of the ſaid Act; as alſo another Act herein after mentioned, have been found to be inconvenient; be it therefore enacted by the King's moſt excellent Majeſty, by and with the Advice of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons in Parliament aſſembled, and by the Authority of the ſame, that the ſaid recited Act paſſed in the tenth Year of the late Queen *Anne*, from the beginning thereof to theſe Words [*And it is hereby further enacted and declared, by the Authority aforeſaid, that the Toleration granted to Proteſtant Diſſenters.*] And alſo one Act made in the twelfth Year of the Reign of the late Queen *Anne*, [entituled, *An Act to prevent the Growth of Schiſm, and for the further Security of the Churches of* England *and* Ireland *as by Law eſtabliſhed*] ſhall be, and are hereby repealed, annulled, and made void.

Part of the 10 A. cap. 2. *and the Schiſm Act of the* 12*th of* A. *Stat.* 2. cap. 7. *ſhall be repealed.*

Mayor, &c. *reſorting to any Conventicle with the Enſigns of his Office diſabled to hold any publick Office.*

Provided always, and be it enacted by the Authority aforeſaid, That if any Mayor, Bailiff, or other Magiſtrate, in that part of *Great Britain* called *England*, the Dominion of *Wales*, or Town of *Berwick* upon *Tweed*, or *the Iſles* of *Jerſey* or *Guernſey*, ſhall knowingly or wilfully reſort to, or be preſent at any publick Meeting for Religious Worſhip, other than of the Church of *England* as by Law eſtabliſhed, in the Gown, or other peculiar Habit, or attended with the Enſign or Enſigns of, or belonging to ſuch his Office, that every ſuch Mayor, Bailiff, or other Magiſtrate, being thereof convicted by due Courſe of Law, ſhall be diſabled to hold ſuch Office or Offices, Employment or Employments, and ſhall be adjudged incapable to bear any publick Office or Employment whatſoever within that part of *Great Britain* called *England*, the Dominion of *Wales*, and Town of *Berwick* upon *Tweed*, or Iſles of *Jerſey* and *Guernſey*.

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